





MARSHAL FERDINAND FOCH

RIDPATH'S HISTORY OF THE WORLD

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE CAREER
OF THE HUMAN RACE FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF
CIVILIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME

COMPRISING

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS
AND
THE STORY OF ALL NATIONS

FROM RECENT AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES

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VOLUME X

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED WITH COLORED PLATES, RACE MAPS AND CHARTS,
TYPE PICTURES, SKETCHES AND DIAGRAMS

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME X.



THIS is our unhappy task in the present Volume to begin the story of one of the greatest calamities that ever befell the human race since the dawn of recorded History.

There can be no question that historians will forever regard the year 1914 as one of the most fateful dates in all the annals of mankind. A war the immediate occasion of which was the assassination of a Hapsburg Prince in an obscure Balkan principality spread from nation to nation until most of mankind were locked in the bloodiest struggle of the ages. Centuries will not erase the scars of the conflict, and generations yet unborn will bear in bitterness and suffering the burdens imposed upon their innocent shoulders. The pillars of the temple of civilization itself were shattered, and even yet it is uncertain whether the edifice can remain standing.

No new principle was involved in the titanic conflict. Once more it was the oft repeated story of envy, hatred, jealousy, and insane desire for power won by the sword that set the nations tearing at each other's throats. Reason, justice, mercy, all the better traits that are the slowly won heritage of the ages, were thrust aside by the Teutonic War Lords who struck for world dominion; and primal instincts ruled as completely as in the distant days when man wandered through the woods a naked savage.

The war showed that the age of epics is not passed. All human endeavors of days gone by were surpassed by the mighty efforts put forth by the combatants. The armies of Xerxes and Attila and Napoleon were dwarfed by the hosts marshalled by Hindenburg and Foch. Treasure was expended and blood poured out to an extent hitherto undreamed of. And the heroic deeds of all previous wars were equaled if not surpassed by men high of soul who faced "their fate on the shell-

shattered earth or in the skies above or in the waters beneath."

In the first chapter we discuss the causes, immediate and remote, of the Great War, apportion the blame, and trace the beginnings of the conflict down to the violation of Belgium's neutrality and the entrance of Great Britain. We then compare the military and naval forces of the various combatants, their population and other material resources, after which we describe in detail the efforts of the Teutonic War Lords to overwhelm France by a treacherous blow delivered through neutral Belgium. The effort was foiled at the Marne, and a long war became certain. The capture of Antwerp, the repulse of the German effort to reach the channel ports, the beginning of the deadlock on the Western Front, the Russian effort in East Prussia culminating in the disaster of Tannenberg, and the Russian victories in Galicia, are narrated, after which we describe how the German above-water navy and her merchant marine, despite the efforts of the U-boats, were swept off the high seas and British sea power closed upon the Teutonic throat. The entrance of Turkey into the war, the attack upon the Suez Canal, that great artery of the British Empire, the mismanaged but heroic attempt to open the Dardanelles, the massacre of the hapless Armenians by the unspeakable Turk, Italy's attack upon Austria, the continued deadlock on the Western Front, aerial and submarine warfare, the grand drive against Russia, the conquest of Serbia and Montenegro, the glorious defense of Verdun, the Battle of Jutland, that greatest of all sea fights, Britain's bloody assault in the region of the Somme, Brusiloff's victories in Galicia, British campaigns in Mesopotamia culminating in the capture of Bagdad, "the City of the Arabian Nights," the entrance of Roumania and her speedy defeat—all these things are described in detail and bring us down to the beginning of 1917. Long before that date, both parties to the conflict were

weary of the war, but neither was willing to accept peace without victory. After unavailing efforts to dictate terms favorable to her and her allies, Germany renews her illegal submarine warfare against merchantmen, both hostile and neutral, and by this violation of international law the United States, potentially the mightiest power of the world, is brought into the war on the side of the Entente Allies. There follows the story of America's hurried and costly preparations, the Russian revolution, the rise of Bolshevism, Russia's withdrawal from the conflict, the futile assaults of 1917 upon the Hindenburg Line, the defeat of Italy at Caporetto and the overrunning of part of the Lombard plain. Finally the decisive year 1918 dawns, and Germany, massing her men and munitions for one titanic effort that surpassed all military movements the world had yet seen, stakes all upon a single throw of the dice. With the eye of genius Foch perceived that the time had come to pass from the defensive to the offensive, and his preparations were made. On the 18th of July, his French and Americans began their counter-stroke, and that day will forever remain memorable in the annals of mankind, for it was the date on which the tide that had threatened to engulf the world began definitely to recede. Thenceforth the Central Powers were always on the defensive, and never again did their War Lords taste of the cup of victory.

On the 8th of August Haig struck farther northward and erased the salient that Ludendorff had driven toward Amiens. Thenceforth blow followed blow, not only in France and Belgium but in the Balkans, Palestine, and Italy. A new spirit pervaded the Allied armies, and everywhere victory perched on their banners. Bulgaria withdrew from the war; Turkey, her armies beaten and communication with her allies cut off, sued for peace; the Italians overwhelmed the Austro-Hungarians, and the whole Dual Monarchy came down in one earth-shaking crash; the Hindenburg Line, which the Germans had boasted was impregnable, gave way before the assaults of Foch, Haig, and Pershing; the beaten Teutons, still fighting doggedly, retreated toward Germany; and finally, with

revolt rearing its head at home, the War Lords, all hope gone, sued for an armistice. The Kaiser and the Crown Prince fled to Holland, and to comparatively unknown men fell the unpleasant duty of signing the humiliating terms that silenced the guns that for more than four years had sounded unceasingly.

All of these mighty events are described in some detail, but, for obvious reasons, more space is given to American achievements. The reader is cautioned, however, against assuming that it was the Americans alone who "won the war." They helped to win the war, but all the Allies, under the direction of Foch, cooperated to that end, and all contributed to the fortunate outcome.

In a special chapter many episodes and aspects of the conflict are gathered under the title of "Sidelights on the Great War." In this chapter the reader will find much information regarding the cost of the war in blood and treasure, submarine and aerial warfare, and such matters, and an effort is also made to appraise the fighting qualities of the various nations and of their leaders.

In the final chapter the chief events that have occurred since the armistice are described, but most space is devoted to the Peace Conference. Years must pass before we shall be able to pass judgment upon the work of the diplomats who gathered in Paris and sought to make a new world out of the fragments of the old. Already, however, it is clear that many mistakes were made and that the hopes entertained by some idealists will not be realized.

It can also be said with confidence that years must pass before Europe can approximate normal conditions. And never in our day can the nations whose wounds were deepest reach a position when their people will enjoy as high a standard of material well-being as existed prior to those fatal summer days of 1914 when the Teutonic War Lords unchained the demons of destruction.

An abundance of maps has been provided, and the world has been ransacked for pictures, many of them taken on the battle fronts. Rarely has a history been so carefully and so profusely illustrated.

RIDPATH'S HISTORY OF THE WORLD

VOLUME X.

BOOK XXX—THE GREAT WAR.



Book Thirtieth.

THE GREAT WAR.

CHAPTER CLXXIII.—THE BURSTING OF THE STORM.



IN our survey of sixty centuries of recorded history it has fallen to us to tell of many wars and rumors of wars, of deeds of blood and violence, of mighty warriors fighting for mighty ends, of good causes that triumphed or went down in the dust of sad but glorious defeat, of evil causes that threatened world progress, succeeding perhaps for a time, yet finally falling to oblivion before those irresistible forces of enlightenment that have made the pathway of mankind to lead upward out of the slough of darkness and despondency and savagery toward the heights of civilization; through the mists of the ages we have seen the raids and counter raids of Assyrians, Babylonians, and Egyptians in the days when the Pharaohs reigned in the land watered by the Nile, when the Pyramids were not weathered by the roughening agencies of nature, and the Memnon was in all its

glory; the myriad hosts of Xerxes have filed before our eyes on their long way to fight the doughty warriors of immortal Greece; we have watched the serried ranks of Macedonian phalanxes conquer at Arbela and overrun Asia and Africa to the confines of the known world, and we have heard their leader sigh for other worlds to conquer; we have known Epaminondas and Cæsar and Attila and Charlemagne and Richard, who was called the Lion-Hearted, and Gustavus, and Frederick, and Washington, and Napoleon, the mightiest leader of them all.

The pages of our volumes have been painted crimson by conquerors treading the paths to glory, and we have thought perhaps that the world could offer no new sensations or experiences in the way of warfare. But we come now, in our own day, to a conflict that dwarfed them all; to a war in which armies were gathered that surpassed in numbers the Persian hosts of antiquity; in which battles were fought that were bloodier far than those at

Cannæ or Leipsic; in which massacres of the innocent and the helpless occurred that would have put to shame a Tamerlane or a Ghenghis Khan; in which new and diabolic weapons were used in the air and below the waters of the seas; in which hundreds of millions of human beings, white men and black men and brown men and yellow men, were ranged on either side; in which even those peoples who kept without the

erned in their actions by reason and the Golden Rule, that they would settle their differences by argument and not by force. They failed to see that, after all, our progress has been mostly in material things, in our conquest of nature by invention; in our building of marvellous machines, that in spirit the man of today has not progressed much beyond the Roman or the Greek, that even yet he is not really a



THAMES RIVER AND WATERLOO BRIDGE, LONDON

horrible maelstrom were divided in sympathies and opinions—a war which brought ruin to peaceful beings in every corner of the world, and which shook the foundations of society and Christian civilization in every country and in every clime.

The Great War had been often foretold, and yet millions had believed that it was impossible. They had heard much of our boasted civilization, and thought that men had been so refined that they were different from their forefathers; that they were gov-

erned in their actions by reason and infinite caprice. The storm burst, sweeping away the unreality in which so many of us had lived and opening our eyes to the real world of bitter actualities, startling us and leaving us dazed as if by a blow.

And yet the Great War had long been preparing in clear sight of those whose eyes were open to see. It broke with the suddenness of an electric shock; yet the storm had long been grumbling and growling on the horizon.

The occasion of the war was the murder of a Hapsburg Prince and Princess in a remote principality of the Balkans; but that murder was merely the spark that set off a magazine in which for generations combustibles had been accumulating. In our own Civil War it was the firing on Sumter that precipitated the actual conflict, yet to understand the real *Why* of that struggle we must begin by studying American history more than two centuries before. And to understand the Great War we must go even further back.

The war began between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, but a study of the causes that provoked a conflict between these two countries does not explain why hostilities, once begun, spread over practically all Europe and to the ends of the known earth. We must, however, begin somewhere, and the most convenient point at which to begin is to examine the enmities that, late in July, 1914, led Austria-Hungary to declare war upon her weaker neighbor to the southward.

The causes of ill-feeling were in part racial. Europe, as we have seen, is inhabited in the main by four great branches of the human stock—the Teutonic, the Slavic, the Latin, and the Turanian. Most of the nations of the continent are more or less mixed in descent; but, speaking generally, we may say that the Germans, the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Dutch, and the English are of Teutonic origin; the French, the Italians, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and the Roumanians are Latins; the Russians, the Poles, the Servians, the Montenegrins, the Croatsians, Slovenians, Bosnians, Ruthenians, Bohemians, Moravians, Slovaks, etc., are Slavs; the Magyars, the Finns, the Tartars of Russia, the Turks, and perhaps the Bulgarians are Turanians.

In its first phase the war was a conflict of German and Slav, of Austria-Hungary with Serbia; and yet this statement without some qualification is misleading. For, though Serbia is almost wholly peopled with people of Slavic blood, strange to say, a majority of the people of Austria-Hungary are of the same stock, but the Germans and Magyars are the ruling races. Now the

Germans, whether inhabitants of the German Empire or of Austria-Hungary, have certain common interests and aspirations, and, in consequence, there developed what is known as the Pan-German movement, or Pan-Germanism. Much the same was true of the Slavs, whether inhabitants of Russia, of Polish Prussia, of Austria-Hungary, or of the Balkan states; and, as a result, there came into existence the propaganda



AUGUSTA VICTORIA, EMPRESS OF GERMANY

known throughout the world as Pan-Slavism. Of course, there were millions of each race who knew little and cared less for these racial aspirations; yet both Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism had a strength, an aggressive strength, that threatened the existing order of things in many countries.

How the conflict of the two forces ultimately produced the war between Austria and Serbia we shall see in detail later.

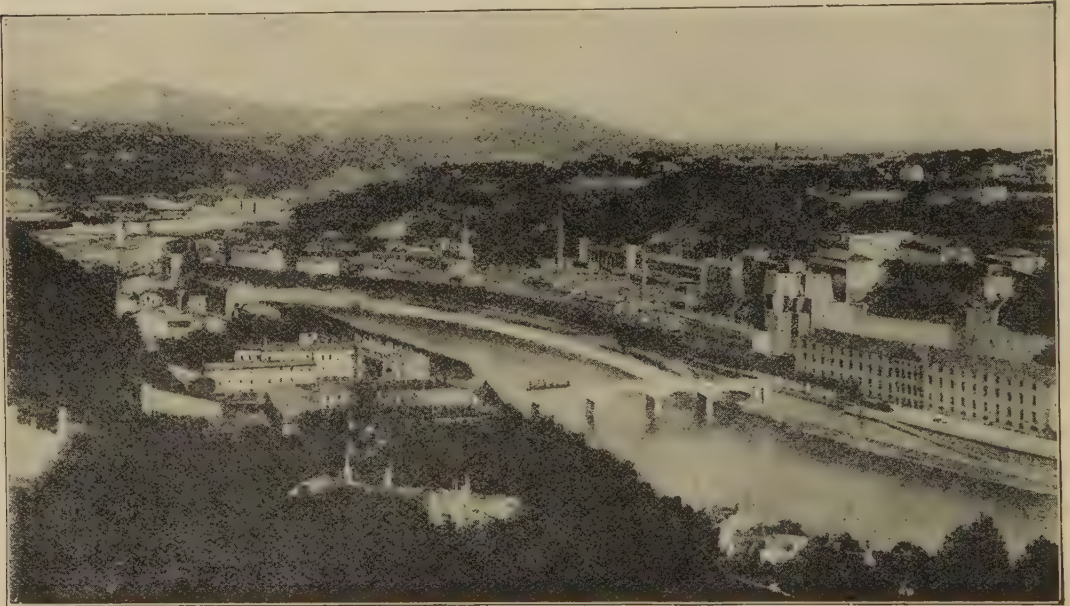
Racial rivalry translated into terms of international hostility was largely responsible for the outbreak of the war and par-

tially explains why Russia sided with Serbia, and Germany with Austria-Hungary; but many other and diverse causes must be sought in order to understand why hostilities spread to so many nations. Another reason why Russia aided Serbia was that her interests in the Balkan Peninsula ran counter to those of the Hapsburg dynasty; while Germany, of course, was bound to lend assistance to her fellow member of the Triple Alliance.

Why did France become involved? She had no large interests in Serbia or in the Balkan Peninsula, and her relations with

The terms of the Dual Alliance, the formation of which we have already described, had never been made public, but it was perfectly well known that it was consummated as a makeweight against the Triple Alliance and that it was aimed at this alliance, and particularly at Germany. That it was not general in its character is shown by the fact that when Russia and Japan were at war, France remained neutral.

French hostility to Germany had been smoldering for over forty years. The dream of a *revanche*, of vengeance for the defeat



LYONS, FRANCE

Austria-Hungary were not particularly hostile. She was in no sense a Slav state; she called herself a Latin country; in the Frankish blood there is, indeed, a strong Teutonic infusion, and France is, in fact, much more nearly related by ties of blood to Germany than she is to Serbia. The answer is a simple one, and probably no one has ever had any doubts on this point: the participation of France in the mighty conflict became inevitable as soon as Russia and Germany became involved in it. With the former she had been allied for a score of years, and with the latter she was on terms of long standing hostility.

of 1870, to regain the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine had never been forgotten by the French people. There had been times when the realization of the dream had seemed infinitely remote; for the low birth-rate of the French and the high birth-rate of the Germans had resulted in a disparity of numbers between the two peoples that rendered the idea that the French alone could defeat their enemy too hopeless to be attempted. Many Frenchmen, in truth, had resigned the idea; but the central object of French foreign policy, of French military and naval preparations, was to strengthen the nation against Germany.

And to a large extent these preparations had become defensive; for the increasing strength of Germany was causing the dream of revenge to fade and to be replaced by a more frightful specter—the dread of future aggressions and defeats at the hands of the hated Teutons.

The people of neither nation were under any illusions regarding the feelings of the other. There were Frenchmen and Germans who thought it wisest to forget the past, and the Governments of each nation outwardly were friendly, but the feud was too bitter really to be forgotten. The Germans knew that in the French nation they had an implacable enemy and that they must be governed accordingly. However, they had ceased to fear the French alone, and some even believed that when a favorable opportunity arose, France should be attacked, despoiled of her colonies and more of her home territory, and reduced to impotence. In the opinion of those who thought thus the terms exacted after the war of 1870-71 had been much too lenient. France must really be "bled white"; reduced to such weakness that she would cease to be an obstacle in the way of the realization of Germany's world ambitions. And it is a notable fact that, war once begun, it was against France that Germany at once launched almost the whole of her immense forces.

Twice, within a decade, the two nations had reached a crisis in their relations. In both cases the quarrel grew out of affairs in Morocco. This country, rich in natural resources and occupying an advantageous situation, is inhabited by people wholly incapable of a high civilization, and Morocco had long been a scene of civil war, brigandage, and outrages upon foreigners. Even the United States became involved in a controversy with it over the well known case of the capture of Perdicaris by the bandit Raisuli. It was generally recognized that some nation must take Morocco in hand, and, as France already held Algeria to the eastward and had aspirations

to control Morocco, the British Government and the French Government, April 3, 1904, agreed to a convention whereby France recognized Great Britain's position in Egypt, and Great Britain agreed to allow France a free hand in Morocco. Later in the same year, Spain recognized French interests in about four-fifths of the country, retaining precedence for herself in the other



CHANCELLOR VON BÜLOW

fifth. The convention with Great Britain provided that France should tranquilize the country and assist the Sultan in introducing needed financial and military reforms. Whatever commercial opportunities existed were to be free to the world.

Soon after the convention was concluded, the German Chancellor, von Bülow, expressed the opinion in the Reichstag that German interests were not endangered by it, and for almost a year Germany seemed

entirely satisfied with the arrangement. The French began their work, and, in January, 1905, sent a special minister to Fez to insist upon a program of necessary reforms. Meanwhile world affairs had undergone an important transformation. Russia, which for some time Germany had been courting, had suffered a humiliating defeat by Japan, and had been so weakened that it was supposed that for years she could not be much of a factor in international affairs. Suddenly Kaiser Wilhelm made one of his impulsive speeches and embarked upon a steamer for the Mediterranean; while the Chancellor announced in the Reichstag that Germany had great interests in Morocco which must be carefully guarded. The Emperor landed at Tangier, and there addressed to German residents of the city a speech that created a worldwide sensation. He declared that Germany had "great commercial interests" in the country, and that its independence and the sovereignty of its Sultan would be preserved.

The world was given to understand that Germany would back up her position by force. The French were much wrought up over the situation, and war seemed a possibility. But France realized that the time was not favorable for a test of strength, because Russia, weakened by defeat and revolution, could not assist her. M. Delcassé, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was virtually forced out of the Cabinet by German dictation. Ultimately the Moroccan question was submitted to a great international conference that met at Algeiras in southern Spain. A compromise was agreed upon, by which other powers besides France were to assist in restoring peace in Morocco and in developing the country.

But the Algeiras agreement failed to settle Moroccan affairs. In 1907, a rebellion broke out against the reigning Sultan, Abdul Aziz, and French and Spanish citizens were slain at Casablanca by fanatical Mohammedans. The French occupied several places in Morocco, and presently the rebel leader, Mulay Hafid, drove Abdul Aziz out of the country. The Ger-

man Government strove hard to gain the favor of the new ruler, but, in February, 1909, concluded with France an unexpected agreement recognizing the special political interests of the French and dropped thereby the policy of insisting upon the independence of the Sultan. France, on her part, promised to uphold the principle of the "open door" and to encourage German business interests in the country.

Seemingly the Moroccan question was definitely settled, but events proved otherwise. Disorders at Fez, in the spring of 1911, rendered it necessary for the French to send a force thither to preserve order. The Germans at first made no protest, but presently seemed to conclude that the act abrogated the Algeiras agreement and that the "Tunisification" of Morocco was about to begin. Germany first endeavored to dicker with France for "compensations" for standing aside, and when France made no offer, the Kaiser again undertook a theatrical stroke. In July, the gunboat *Panther* was sent to the closed port of Agadir, on the western coast of Morocco, and was soon replaced by the *Berlin*, a larger vessel. The excuse for the act was that a war vessel was required at Agadir for the protection of German subjects, but some of the Government's opponents openly asserted that there were no Germans in that place. Some German newspapers, that were close to the Government, asserted that Germany wanted a naval station in Morocco.

In the middle of July, Germany proposed to France that, in return for standing aside in Morocco, France should cede her most of the French Congo and French contingent claims to the Belgian Congo, in case Belgium should ever give up her ownership. But France felt herself much stronger than in 1905 and refused. Russia, her ally, was once more a power to be reckoned with, while Great Britain, a fellow member of the Triple Entente, of which more hereafter, gave notice that she would stand by France. War again threatened, but again there was a compromise. Germany virtually countenanced the establishment of a French protectorate in Morocco and

ceded France 6,450 square miles of the Province of Kamerun; while France ceded to Germany 107,270 square miles of the French Congo.

In studying the causes of the Great War considerable emphasis should be laid upon the two Moroccan episodes, and particularly upon the last. Germany's interference did much to arouse the old French hostility, which had shown signs of gradually disappearing. Germany's purpose

view was the German Crown Prince, who loudly applauded a radical speech made in the Reichstag on the subject. Some writers have held that after the Agadir incident Germany definitely decided to precipitate a war as soon as conditions were favorable, and they point to a number of circumstances that they contend supports this view. One of these circumstances was the marked enlargement of the German army, which we have already de-



TANGIER, MOROCCO

in the Agadir incident has been variously explained, but many writers on the subject have contended that it was for the purpose of feeling out the real nature and strength of the Triple Entente. The outcome was far from satisfactory to the Chauvinist party in Germany, who felt that German prestige had suffered. Resentment against England was very strong, and the German Government was severely criticized for not having taken a more decided stand. Among those who took this

scribed in our chapter on Germany. France, as we have seen, met the increase by her three year law; and Russia, meantime, was also making large increases in both her army and navy. Another circumstance—destined to have tragic consequences—was the carrying out of a mysterious program of railway expansion on the eastern frontier of Belgium. Railway mileage in that region was doubled, and several new double track lines were constructed to unimportant points within

easy marching distance of Belgium. As the region in question was thinly inhabited and was without mineral deposits, the only inference that could reasonably be drawn was that the purpose in building these roads was strategic—and so the event showed.

The enmity of Great Britain and Germany was of much more recent date than that of Germany and France. It grew out of the fact that one was something that the other wished to become. Germany was powerful, yet she seemed insignificant beside the far-flung British Empire. Not even in Roman days had the world ever seen

matter. There were blots upon its record, but the broad prevailing spirit was justice. Peace, freedom to live as the individual listed, a broad tolerance, were some of the attributes that lifted it above any other Empire that had ever existed. It was powerful, but its power was not used for purposes of oppression. Its navy swept the seas, yet even its enemies could not point to a single restriction which it imposed upon the free use of those seas by all. Even in matters of commerce its policy was the most liberal ever adopted by any great nation. A few of its colonies on their



QUEEN VICTORIA MEMORIAL, LONDON

anything which approached that magnificent conglomeration. Its shores were washed by every sea, and men of every religion and every race owed allegiance to its flag. Its population was four times as great as that of the Roman Empire, and its area three times as extensive. Its merchant ships swung to every breeze that blew, and its navy more than matched the combined forces of any other two nations. Nor were the material aspects of this great political phenomenon by any means the most wonderful. As with every political organism, its authority rested in the last analysis upon force; but yet in a larger sense it was a triumph of mind and spirit over

own initiative had granted slight preferences in the matter of duties on goods coming from the Motherland, but otherwise in the colonies British goods competed on equal terms with those from other lands; while in the home land itself, as all the world knew, the policy was one of free trade with all.

The British Empire had arrived; the German Empire was in the making. As we have already seen, the latter Empire had its origin in the petty possessions of a minor German house, later famed as the House of Hohenzollern. Of all the famous royal families whose story is recorded by history, this has been one of the most energetic,

ambitious, and persistent. Unlike other royal houses, it has numbered hardly a weak prince in all its long line. Many have been unscrupulous and some have been cruel, but to this House weakness has been the sin against the Holy Ghost. From the time when, early in the fifteenth century, Frederick of Hohenzollern, a petty count in the Alps, bought Brandenburg, the history of the family was one of almost constantly increasing power. The steps by which the rulers built up Prussia, how they made it the most powerful state in Germany, and finally the dominant state in a new German Empire, have already been followed by us, and need no further consideration here.

The point to remember is that the formation of a united Germany did not mark the limit of Hohenzollern ambition. And that ambition was one which came to be shared by many of their subjects. History in Germany was purposely given a nationalistic emphasis that it has not received elsewhere. Germans studying how they had realized a big destiny in the past, asked themselves why they should not attain a still bigger destiny in the future. They surveyed their great army, their many and unquestioned achievements in war, science, literature, and other activities, and gradually there developed in the minds of many an almost fanatical conviction that their "Kultur" must save the world. That they exaggerated their own achievements and perfections and failed to give due weight to those of other countries is undoubtedly true; but for our purpose the significance of the fact remains. "To advance the German idea throughout the world" became the ardent desire of millions of Germans. With the ambition itself we can not quarrel, but we can hardly approve of some of the methods used in realizing it. For unfortunately many Germans, contemplating how "blood and iron" had served as the key to the past, decided that it should also serve as the key to the future. By no means all Germans took such a view, but a large and influential section did, until we find one of the spokesmen of this opinion proclaiming that war is "a biological

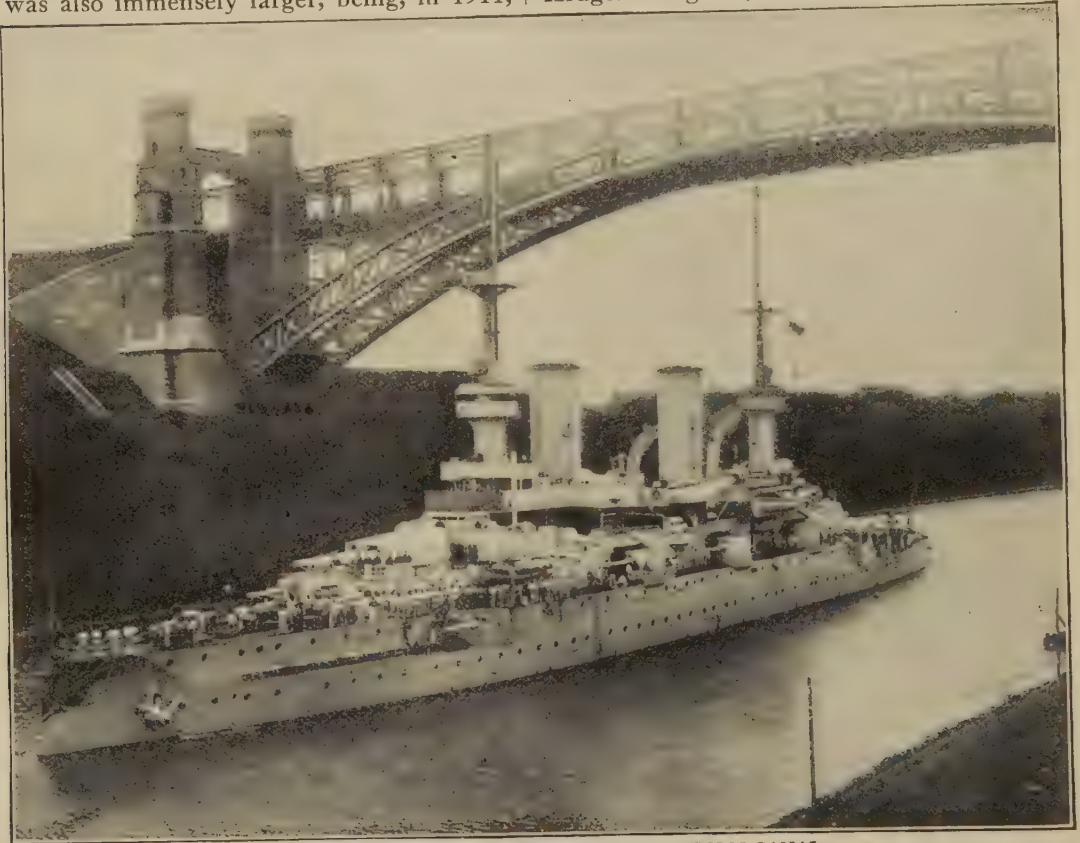
necessity", and asserting that "For us there are two alternatives and no third—world dominion or ruin (*Weltmacht oder Niedergang*)."

As they looked abroad over the world, the chief obstacle in the path of this dream of greatness was the British Empire. The terms in which German writers referred to this Empire were usually the reverse of complimentary. England was "a robber state", which had built up her power by force and fraud; not even by her own strength and fighting abilities but by cunningly inducing others—even Germans—to fight for her. In such a view there was some truth, but it was not the whole truth; nor was it any nearer the truth to insist that England was decadent, that she must fall as did Carthage. Treitschke, the greatest apostle of German aggression and of a reckoning with England, once said: "A thing that is wholly a sham can not in this universe endure forever. It may endure for a day, but its doom is certain; there is no room for it in a world governed by valor, by the Will to Power." Great Britain, it is true, had a weak army, but she had a powerful navy; and besides the intangible elements of her imperial strength escaped the materialistic mind of the Chauvinistic German historian. That India should rally to the defense of the Empire, that even the Boers under their most famous leader should march beneath the Union Jack to the conquest of a German province were possibilities that never entered the German mind.

Germany had nothing that Great Britain desired, but the time came when Great Britain came to think that Germany was a menace to her position in the world. No doubt this feeling was in part due to the rapid development of German manufactures, German foreign commerce, and the German merchant marine. The Germans emphasized this aspect of the matter, and pointed to the methods which the British had used against The Netherlands, France, and other commercial rivals in the past. There is abundant evidence that the rising tide of German competition gave food for thought to many British business men,

yet, after all, the British for almost a hundred years had been wedded to free trade; and they had taken no steps to strike at German commerce either at home or in their colonies. Furthermore, Great Britain's foreign trade in 1913 was the greatest in her history, amounting to almost seven billions of dollars as against five billions for Germany; while her merchant marine was also immensely larger, being, in 1911,

France and Russia had been the powers that Great Britain had watched closest. With France relations reached a very tense state even as late as 1898 over the Fashoda question; while suspicion of Russian intentions as regards India persisted into the present century, and was only allayed by the defeat of Russia by Japan in 1904-05. But British feeling flamed high over the Krüger telegram, which from the diplo-



KAISER KARL DER GROSSE IN KAISER WILHELM CANAL

19,344,487 tons, as against 4,397,098 for Germany.

The chief source of British antagonism to Germany arose out of a fear—which in many individuals amounted to conviction—that Germany meant to overthrow the British Empire by force of arms and erect an empire of her own upon the ruins. If a date must be set for the beginning of this feeling, that date may be given as the day when Kaiser Wilhelm sent his impulsive telegram to President Krüger. Hitherto

matic standpoint, was, of course, a foolish indiscretion; and the mobilization of part of the reserve fleet and the formation of a flying squadron brought from the German Government a disavowal that any offense was intended.

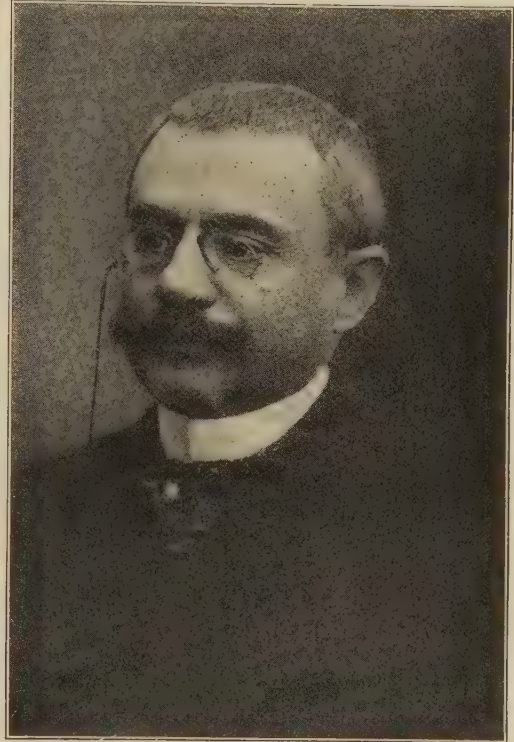
The British did not forget the telegram, however, and their suspicions regarding German designs were again aroused when Germany began vigorously to build a modern navy. Now it is a cardinal principle with the British that the strength of their

Empire is no greater than the strength of the fleet, and that the moment the superiority of the fleet is threatened their Empire is in danger. Signs of unusual activity in naval matters by any nation, therefore, are certain to rouse keen British interest; and, in the case of Germany, suspicion of ultimate purposes was heightened by the frequent use by the impulsive Kaiser of such phrases as "the mailed fist," "imperial power means naval power," "*Welt-politik*," and "our future lies on the water." Nor were there wanting in books and articles written by German publicists outspoken declarations that Germany's "place in the sun" was not commensurate with her real power, that since Germany had come late to the stage of national greatness, she must use her force to break down older Empires like Great Britain, which had managed to grasp so much of the world's surface. Germans began to preach that a conflict with Great Britain was inevitable, and British writers and politicians began to echo the idea. As we have already seen, the British prepared to meet the menace by building more warships, and a great race for naval armaments took place, straining the resources of both countries. When the British suggested, through Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, that both nations "take a vacation" in the building of ships, and the Germans not only ignored the suggestion but increased their program, their action confirmed Germanophobes in the belief that danger impended. Fear of Germany became almost an obsession in certain circles, and the success of the melodramatic play, *An Englishman's Home*, in which the horrors of a German invasion were portrayed, were only one of many symptoms of the feeling of panic. It came to be firmly believed by many Englishmen that the favorite toast of German officers was "To the Day!" Which meant, of course, the day on which Germany should fight England.

Dread of German aggression resulted in a vast increase in the British navy, but a companion agitation led by Lord Salisbury, Lord Roberts, and others, failed;

and the increase made in the British army was insignificant. In the future it will probably be a source of much speculation as to whether the history of the world would not have been vastly different if the British, say in 1911, had increased their army by half a million men.

The effect of British suspicion as to German intentions worked also an important diplomatic revolution. The details of this revolution are, in large measure, entirely a matter of conjecture, but the results are



THÉOPHILE M. DELCASSÉ

better known. So far as we can discover the chief agents in the work were King Edward VII. of England, and Théophile Delcassé, Foreign Minister of France. The principle upon which they worked was the old "Balance of Power", that states must combine against that one whose power or disturbing ambition threatened the peace and safety of the rest. The idea developed slowly, somewhat like the image appearing on a photographic plate, but, by about 1904, Great Britain and France had reached an agreement regarding their own

conflicting interests; and the *Entente Cordiale* had become an actuality. The *Entente Cordiale* was not, however, an absolute and definite alliance, the terms of which were hard and fixed, but rather an "understanding" for the promotion of certain general purposes.

The French and British did not stop here. They were past masters of the art of diplomacy, and in Edward VII. they had probably the most astute and suave diplomatist of the day. In his journeys

efforts to detach Italy from the Triple Alliance were made; and, thanks to the course of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans, these efforts were not without success.

The German secret service was the most complete in the world; and from its various ramifications in European capitals we may well believe that rumors soon began to reach Berlin of what was going on in the field of diplomacy. The Germans themselves took alarm, and came to believe that a conspiracy was on foot to com-

plete an "encirclement" of Germany. Whether the German Kaiser and Government actually believed that their existing possessions and interests were threatened we have no means of knowing; but they led their people to believe so; and they themselves realized beyond question that the new alliance endangered their designs for the future. And the German nation grew restive against what one of their foremost publicists called the "bars and bolts which other people are forging for us." Among Germans generally there was a



CATHEDRAL, MILAN, ITALY

here and there about Europe, to royal courts and fashionable "baths", Edward never let an opportunity slip to strengthen the combination against Germany. The task of the *Entente* diplomatists was rendered easier by the fact that Germany lacked a great deal of being popular in many parts of Europe, for her brusque and forceful methods had not only aroused antagonism but often fear. In 1907, Russia and Great Britain reached an understanding regarding their Asiatic interests; and from that year probably dates the adhesion of Russia to the understanding. Furthermore,

feeling revealed in the words, "The English get everything; the Germans nothing."

To counterbalance the impending loss of Italian support, the Germans redoubled their long sustained efforts at Constantinople, and one of their publicists declared that "it is an absolute necessity for Germany to be able to meet an English attack in the North Sea by an alliance with Turkey in the East."

So much for some of the general conditions that made possible the upflaring of the Great War. We must picture to

ourselves a Continent only a trifle larger than the Dominion of Canada; yet divided among five Great Powers and many smaller ones; supporting a population four times greater than that of the United States, of the most diverse races, customs, and creeds—peoples nursing the grudges and hatreds of many centuries of brutal warfare and oppression, suspicious to the last degree of each other, an easy prey to masters of Macchiavellian purposes. The mere pressure of peoples upon one another was a source of danger; the struggle for existence was something appalling. And, in the last analysis, we can say with absolute truth that the one supreme cause of the great conflict was the need of crowded nations for an outlet to their growing energies and populations.

Granted all these conditions, however, the conflict would not have come if it had not been for the prevailing opinion about war. There were millions of pacifists, of anti-militarists in Europe, millions even in Germany, who were opposed to war; but war was an institution that had come down from the ages, and the reign of the War God was not yet seriously shaken. Even those who deplored warfare, those who saw the world as it really was, realized that they were confronting a fact and not a theory; and that, admirable as was the idea of arbitration and of the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the Hague Tribunal had not yet superseded armies and battleships, and that those nations that wished to survive in the grinding struggle for existence must be able to defend themselves with the

sword, that polite words and appeals were no substitute against the crushing arguments of guns.

Nor, if the truth be told, was there a single considerable nation in Europe a large part of whose people did not believe in the righteousness of war. Great Britain, Russia, France, Austria-Hungary, Serbia, Italy, all were tinged with the spirit of militarism; but, since Germany was the supreme incarnation of the spirit of



TEMPLE OF OUR SAVIOUR, MOSCOW

Mars, let us see what some of her people thought about this subject.

The German who is generally considered the high priest of militarism was Heinrich von Treitschke, who died in 1896. Treitschke was a historian, who pointed out in his books and lectures on Prussian history how in this war Prussia had gained this province, in that war such and such an indemnity; and how the whole German Empire was the outgrowth of successful wars. He not merely defended war as a brutal necessity, but glorified it as bringing

out the best traits in human nature. Treitschke was a bitter enemy of England, and to his influence was largely due the anti-English feeling that manifested itself in Germany at the time of the Boer war.

A disciple of Treitschke was the well known General Frederick von Bernhardi, who, in a book called *Germany and the Next War*, written in 1911, declared that war is "a biological necessity." "Might," he asserted, "is at once the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war." And again: "The appropriate and conscious employment of war as a political means has always led to happy results." Nations not only have a right to make war, but it is their duty to do so, if thereby they can increase their power. And from general principles such as these, he proceeds to consider when, how, and with whom Germany should make war in order to advance her position in the world, "as the greatest civilized people known to history."

For peace propaganda he had not the slightest patience; such aspirations are not only destructive but positively immoral. One reason why the plan of arbitration is all wrong is because under such a system, "The weak nation is to have the same right to live as the powerful and vigorous nation." He concluded that states that advocate pacific ideals usually have sinister motives; they employ "the need of peace as a cloak under which to promote their own political aims. This was the real position of affairs at the Hague Congresses, and this is also the meaning of the action of the United States of America, which in recent times has earnestly tried to conclude treaties for the establishment of Arbitration Courts." In another place he asserted that the United States, "in June, 1911, championed the ideas of universal peace in order to be able to devote their attention to money-making and the enjoyment of wealth, and thus to save the three hundred million dollars which they spend on their army and navy; they thus incur a great danger, not so much from the possibility of a war with England or Japan, but precisely because they try

to exclude all chance of contests with opponents of their own strength, and thus avoid the stress of great political emotions, without which the moral development of the national character is impossible. If they advance farther on this road, they will one day pay dearly for such a policy."

"Our fathers have left us much to do," wrote another German, Tannenberg, in *Gross-Deutschland*, published three years before the Great War began. "The German people is so situated in Europe that it needs only to run and take whatever it requires. The German people finds itself today in a plight similar to that of Prussia at the accession of Frederick the Great, who raised his country to the status of a European power. Today it is for Germany to rise from a European to a world power. . . .

"Public policy prompted by the emotions (*Gefühls-politik*) is stupidity. Humanitarian dreams are imbecility. Diplomatic charity begins at home. Statesmanship is business. Right and wrong are notions indispensable in private life. The German people are always right because they number 87,000,000 souls."

"You must in ceaseless labor offer all the powers of body and soul to the building up and development of our troops," said Kaiser Wilhelm, in 1900. "Just as my grandfather labored for his land forces, so, undeterred, I shall carry through to its completion the work of reorganizing my navy, in order that it may stand justified at the side of my army, and that through it the German Empire may also be in a position to win outwardly the place which she has not yet attained.

"When both are united I hope to be in a position, firmly trusting in the leadership of God, to carry into effect the saying of Frederick William I.: 'If one wishes to decide anything in the world, it cannot be done with the pen unless the pen is supported by the force of the sword.'"

"War is the noblest and holiest expression of human activity," declared *Jung-Deutschland*, the official organ of Young Germany in October, 1913. "For us, too, the glad, great hour of battle will strike.

Still and deep in the German heart must live the joy of battle and the longing for it. Let us ridicule to the utmost the old women in breeches who fear war and deplore it as cruel and revolting. No; war is beautiful. Its august sublimity elevates the human heart beyond the earthly and the common. In the cloud palace above sit the heroes, Frederick the Great, and Blücher, and all the men of action—

clared Daniel Frymann in a widely read book entitled *If I were the Kaiser*. "It is no longer proper to say 'Germany is satisfied.' Our historical development and our economic need show that we are once more hungry for territory, and this situation compels Germany to follow the paths unforeseen by Bismarck."

Many other writers emphasized the economic need of expansion, and Tannen-



BRESLAU, GERMANY

the Great Emperor, Moltke, Roon, Bismarck, are there as well, but not the old women who would take away our joy in war. When here on earth a battle is won by German arms and the faithful dead ascend to heaven, a Potsdam lance corporal will call the guard to the door, and 'Old Fritz' [Frederick the Great], springing from his golden throne, will give the command to present arms. That is the heaven of Young Germany."

"Since Bismarck retired there has been a complete change of public opinion," de-

berg, already quoted, deplored the fact that the right of conquest was not so generally recognized as formerly. "In the good old times," said he, "it happened that a strong people thrust a weak one out of its ancestral abode by wars of extermination. To-day such deeds of violence no longer occur. To-day everything goes on peaceably on this wretched earth, and it is those who have profited who are for peace. The little peoples and the remnants of a people have invented a new word—that is, international law. In

reality, it is nothing else than their work, reckoning on our good-natured stupidity.

"Room; they must make room. The western and southern Slavs—or we! Since we are the stronger, the choice will not be difficult. We must quit our modest waiting at the door. Only by growth can a people save itself. England has its Greater Britain, and America its 'America for the Americans'."

Those who wished to bring all Germans under one rule came to be known as Pan-Germans, but they were not content with this modest aim. The Pan-German League, first founded in 1886, adopted, in 1903, statutes setting forth as a prime object, "to watch over and support all German national movements in all countries where Germans have to sustain a struggle in support of *Deutschum*, with the object of embracing and uniting all Germans on the globe."

Great pains were taken to prevent Germans who emigrated to other countries from forgetting the Fatherland. Special organizations were created for that purpose. In the United States the German-American Alliance was manipulated to that end, and the Kaiser sent his brother, Prince Henry, to the United States, ostensibly to launch a yacht, but really "to solidify the German-American movement in behalf of the Fatherland." Public money was even sent to Brazil and elsewhere to be used in keeping German *Kultur* alive. Shortly before the Great War began, the German Government adopted a provision whereby a German resident in a foreign country might retain his citizenship in Germany! This astonishing concession was based upon the theory that the emigrant would, in the last analysis, remain loyal to the Fatherland.

In course of time, the Pan-Germans really came to favor seizing everything upon which they could lay their hands.

They laid great emphasis upon military and naval preparedness, and, of course, bitterly opposed all plans for disarmament or arbitration.

"Let us not forget the civilizing task

which the decrees of Providence have assigned us," urged one Pan-German. "Just as Prussia was destined to be the nucleus of Germany, so the regenerated Germany shall be the nucleus of a future empire of the West. And in order that no one shall be left in doubt we proclaim from henceforth that our continental nation has a right to the sea, not only to the North Sea, but to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Hence we intend to absorb one after another all the provinces which are neighbors of Prussia. We will successively annex Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Northern Switzerland, then Trieste and Venice, finally northern France, from the Sambre to the Loire. This program we fearlessly pronounce. It is not the work of a madman. The empire we intend to found will be no Utopia. We have ready to hand the means of founding it and no coalition in the world can stop us."

A great middle European empire, a state stretching from "Berlin to Bagdad," domination of the sea, and the building up of a great colonial empire, were among the fantastic dreams of the Pan-Germans. The "lost Teutonic tribes" must be reclaimed and put under the power of the Kaiser.

"'Land, more land,' is the old battle cry which has reverberated throughout the ages of German history from prehistoric times to the present," declared a writer in the *Deutsche Welt*, in 1913. "A nation which tries to acquire land exclusively by peaceful means cannot hope for success, or for permanent possession in the general struggle for 'a place in the sun,' but is usually rewarded by ingratitude and doomed to perish. The desperate situation of the Germans in the Slav and Magyar countries and, we should like to add, the disappearance, which is going on slowly but surely, of the German strain in the Anglo-Saxon States, in North America, in South Africa, and Australia, impress the fact upon our minds that it is not sufficient to further 'kultur' exclusively by peaceful means. Such efforts are misjudged and resisted, if those who are trying to introduce or to further 'kultur' are

simple and indifferent enough to let the proper time go by for achieving racial union and for asserting themselves in the political world, if need be, by the use of armed force."

The men who wrote thus had no conscientious qualms about despoiling the conquered. Nothing must be allowed to stand in the way of the German people, the elect of God, attaining their high destiny.

move about, cannot work and build up, cannot thrive and grow. The great nation needs new territory. Therefore it must spread out over foreign soil, and must displace strangers with the power of the sword."

The Pan-German schemes of conquest were as broad as the globe. As early as 1901, an officer named Von Edelsheim, a lieutenant in the service of the German General Staff, wrote a disquisition upon



THE MUSENO PEAK, BAIA, ITALY

"A nation when her national and fundamental interests do not coincide with those of another nation, must rudely destroy this people's highest interests, must indeed remorselessly cut off from this foreign people the means of living for the future," declared Klaus Wagner in *Krieg*, in 1906. "It is a great, powerful nation which overthrows a less courageous and frequently degenerate people and takes its territory from it. For a great, strong people finds its house too narrow, it cannot stir and

the best method of conquering the United States. Two years later, another writer declared that the "future language spoken in America must be German." The Monroe Doctrine was regarded as "an impertinence." Brazil, which contained many Germans, must be united with the Empire. Another enthusiast thought it "truly a miracle that the German people did not long ago resolve on seizing" southern Brazil and Uruguay. Tannenberg favored having Germany take "under her protection

the Republics of Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay, the southern third of Bolivia, as much as belongs to the basin of the Rio de La Plata, and the southern part of Brazil, where Germans predominate."

There can be no doubt that had it not been for the Monroe Doctrine, Germany would long before have seized some or all of this rich region. But the German Government had discovered that the Monroe Doctrine was a dangerous reality. The men who taught the War Lords this lesson were John Hay and Theodore Roosevelt.

In 1901, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy attempted to compel Venezuela to pay certain debts owed, or alleged to be owed, to their citizens. The situation that developed threatened to be similar to that in Mexico in the time of our Civil War, when France, Great Britain, and Spain seized Vera Cruz, and Napoleon III. ultimately set up a Hapsburg Prince as Emperor of the country. Venezuela, at this time, was under the domination of a dictator named Castro. His rule was unquestionably bad, but the validity of some of the debts in question was doubtful, and our Government was fearful lest a violation of the Monroe Doctrine might occur. Germany was the moving spirit in the attempt, and her behavior in Manila Bay in 1898 and the fact that she had recently secretly tried to obtain naval bases in Lower California and off the Venezuelan coast caused President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay to be particularly watchful.

After considerable diplomatic sparring, Germany, "rather feebly backed by England," established what was called a "pacific blockade" of Venezuelan ports. Secretary Hay protested that such a blockade was a contradiction in terms and violated the rights of neutrals, and he urged that the questions at issue should be arbitrated. Great Britain and Italy expressed a willingness to do so, but Germany persistently rejected the proposal. In December, 1902, Germany and Great Britain severed diplomatic relations with Venezuela and declared a formal blockade. The bombardment of Venezuelan ports and the seizure

of Venezuelan territory appeared imminent. Germany declared that if she did take possession of territory it would only be "temporary," but both Roosevelt and Hay well understood German ambitions in South America and deemed it wise to take no chances. Fortunately they were statesmen who understood the arguments that appealed to the Teutonic mind. Fortunately, also, the United States, at that time, had a more powerful navy than the one which flew the flag of the Hohenzollerns.

President Roosevelt took care to ascertain that Great Britain would willingly submit the dispute to arbitration and that she would not stand by Germany to the point of hostilities with the United States. He concentrated the main fighting ships of our navy in West Indian waters, under command of Admiral George Dewey, the hero of Manila and the most famous of the seamen then living. "I was at Culebra, Puerto Rico, at the time," wrote Admiral Dewey in 1916, "in command of a fleet consisting of over fifty ships, including every battleship and every torpedo boat that we had, with orders from Washington to hold the fleet in hand and be ready to move at a moment's notice."

All being in readiness, President Roosevelt summoned Dr. Holleben, the German Ambassador, to the White House and informed him that unless Germany, by noon ten days later, agreed to arbitrate the dispute, Admiral Dewey would be sent to Venezuelan waters with orders to prevent the seizure of any territory. Much excited, the German diplomat protested that his Imperial Master, having once refused to arbitrate, could not reverse his decision, but the President blandly informed him that it was not a matter of argument but of information, and that Von Holleben would do well to transmit the ultimatum to Berlin. A week passed. The German again called to see the President and rose to go without having said anything about Venezuela. The President then inquired whether he had heard from his Government. The Ambassador replied that he had not heard a word. "In that case," said Roose-

vult, in substance, "I shall instruct Admiral Dewey to sail a day sooner than I intended."

The upshot of the matter was that, within thirty-six hours, the German foreign office cabled word that Germany would arbitrate. Thereupon, Roosevelt publicly congratulated Kaiser Wilhelm on his friendship for arbitration! The biographer of Hay remarks that "the humor of this was probably relished more in the White House than in the Palace at Berlin." A dozen years elapsed before the inside facts were made public and the world learned how German designs upon South America had been balked.

Many German writers expressed views as to the best way to precipitate the Armageddon which they believed both inevitable and desirable. In Pan-German circles the Kaiser was bitterly criticised for not beginning a war at the time of the Moroccan crisis in 1911.

"What men are most honored in the history of the nation?" asked a writer in *Die Post*, early in 1912. "What names fire the German heart with the deepest passion? Not Goethe, Schiller, Wagner, Marx. No. It is Barbarossa, Frederick the Great, Blücher, Moltke, Bismarck, the men of blood and iron—it is they, who have sacrificed thousands of lives, for whom the German people cherish their tenderest feelings and a gratitude which almost amounts to worship. Because they have done what we ought to do to-day. Because they were brave above all others and cheerfully faced responsibility. Middle-class morality, however, only condemns all these great men; for the Philistine is

more jealous of his middle-class morality than of anything else, and yet he renders tribute with thrills of devotion to the bloody deeds of those Titans.

"All this proves incontestably that the German people possess sufficient penetration to recognize the inexorable demands of the present, and that they have sufficient honor and sufficient national imagination and instinct to venerate the personification of power and to see that the situation calls for the sword."



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON

In 1913, a German scholar named Nippold published a book in which he declared that "a systematic stimulation of the war spirit is going on. . . . War is represented not merely as a possibility that might arise, but as a necessity that must come about, and the sooner the better. In the opinion of these instigators, the German Nation needs a war; a long-continued peace seems regrettable to them just because it is a peace, no matter whether there is any reason for war or not, and therefore, in case of need, one must simply

strive to bring it about. . . There is no real issue to-day anywhere between Germany and the powers of the Triple Entente which could be said to make war unavoidable. But that is exactly where the tragedy comes in for those who are inciting the people to war, and here we also find an explanation for the increased agitation in which they are at present engaged—I mean in the fact that they can not show any real point of conflict based on the actual state of international politics. As a



CROWN PRINCE OF GERMANY

matter of fact, if Germany is in any danger to-day, it comes from within rather than from without. The Balkan War, it is true, seemed at last to provide those who are in favor of war with the longed-for opportunity to strike. But now they are all the more disappointed that even this opportunity, which seemed to promise the last great issue in European politics, has apparently passed in peace. And in the absence of any real causes of war, of any natural sources of political antagonism

against the other States of Europe, they now find themselves compelled to create artificial causes. But this can only be done by manufacturing excitement among the population, by stirring up nationalistic feeling and by the systematic cultivation of a warlike spirit—tasks which are being sedulously attended to by our war-loving generals in the Pan-German League, the Defense Association (*Wehrverein*) and similar organizations."

Gradually the German people were worked into a state of frenzy. "There is a smell in the air as of blood, and no one can know when and where the torch of war is going to flare up," ran the report of a meeting of a Pan-German League, published late in 1913. The glory and need of war had become a Teutonic obsession. Only a suitable occasion was lacking, and the hour of doom was hard at hand.

Of the royal family, the Crown Prince was considered the firebrand. "It is only by relying on our good German sword that we can hope to conquer that place in the sun which rightly belongs to us, and which no one will yield to us voluntarily," he declared in 1913. He made no secret of his desire to lead German troops in battle. He was an admirer of Napoleon and dreamed of imitating him in wars of conquest. Ambassador Gerard says that on one occasion the Prince showed his collection of Napoleana to a beautiful American woman who had sought to convince him of the unprofitableness of war. He then told her that "Whether war was profitable or not, when he came to the throne there would be war, if not before, just for the fun of it. On a previous occasion he had said that the plan was to attack and conquer France, then England, and after that my country (the United States of America); Russia was also to be conquered, and Germany would be master of the world."

At times, the Kaiser posed as a friend of peace, and by some Pan-Germans was regarded as an obstacle in the way of realizing their program. But he was merely biding his time. With great craft he was

waiting for an opportune moment. Then, like his ancestors, he would draw "the good German sword" and add dominions to the ancestral possessions of his house. Meanwhile, he was building up Germany's power against "The Day." His life's ambition was summed up in the words:

"From childhood I have been influenced by five men, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Theodorik II., Frederick the Great, and Napoleon. Each of these men dreamed a dream of world empire. They failed. I have dreamed a dream of German world empire, and my mailed fist shall succeed."

In the summer of 1914, the Kaiser believed that his hour had come. The international situation seemed to be favorable, and Germany was ready. In the words of Ambassador Gerard: "It was in June, 1914, that the improved Kiel Canal was reopened, enabling the greatest warships to pass from the Baltic to the North Sea. In the Zeppelins the Germans had arms not possessed by any other country and with which they undoubtedly believed that they could do much more damage to Great Britain than was the case after the actual outbreak of hostilities. They had paid great attention to the development of the submarine. Their aeroplanes were superior to those of other nations. They believed that in the use of poison gas, which was prepared before the outbreak of the war, they had a prize that would absolutely demoralize their enemy. They had their flame throwers and the heavy artillery and howitzers

which reduced the redoubtable forts of Liège and Namur to fragments within a few hours, and which made the holding of any fortresses impossible."

Such quotations as those given above could be multiplied indefinitely, and the deplorable part of the whole matter is that most of the European states were organized more or less in accordance with



CATHEDRAL, STRASSBURG, GERMANY

such principles. Ostensibly most war preparations were for defensive purposes, but there was hardly a nation that, had favorable opportunity arisen, might not have been tempted into using its armaments for purposes of aggression. The words of Goethe still reflected the opinion of a large part of Europe on the subject of war:

"Dream ye of peaceful sway?
 Dream on, who dream it may.
 War still is empire's word!
 Peace? By the victor's sword."

We may now proceed to consider the actual course of events in the region where the war first broke out. We have seen that in the Balkan states the hostility of German and Slav had assumed the position of importance once held by the conflict of Christian and Moslem. The desire of the Dual Monarchy to extend its possessions in the Balkan Peninsula imperilled Serbia; while the dream of Serbia to revive the ancient Servian empire, that had been destroyed by the Turks, conflicted with Hapsburg ambitions, and even threatened their existing dominions—for the reason that several millions of the subjects of that house were of Servian blood.

In a preceding chapter we described the annexation, in 1908, contrary to the Treaty of Berlin, of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which Austria-Hungary had "occupied" since 1878. The definitive union of these provinces to the Hapsburg crown was a bitter blow to the idea of a Greater Serbia, for a large proportion of the people in the provinces were of Servian blood and sympathies. The Servian Skupshchina passed a resolution demanding the autonomy of the two provinces under the protection of the powers, and for Serbia an outlet upon the Adriatic in order to secure her commercial independence. Military preparations were made on both sides, but Serbia realized the hopelessness of a conflict against Austria unaided, and Russia, though sympathetic, was in no position to assist her. Germany promptly backed up Austria, and, in March, 1909, Serbia was obliged formally to declare her acquiescence in the annexation. The outcome was an undoubted Teutonic triumph.

Meanwhile the Turkish revolution had occurred, and, in 1911, came the Italian war with Turkey, and, in the next year, the onslaught of the Balkan League on Turkey, followed, in 1913, by the war between the victors over the booty taken. Diplomatic angling in these years was done

in troubled waters. Italy's action not only indicated her dissatisfaction with the cramping influences of the Triple Alliance, but it threatened German influence at Constantinople, but did not, as the event proved, overthrow it. Austrian self-assertion in the Balkans not only further antagonized Serbia but also Montenegro and Italy. It was owing chiefly to Austria that Montenegro was forced to give up the blood-bought port of Scutari, and Italy viewed with disfavor the extension of Austrian influence on the other side of the Adriatic. Serbia emerged from the war almost doubled in size, flushed with victory and hence less easily controlled, and still more bitter against Austria, because the latter had balked her again in her desire to gain a "window" on the Adriatic. War between Serbia and Russia on the one side and Austria-Hungary and, of course, Germany on the other, seriously impended at one time; and disclosures made, in December, 1914, by Signor Giolitti, ex-Premier of Italy, showed that in August, 1913, Austria was anxious to administer to Serbia the chastisement she actually undertook to give in 1914. But Italy refused to support her in such action, and the step was not taken.

By dint of superhuman efforts, Sir Edward Grey and other diplomats managed to avert a general European war; but the territorial settlement arrived at in the Balkans was to prove as fraught with sources of future trouble as the artificial and really criminal terms of the Treaty of Berlin, of 1878. The important things to emphasize are these: By her insistence upon her ideas as to the Balkans Austria had bitterly antagonized Montenegro and Serbia, yet she had gained little for herself; and the final outcome of the Balkan wars was that her enemies were left predominant in Balkan affairs. It was a realization of this situation which caused Austria, in August, 1913, to desire to send to Serbia an ultimatum practically as radical and sweeping as that which she actually did dispatch a year later.

It was the wish of both Austria and Germany to secure an outlet southeastward

toward Turkey, the plains of Mesopotamia, and other Oriental possibilities for exploitation; and it was no small part of Servia's offending, that, linked up as she now was by land to Montenegro, she stood right athwart the realization of this golden-hued ambition.

There were military men in every European state who believed at this time that the long-impending trial of strength for domination in Europe, if not in the world, would not be long delayed. In March,

ganda threatened the Dual Monarchy at its weakest point—the fact that it was peopled by a great variety of diverse races. With Italian subjects in the southwest anxious to unite themselves to Italy, with Roumanians in the region of Transylvania secretly eager to be united to Roumania, with Galicians and Austrian Poles hearkening to the Pan-Slavic movement, we need not wonder that Francis Joseph and his Government felt anxious over the Servian intrigues, which appealed to some



SARAJEVO, BOSNIA

1913, the new German army bill was announced, increasing the army by 4,000 officers, 15,000 non-commissioned officers, and 117,000 corporals and privates, besides 27,000 horses, and many airships. The French replied with their three year law; while the British were feverishly strengthening their navy, and Russia was increasing both her army and navy, and was planning a system of strategic railways on her western front.

Nations, like individuals, are most susceptible to anything that threatens their weak points; and the Pan-Servian propa-

eight or ten millions of the Emperor's subjects.

Beyond doubt the danger appeared the more vivid to Francis Joseph and his advisers because of bitter experiences in the past. Francis Joseph was a very old man. He had begun to reign in 1848. At that time his dominions included a large part of Italy. But there were national aspirations among his Italian subjects, and he had lived to see some of his richest provinces torn from his grasp and added to those of an Italian Prince. And here once more was developing a situation similar in many

respects to that which had existed in Italy, with Serbia aspiring to play the part formerly taken by the Kingdom of Sardinia.

As early as 1908, fifty-three persons

unite them with Serbia. Thirty-one received prison terms, though two years later the sentence was reversed by a higher court. Meanwhile Croatia was in a ferment,



ARCHDUKE AND DUCHESS OF AUSTRIA AND FAMILY

had been prosecuted for high treason in Croatia, the charge being that they had conspired to separate Croatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia from Austria-Hungary and

unite them with Serbia. Thirty-one received prison terms, though two years later the sentence was reversed by a higher court. Meanwhile Croatia was in a ferment, the constitution was suspended in 1912 by the Ban, or Governor, and a student shot at the Ban while riding in an automobile in the streets of Agram, but missed him and killed instead the Director of Education, who was in the car. The agitation extended to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Hungarian flags were burned as a sign of sympathy with the Croats, and the Diet passed a resolution of sympathy. The blame for such manifestations was, of course, laid at Serbia's door; and, in the opinion of Professor Hart, of Harvard, "all the circumstances point to the certainty that the Magyar statesmen informed the German statesmen who were carrying on the monarchy in Vienna that unless something were done, the Trans-Leithian part of the Empire would crack in pieces."

The time had now come for the beginning of the tragedy.

Toward the end of

June, 1914, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, nephew of the Emperor and heir apparent to the Hapsburg throne, left Vienna to attend the military maneuvers in Bosnia.

With him went his gifted and beautiful wife, formerly the Bohemian Countess Sophia Chotek, but now known under the title of the Duchess of Hohenberg. This lady was not of royal blood, and the marriage, consummated in 1900, was of the sort known as "morganatic", and the Archduke had renounced for his children the right of succession to the throne. The Archduke himself was about fifty years old, of a somewhat fanatical disposition as regards religion and politics. He had been an ardent advocate of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and was, of course, especially hated by the Pan-Slavs. He was also a special friend of Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany. He was reputed to be desirous of erecting a third or Slavic kingdom within the borders of the old Dual Monarchy, to be on a parity with Austria and Hungary. The realization of this object—if he had such an object—would, of course, have been unsatisfactory to the Magyars and would have endangered Pan-Slavic dreams, the last because it would probably have lessened Slavic discontent within the Hapsburg dominions.

On Sunday, the 28th of June, Archduke Ferdinand and his wife paid a ceremonial visit to the town of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. Sarajevo lies in a plain at the outlet of a mountain gorge. Though a small place of only about 45,000 inhabitants, it is extremely cosmopolitan, a meeting place of many races, about one-third of its inhabitants being Mohammedans and many of the rest Servian Slavs. Withal it is remote from the highways of the world, yet it was to be the scene of a tragedy whose results were to shake the world from center to circumference.

The day was the Vidou Dan, the anniversary of the downfall of the Servian Empire, in 1389, on the fatal field of Kosovo, a day celebrated by all true Servians and one that reminded them of the many wrongs perpetrated upon their race. Considering the feelings of the people of Servian blood, it was hardly short of foolhardy for the Archduke to pay such a visit, and it has been repeatedly asserted, on seemingly good authority, that the Servian

Government had warned the Imperial Government that his visit at such a time might prove dangerous.

As the Archduke's car was entering the town, a youth named Nedjelko Cabrinovic hurled a bomb, which failed to injure the noble pair, but wounded thirteen of the bystanders. Cabrinovic was arrested, and the Archduke, the recipient of many congratulations, continued on to the reception at the town hall. But the danger was not yet over. Shortly after the Prince and his Duchess left the reception, another conspirator, named Gavrio Princip, fired at them with a Browning automatic pistol and killed them both.

Those Americans who remember the shock of horror and indignation that spread over the land at the news of the destruction of the *Maine* can form an intelligent idea of the horror and indignation that spread over Austria-Hungary at the news from Sarajevo. The position of the murdered Prince, the many tragic losses of a similar character that had befallen the aged and generally beloved Emperor Francis Joseph, suspicions as to the instigators of the assassinations, all combined to rouse the nation to a pitch of frenzy.

In the world at large the news was received with interest and regret; but only a few well-informed persons here and there realized the dire possibilities that were likely to be unchained by the bloody act. Business throughout Europe proceeded as usual, and, though there was much speculation in the newspapers as to what would be the outcome, the public remained calm, and, for the most part, except in Servia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany, gave the subject little thought or attention. The cry of wolf had been so often heard that men had grown skeptical, and failed to recognize the monster when he actually appeared in view. In Austria-Hungary and Germany, however, there were popular demonstrations against Servia, and the papers called for drastic action; while in Servia itself there existed a feeling of impending danger.

Cabrinovic and Princip, the actual assailants of the Archduke and Archduchess, were

both Austro-Hungarian subjects, but it was confidently believed by the Austro-Hungarian officials that the assassins were members of a conspiracy that had its roots in Serbia, that it was the work of the powerful Pan-Slavic society called the Narodna Odbrana. A judicial commission began an examination of the case, and it was subsequently alleged that the commission had disclosed the following facts: (1) That

he organized for them a system of secret transport in order that they could smuggle their arms into Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that certain Servian customs officials were conversant with the fact.

Upon what evidence these conclusions were based the world was not informed, though confessions—whether obtained voluntarily or extorted by torture is not known—were said to have played a part.



PANORAMA. FLORENCE, ITALY

the plot had been formed at Belgrade by Princip, Cabrinovic, a certain Milan Ciganovic, and Trifko Grabez, with the assistance of Commander Tankosic, of the Servian army. (2) That the six bombs and four Browning pistols were delivered to Princip, Cabrinovic and Grabez, by Ciganovic and Commander Tankosic at Belgrade. (3) That the bombs came from a Servian military arsenal. (4) That Ciganovic taught the assassins how to use the bombs and pistols. (5) That

The details of the investigation were not disclosed, and the proceedings were in secret. Those who were inclined to doubt the truth of some parts of the judicial commission's report made much of this secrecy and also of the fact that the thirty-one Croats convicted of treason in 1908 and subsequently released were convicted on evidence furnished by the foreign office and subsequently shown to be forgeries. Upholders of the report made much of the fact that assassination was

no uncommon thing in Servian history; that King Peter himself owed his throne to the murder of King Alexander by regicides whom he allowed to go unpunished.

Of some facts we can be certain, and as to others, with such conflicting testimony and views, we can only have opinions. Archduke Ferdinand was undoubtedly assassinated by Princip, after an unsuccessful attempt upon his life had been made by Cabrinovic. Princip and Cabrinovic and also Milan Ciganovic were all Austro-Hungarian subjects. Some of the conspirators, and possibly all, were members of the Narodna Odbrana. Very probably the bombs came from a Servian arsenal, and it is equally probable that minor Servian officials were engaged in the plot. That the Servian Government was engaged in it is, however, altogether improbable; for the gain that could be expected from the Archduke's death was small, the danger and odium great. The Servian Government promptly expressed horror of and disapproval of the act.

The Austrian view of the assassination was first given to the world in an ultimatum addressed to Servia on the 23d of July. This communication recited that in 1909 Servia had promised to modify her policy as regarded Austria-Hungary and to live in future "on good neighborly terms" with her, but that far from observing the terms of this formal undertaking, the Servian Government "has permitted the criminal machinations of various societies and associations directed against the Monarchy, and has tolerated unrestrained language on the part of the press, the glorification of the perpetrators of the outrages, and the participation of officers and functionaries in subversive agitation. It has permitted an unwholesome propaganda in public instruction, in short, it has permitted all manifestations of a nature to incite the Servian population to hatred of the Monarchy and contempt of its institutions."

The ultimatum then proceeded to declare that the assassination of the Archduke had been planned in Belgrade, and asserted that in order to put an end to "the

intrigues which form a perpetual menace to the tranquility of the Monarchy", Austria-Hungary demanded of Servia that it publish in its Official Journal of the 26th of July, and also in an official bulletin to the army, regret for the "fatal consequences" of the "criminal" propaganda against Austria-Hungary, that it express regret for the participation of Servian officials in the conspiracy, and that it disapprove and repudiate, and in future prevent, any agitation directed against the destinies of Austria-Hungary.

Servia was also required to do the following specific things: (1) Suppress any publication that should express hatred or contempt of Austria-Hungary. (2) To dissolve the Narodna Odbrana and similar societies. (3) To eliminate from public instruction in Servia everything hostile in tendency toward Austria-Hungary. (4) To remove from their offices all persons guilty of subversive propaganda, the names of such persons to be supplied by Austria-Hungary. (5) "To accept the collaboration in Servia of representatives of the Austro-Hungarian Government for the suppression of the subversive movement directed against the territorial integrity of the Monarchy." (6) To take judicial proceedings against accessories to the assassination plot, and to admit Austro-Hungarian delegates to take part in the investigation. (7) To arrest immediately Commander Tankosic and Milan Ciganovic. (8) To prevent illicit traffic in arms, etc., across the border and to dismiss and punish the frontier officials who facilitated the passage of the assassins out of Servia into Bosnia. (9) To furnish explanations of the hostile utterances of high Servian officials, both at home and abroad, made since the assassination. (10) To notify the Imperial and Royal Government without delay of the execution of the demands above made.

Servia's answer to these formidable demands was to be given "at the latest by 6 o'clock on Saturday evening, the 25th of July," that is, in forty-eight hours.

The few days that followed were among the most fateful in the history of mankind.

The chancelleries of the Entente Powers and of the nations in general had been given no warning that anything so drastic was in preparation, and the sweeping ultimatum fell like a thunderbolt. Many diplomatists at once concluded that it was not the Austro-Hungarian desire that Serbia should comply, and they asserted that the shortness of the time limit was purposely designed to that end, and also to prevent outside interference or mediation. Opinion was well-nigh universal that Serbia could not accept such radical



CROWN PRINCE OF SERBIA

and humiliating terms and retain her independent existence.

Before proceeding further it may be well to dispose of certain wild theories that have been propounded regarding the assassination. Certain pro-Ally supporters of vivid imagination, believing that Austria-Hungary and Germany deliberately provoked a war at this time, have even gone so far as to declare that these powers procured the assassination of the Archduke in order to obtain an excuse for beginning hostilities. Such a theory is, of course,

too foolish for serious consideration; and no less foolish is the opposing theory that Great Britain, or France, or Russia procured the murder for the same purpose. History will undoubtedly record that the assassination was the act of a few misguided, bloodthirsty, obscure individuals; but that the state of Europe was such that the act sufficed to set the world at arms.

The possibilities of immediate danger were as follows: Russia had long been regarded as the special patron and protector of the Balkan Slavs, and to her Serbia naturally turned in this hour of danger. If Russia counselled a rejection of the ultimatum and Serbia followed her advice, war between Serbia and Austria-Hungary would follow, with Russia taking the part of Serbia and Germany that of Austria-Hungary, and with yet further complications looming up in the background. If Russia counselled submission and Serbia complied, Austria-Hungary would gain an influence in the Balkans that threatened the interests of Russia and various other states, including even Italy. But Russia could hardly afford to give such counsel, for repeatedly in the past decade she had yielded in Balkan matters and one more diplomatic defeat would destroy her remaining prestige. The fact that Russia was better prepared for war now than she had been when she gave way before only added to the explosive possibilities of the situation.

The German Government declared that it was unaware of the terms of the ultimatum, but it is now known, beyond question, that Kaiser Wilhelm and those about him not only knew the Austrian demands but heartily approved of them.

As the terms of the ultimatum did not reach the capitals of the Entente Powers until July 24th, there remained only about a day in which to consider the matter before the ultimatum would expire. In the time that did remain, the wires were kept hot by messages from diplomats and statesmen in the various European capitals. As it had been Sir Edward Grey who had been most active in preserving peace between the Great Powers at the time of the Balkan

conflicts, he again was the central figure in the negotiations that followed. It was his opinion that Serbia owed some reparation, and he declared that the idea that any of the Great Powers "should be dragged into a war by Serbia would be detestable." He was anxious for more time in which to conduct negotiations, and urged that Serbia should comply with as many points as possible, in the hope that there could be a further exchange of views. The Crown Prince of Serbia appealed to the Czar to interest himself in Serbia's fate, and Russia frankly declared through diplomatic channels that she could not permit Austria to crush Serbia and become the predominant power in the Balkans. She also asked urgently for an extension of the time limit. Austria, however, refused such an extension, but promised that in case of war she would not annex any Serbian territory. The language of the Austro-Hungarian press was inflammatory and left the impression that compliance by Serbia was neither expected nor desired.

Serbia's answer was handed to the Austro-Hungarian ambassador at Belgrade on the afternoon of the 25th. It was really an almost sweeping acceptance of the demands of the ultimatum, and even upon those points concerning which it demurred it displayed a conciliatory attitude and expressed a wish for further negotiation. It also suggested a reference of the question to The Hague Tribunal or to the Great Powers which had taken part in drawing up the declaration made by Serbia in 1909.

It is clearly apparent that if Austria-Hungary had been really desirous for peace, it could have accepted this reply, or at least have continued negotiations. As it was, the reply was termed unsatisfactory and evasive, and diplomatic relations were broken off the same evening. Preparations for war, already well forward, were vigorously pressed. On the 27th, an invasion of Serbia was begun, and soon after Belgrade was bombarded.

Let us picture to ourselves the Europe of these fateful days. The peoples were beginning to awaken to the momentous possibilities of the situation. The hatreds

and jealousies and suspicions of a thousand years were being unloosed. In Berlin and Vienna and St. Petersburg wild crowds paraded about the streets and demonstrated before public buildings crying for war. The timid and peace-loving shuddered at the thought of what a few days might bring. In London and Paris, among the classes who follow public events, there was suppressed excitement, and in France a sort of resignation to the will of fate. Among military and naval men in many countries there was an eagerness to tread the crimson paths of glory that boded ill for peace. The great War Machines, at once the pride and the despair of the nations, were about to be tried out.

To describe all the details of the vain diplomatic negotiations of these days would require a volume. Sir Edward Grey continued his earnest and eager efforts to find some way of avoiding the impending catastrophe. His main proposal was for a conference of the four Powers, Germany, France, England, and Italy, to mediate between Russia and Austria. France and Italy accepted the plan, but Germany, after a few hours' reflection, declined. Germany's attitude continued to be that the affair was one which concerned Austria and Serbia, and that if any power interfered in behalf of Serbia, Germany must go to war to assist her ally. Russia continued to insist that she could not permit Serbia to be destroyed, and made various proposals for mediation "to examine the satisfaction which Serbia can accord to the Austro-Hungarian Government without injury to her sovereign rights as a State and to her independence." Telegrams were exchanged between the Kaiser, the Czar, and King George—telegrams in which Wilhelm was called "Willy" and Nicholas "Nicky"—in which each expressed his great anxiety for peace. But the avalanche had started. Austria had declared war on Serbia and mobilized her troops. Russia replied with a partial mobilization, which presently became general, July 31st. Germany forthwith sent an ultimatum to Russia demanding that she stop "every measure of war against us and against

Austria-Hungary within twelve hours and notify us definitely to this effect." At 7.10 in the evening of the next day, August 1st, the German ambassador handed to the Russian Government a declaration of war.

Early in the evening of July 29, the Kaiser had summoned a council of war at Potsdam. All the great War Lords were there, confident in the power of the German Military Machine and anxious to "try it out." The meeting lasted far into the night, and dawn of a new day was

ly of hours, perhaps only of minutes. All the people of Berlin who could sought the famous Unter den Linden, for they knew that along it the Kaiser would pass as his grandfather had passed on the eve of the Franco-Prussian War. And when the Imperial automobile, containing the "brass-helmeted War Lord" and the Empress, drove down the avenue, the mob went wild, waving high their hats and shouting "*hoch!*" "*hoch!*" Other cars containing high dignitaries whirled by, and the Crown Prince, with whom were the Crown Prin-



EMPEROR WILHELM II. AND WAR COUNCILLORS

drawing nigh before it ended. It is said that a few voices were raised for peace, but they were drowned by the clamor of those anxious to draw the sword. That was the final decision. On that fateful night at Potsdam "was Armageddon born."

Mobilization had not yet been formally ordered, but already secret orders had been issued, and reservists even in far away German Southwest Africa were en route home on suddenly granted "leaves of absence." On July 31, it was officially announced that Germany was in a "state of war." War itself might be a matter mere-

cess and their eight-year-old son, received an ovation fully equal to that of his father. The war madness was working, and even Germans who had regretted the course of events were carried away by the excitement. A vast crowd gathered about the royal palace, and, at six o'clock in the evening, like his grandfather on the eve of the War of 1870, the Kaiser appeared at a balcony window, surrounded by members of his family, and, "looking down upon the densest and most fervent crowd of his subjects he ever faced, addressed to them in the guttural, jerky, but wonder-

fully far-reaching tones which are his oratorical style," the following homily:

"A fateful hour has fallen upon Germany. Envious people on all sides are compelling us to resort to just defense. The sword is being forced into our hand. If at the last hour my efforts do not succeed in maintaining peace, I hope that with God's help we shall so wield the sword that we shall be able to sheathe it with honor.

"War would demand of us enormous sacrifices in blood and treasure, but we shall show our foes what it means to provoke Germany, and now I commend you all to God. Go to church, kneel before God, and pray to Him to help our gallant army."

In this, as in many another scene, the Kaiser had an eye to the dramatic. He was, in fact, a greater actor than statesman. His hour had struck—the hour, he fondly believed, that was to make him master of Europe, which meant of the world. He was, in truth, about to precipitate the greatest of all wars. From it he expected his house to emerge with a grandeur that would dim the glories of every other royal house, ancient or modern. Little did he dream that, after four crimson years, he would be a fugitive in a foreign land, and the most execrated figure in history. Fate had already marked him. He was to be known, not as "Kaiser of the World," but as "Wilhelm the Last."

The next day was Sunday. In Berlin there were many impressive religious services at which the aid of heaven was invoked in behalf of Germany. That evening a vast crowd gathered once more about the Royal Castle, hungering "for an opportunity to show the Supreme War Lord that Kaiser and Empire were dearer than ever to German hearts in the hour of imminent trial." In the twilight, "the All Highest" appeared once more upon the balcony and beckoned for silence. Men removed their hats and bent forward to hear the Imperial message. It was as follows:

"From the bottom of my heart I thank you for the expression of your love and loyalty. In the struggle now impending

I know no more parties among my people. There are now only Germans among us. Whichever parties, in the heat of political differences, may have turned against me, I now forgive from the depths of my heart. The thing now is that all should stand together, shoulder to shoulder, like brothers, and then God will help the German sword to victory!"

Had the message been a revelation from Sinai it would scarcely have been received with greater reverence. Believing their cause to be really just, the deluded people of Germany rallied for Kaiser and Fatherland, and for four years displayed an example of unity and devotion rarely equalled in history.

Sir Edward Grey had endeavored, at the last moment, to localize the conflict into a war between Austria-Hungary on the one hand and Russia and Servia on the other; but the entrance of Germany into the war meant an inevitable widening of the conflict. France had already given Russia assurances of her support. On July 31, the German Ambassador at Paris demanded to know by one o'clock the next day what the attitude of France would be in case of a war between Germany and Russia. To this demand the French Prime Minister, René Viviani, returned the cryptic answer that "France would do that which her interests dictate." France began to mobilize the next day, the 2nd, and Germany declared war on the 3rd.

The main scene had now shifted to the west. Neither France nor Great Britain had great interests, either material or sentimental, in Servia, but both were profoundly interested in the question of the European balance of power. The participation of France was rendered certain by her hatred of Germany and by her alliance with Russia; but Great Britain, although a member of the understanding vaguely known as the Triple Entente, was under no definite engagements to render assistance, except, perhaps, certain naval protection to the west coast of France.

England's attitude now became the all important question. In the light of later events it is easy to see that upon her de-

cision hinged the fate of the world. Had she stood aside, the German navy would have swept the seas, would have isolated and rendered inevitable the capture of the French colonies, would have cut off both Russia and France from obtaining munitions of war; while the triumphant German and Austro-Hungarian armies would have captured Paris, smashed the Russian forces into irretrievable ruin; and

and watched Austria be overwhelmed by Prussia, only to be chastised in turn in 1870.

The Central Powers naturally desired Great Britain to remain neutral. Negotiations to that end were begun by Germany as early as the 29th of July. On that day, the German Chancellor made a bid for British neutrality by informing Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin, that Germany was prepared to guarantee that if Great Britain would remain at peace, she would not make any territorial acquisitions at the expense of France. Sir E. Goschen inquired whether this guarantee would apply to French colonies, and the reply was that Germany was unable to give a similar undertaking in that respect.

The Germans undoubtedly believed that conditions were favorable for Great Britain's remaining neutral. The existing British Government was probably the most humanitarian that had ever ruled the country. It had built warships, but its great concern was for internal reforms, and it had passed or was urging some great social

would have dictated a conqueror's peace to beaten foes. France would have been reduced to a third-rate power, and enormous indemnities in both money and territory would have been exacted, both from her and from her ally; while Serbia would probably have ceased to exist. Great Britain would have been left alone to face the triumphant Teutonic powers, and would have found herself in the situation of France, which stood aside in 1866

measures. It was in no sense a jingo Government, favorable to aggressive war; and some of its most prominent members, including Lloyd George, had denounced the Boer war in unmeasured terms. Furthermore, even if it had desired to go to war, the times were certainly most inopportune, for the struggle over Home Rule was at its height; Nationalists and Home Rulers in Ireland stood opposed to each other with arms in their hands; some of the most



GREAT BELL, MOSCOW

prominent army officers had recently resigned rather than enforce the Government's policy; and the bloody riot in Dublin had taken place only a few days before.

At the beginning of the crisis, France and Russia had anxiously besought Great Britain to declare herself with them, urging that such a stand would bring the Teutonic powers to a pause. But the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg replied that he did not think his Government would desire to commit itself, and Sir Edward Grey later approved his stand, saying, "I do not believe that public opinion here would or ought to sanction our going to war over a Servian quarrel. If, however, war does take place, the development of other issues may draw us into it, and I am therefore anxious to prevent it."

Seemingly Great Britain's only obligation to France was one that was rather implied or understood than definitely promised. From time to time in recent years French and British naval and military experts had consulted together regarding possible contingencies, and France had concentrated her main fleet in the Mediterranean, while the main British fleet was concentrated in the North Sea and adjoining waters. In November, 1912, Sir Edward Grey had written that these dispositions were not necessarily "based upon an engagement to coöperate in war," yet the British undoubtedly felt themselves under obligation to protect the French coast. The Germans were aware of this obligation, and there were some negotiations regarding the Germans refraining from attacking the Atlantic coast of France, but nothing came of it.

The French were naturally anxious regarding naval matters, for they realized that without Great Britain they would be outclassed on the sea. It was, therefore, with a great sigh of relief that, on August 2d, they received from Sir Edward Grey, the following declaration:

"I am authorized to give an assurance that, if the German fleet comes into the

Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against French coasts or shipping, the British fleet will give all the protection in its power.

"This assurance is, of course, subject to the policy of His Majesty's Government receiving the support of Parliament, and must not be taken as binding His Majesty's Government to take any action until the above contingency of action by the German fleet takes place."

It is not improbable that Great Britain would ultimately have been dragged into the war because of reasons mentioned above; but public sentiment was not united on the subject, and the Government was



STATUE OF CHARLEMAGNE, LIÈGE

inclined to hesitate. But even before the assurance just quoted was given to France a course of events had begun that was to resolve all doubts and hesitations and was to result in Great Britain's casting herself whole-heartedly into the mighty struggle. We refer, of course, to the German violation of Belgium.

Germany's action as regards Belgium was based upon military, and not at all upon political, considerations. The Teutonic plan of campaign had doubtless long been agreed upon, for vast military combinations involving the movement and munitioning of over a million men cannot be evolved upon the spur of the moment. The circumstances that dictated it are

obvious. It was well known that, next to Germany, France had the most efficient army in the world; but it was smaller than Germany's, and, as events were to show, it was not so well prepared. Russia, on the other hand, had the largest army in the world; but it was of poorer quality, and, what was important in the present connection, it was widely scattered, and the problem of mobilizing it with Russia's wretched railway system involved a con-

Russians were ready to effect a diversion in her behalf. But the French had long foreseen the plan, and had done what they could to forestall it. All along the line of the German frontier, from Switzerland to Luxemburg, they had built, at a tremendous expenditure of money, a complicated and powerful system of forts and defenses. The French have always been great military engineers, and this line of defense was most cunningly constructed.



AUVERGNE, FRANCE

siderable period of time. Now time is an all important factor in modern warfare, and the nation that gets its blow in first may gain an advantage from which its antagonist may never be able to recover. This was one of the factors which caused Germany to declare war so quickly after Russia had begun to mobilize, and it was the main factor in the Teutonic plan of campaign.

That plan of campaign, in its bold outlines, was this: To throw an immense force upon France and crush her before the

Every fort was not only placed where it could inflict the greatest loss upon an approaching enemy but it was backed up by other forts so placed that in case the first fort was captured, it could be enfiladed by the fire of forts that remained in French hands. The whole country had been surveyed and platted, and every French gunner knew to the fraction of a meter the distance of every spot within range of his gun. At one place, it is true, a gap or "trough" had been left in the line of defense; but any enemy who had

been foolish enough to enter it would have found himself in a death trap from which there would have been no hope of escape.

The Germans knew all about this line of forts, just as, thanks to the ramifications of their wonderful spy system, they knew all about every fort in the world. They probably thought that by using the powerful artillery they had secretly developed they could smash their way through; but they knew well that to do so would take much time—and time was an all important factor. Therefore, they looked elsewhere for an avenue of ingress.

Now the natural military gateway from Germany into France and vice versa is Belgium. It is for this reason that this little country, only about a third the size of Indiana but three times more populous, has for ages been the cockpit of Europe. It was here that Condé and Turenne and William of Orange and Marlborough fought in the days of Louis XIV., and that Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo. This region has, beyond doubt, been the scene of more hard fighting than any other region of its size in the world. How the soldiers swore in Flanders had been mentioned by a novelist even in the eighteenth century, and it was there that our own Miles Standish was saved by his armor of proof from a bullet that otherwise would have laid his forgotten bones "in the Flemish morasses."

An army which succeeds in passing through Belgium finds itself within a few days' march of Paris over country that possesses few natural obstacles to an invader. Furthermore, and this was highly important, almost nothing had been done in the way of constructing fortifications. Practically the only fortress in this region of France was Maubeuge, and even Maubeuge was not of the first class. The French had depended upon the fact that beyond this frontier lay Belgium, a little nation with whom they were on cordial terms; and they had concentrated all their energies on the frontier that faced Germany.

These considerations and the fact that Belgium had only a small and poorly trained army combined to give this route

a particular fascination for the Germans. It was exactly the route they needed to carry out their plan of striking France a staggering blow before Russia could come up.

Unfortunately for them Belgium was on friendly terms with both Germany and France, and, what was still more important, it was a state the "perpetual neutrality" of which had been solemnly guaranteed by France, Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia—the five great powers that were now going to war. This treaty neutralizing Belgium had been signed in 1839. There had been some danger of a violation of the treaty in 1870, on the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, and Gladstone, then Prime Minister of England, had secured from both belligerents a guarantee to respect Belgium's neutrality. In order to make assurance doubly sure, a new treaty was, in fact, signed by France and by the North German Confederation, providing for the neutrality of Belgium during the war and for twelve months thereafter, and declaring that thereafter it should continue to be protected by the Quintuple Treaty of 1839. There can be no question that these treaties were binding upon the German Empire, and that, at the beginning of August, 1914, the inviolability of Belgium was as safe as international law could make it.

Such, however, was the contempt under which international obligations were held that, for many years, it had been suggested that Germany might use the Belgian route by which to strike France; and the reverse possibility had also been mentioned, though much less frequently. It would have been well for France if she had taken the possibility more seriously and had fortified her Belgian frontier. That she did not do so was probably partly due to lack of money with which to do the work, partly to a well founded belief that Great Britain would not quietly permit Germany to cross Belgium.

The dangerous position of Belgium early occurred to Sir Edward Grey, and, on July 31st, he inquired of both Germany and France whether, in case of war, in

view of existing treaties, they were willing to respect the neutrality of Belgium so long as no other power should violate it. France at once replied in the affirmative, but Herr von Jagow, German Foreign Minister, demurred, alleging that her neutrality had already been violated. He said that he must consult the Emperor and Chancellor before returning any answer. He doubted whether any answer would be given, since any reply might disclose a part of the German plan of cam-



HERR VON JAGOW

paign. There were some further negotiations, but no promise was ever made.

The German plan was, of course, already formed. On the 2d of August, German troops invaded and occupied Luxemburg, the tiny state lying southeast of Belgium between France and Germany. The neutrality of this duchy had been guaranteed by the Treaty of London of 1867, and the Luxemburg Government protested energetically, but received the reply that they would be reimbursed for any damage done by the occupation.

On the same day, the Germans demanded

the right to cross Belgium. They asserted that the French intended to march through Belgium to attack Germany, and that it was essential for Germany to anticipate any such attack. If Belgium made no resistance, Germany would guarantee her possessions and independence and would pay an indemnity for any damage done. If Belgium resisted, Germany would consider her an enemy, and her fate must be left to the decision of arms. A reply to the demand was to be returned within twelve hours.

Such was the ominous beginning of Belgium's tragedy. From the young King and his advisers was demanded a sudden and momentous decision involving the fate of their country. To answer in the negative meant the instant invasion of their country by overwhelming forces. To comply meant the loss of their honorable standing as a nation. In either event their country almost certainly would be a battleground, and whether or not the Belgians themselves took up arms, their country would be ruined. Yet there seems to have been no wavering. On the early morning of the 3d, the little state replied that she would defend her neutrality against all who tried to invade it; that the attack which Germany threatened constituted a flagrant violation of international law, and that to submit would "sacrifice the honor of the nation and betray its duty towards Europe." The Belgians would repel, by all the means in their power, every attack upon their rights.

On the same day, King Albert addressed a "supreme appeal" to Great Britain to safeguard the integrity of his country. All hesitation in Great Britain vanished. The British now felt that by entering the war they would not only defend their own safety but that of a small state needing protection. Belgium's need aroused their sense of chivalry and gave to the conflict a glamor and enthusiasm that otherwise would have been lacking. On the next day, Sir Edward Grey demanded that by twelve o'clock that night Germany must agree to respect the neutrality of Belgium. If a favorable reply was not given, the

British Ambassador was to ask for his passports and to say that the British Government felt "bound to take all steps in their power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a treaty to which Germany is as much a party as ourselves."

The interviews of Sir E. Goschen, the British Ambassador to whom the task of presenting this ultimatum fell, with the German Foreign Minister and Chancellor,

War against one of the most formidable combinations of enemies that had ever been assembled, and without the British navy and the help of British gold the house of Hohenzollern would undoubtedly have fallen. Half a century later they had again stood shoulder to shoulder against Napoleon. And at Waterloo one of the greatest of British soldiers had longed for night or for the Prussians. The Prussians came, with Marshal "Vorwärts" at their



WARSAW, POLAND

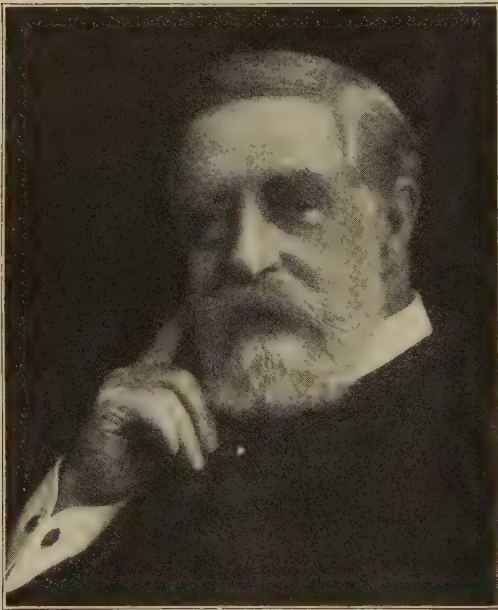
possess great historical and dramatic interest. We must picture to ourselves the tensivity of the moment. Germany was already at war with Russia and France, and now found herself confronted with war with the most populous and wealthiest empire on earth, the power which, in her secret thoughts, she deemed her chief rival. With that power hitherto she had always dwelt upon outward terms of peace. In the age of Frederick the Great they had stood together in the great Seven Years'

head, and Napoleon fell. But a century had passed. Times were changed, and nations were changed also.

To Sir E. Goschen, the German Foreign Secretary, Herr von Jagow, said that Germany's answer must be "No". He explained that Germany "had to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way, so as to get well ahead with their operations and endeavor to strike some decisive blow as early as possible. It was a matter of life and death for them." To

go by the southern route, in view of the paucity of roads and the strength of fortresses, would entail great loss of time. "Rapidity of action was the great German asset, while that of Russia was an inexhaustible supply of troops."

When Goschen paid his farewell call upon Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, he found him "very agitated. His Excellency at once began a harangue, which lasted for about twenty minutes. He said that the step taken by His Majesty's Government was terrible to a degree; just for a word—'neutrality', a word which in war time had so often been disregarded—



SIR E. GOSCHEN

just for a scrap of paper, Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her. All his efforts in that direction had been rendered useless by this last terrible step, and the policy to which, as I knew, he had devoted himself since his accession to office had tumbled down like a pack of cards. What we had done was unthinkable; it was like striking a man from behind while he was fighting for his life against two assailants. He held Great Britain responsible for all the terrible events that might happen. I

protested strongly against that statement, and said that, in the same way as he and Herr von Jagow wished me to understand that for strategical reasons it was a matter of life and death to Germany to advance through Belgium and violate the latter's neutrality, so I would wish him to understand that it was, so to speak, a matter of 'life and death' for the honor of England that she should keep her solemn engagement to do her utmost to defend Belgium's neutrality if attacked."

That night a mob assembled before the British Embassy and proceeded to hurl paving stones through the windows into the drawing-room, but were presently driven away by the police. The next morning an aide-de-camp of the Kaiser arrived, charged to express His Majesty's regret for the occurrences of the night before but ordered to say that from such occurrences an idea might be obtained as to the feelings of the German people toward their "old allies of Waterloo". The Kaiser also requested that King George should be told that Wilhelm had once been proud of the titles of British Field Marshal and British Admiral but that in consequence of what had occurred he must now divest himself of those titles. "I would add," reports Sir E. Goschen, "that the above message lost none of its acerbity by the manner of its delivery." The next day the Ambassador and his suite set out for the Dutch frontier, and, beyond being greeted at every station by insulting gestures and being compelled to listen to the strains of *Die Wacht am Rhein* and *Deutschland über Alles*, suffered no great inconvenience.

There can be no doubt that the Germans had hoped and even expected that Great Britain would remain neutral, and the prospect of the British navy and British gold being thrown into the scale against them may well have caused Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg to feel "agitated", "excited", and "overcome". Had the Germans and Austrians known definitely, as early as say July 20th, that Great Britain would enter the war, we may well believe that the ultimatum to Serbia would have

been much more moderate. One may perhaps wonder why, even at this late date, they might not have felt inclined to endeavor to keep peace, but the reasons are, of course, not difficult to discover. The time had passed for diplomacy. Even had the Chancellor and the Foreign Secretary desired to come to terms, they could not have done so. The great German military machine was already in motion. To have drawn back now would have been humiliating to the last degree. All real authority was now in the hands of the

On the same day that the British delivered their ultimatum, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, in the course of a speech in the Reichstag, explained Germany's course in Belgium as follows:

"Gentlemen, we are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law. Our troops have entered Luxemburg and perhaps have already entered Belgian territory. Gentlemen, that is a breach of international law. It is true that the French Government declared at Brussels that France would respect Belgian neu-



DRESDEN, GERMANY

General Staff of the army. The thoughtful among these officers no doubt viewed England's entrance with some misgivings. Still they knew that she could at first put only a few troops into the field, and, confident in their plans and preparations and in the "surprises" they had in store for their enemies, they doubtless thought that they could quickly strike such terrible blows at France and Russia that they could compel peace before Great Britain could bring much of her real strength into play. And how nearly they succeeded events have shown.

trality as long as her adversary respected it. We knew, however, that France stood ready for an invasion. France could wait, we could not. A French attack upon our flank on the lower Rhine might have been disastrous. Thus we were forced to ignore the rightful protests of the Governments of Luxemburg and Belgium. The wrong—I speak openly—the wrong we thereby commit we will try to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained. He who is menaced as we are and is fighting for his highest possession can only consider how he is to hack his way through."

At other times the Germans have asserted that the neutrality of Belgium had already been violated by the French, but this the French and Belgians both vigorously deny. When Brussels was captured, some documents were discovered in the war department and were published as showing that Belgium had long before so compromised her neutrality that it had ceased to have any validity. These documents extended in time from 1906 to 1912, and consisted of notes on confidential conversations between the Belgian Chief of Staff and British military attachés.

German contention. The German invasion of Belgium had no other justification than that set forth in the Chancellor's speech before the Reichstag, and the actual disposition of the French forces is alone sufficient to disprove his assertion that the French were contemplating an invasion of Germany through Belgium. The violation of Belgium was even more unjustified in international law than was Frederick the Great's sudden invasion of Silesia in 1740, and doubtless the Kaiser had his ancestor's example in mind when he countenanced it.

Four of the great and two of the smaller



TOWER BRIDGE, LONDON

They concerned the subject of Great Britain's landing troops in Belgium to protect her neutrality against the Germans. A great deal was made of these documents by German apologists. Belgian, French, and British writers pointed out, however, that the disclosures merely showed that even then Belgium feared a danger that proved only too real and that her officers contemplated only defense against aggression. As authorities on international law are agreed that a neutralized state does not surrender its right of self-defense in case its rights are violated, it is clear that these papers did not in any way justify the

powers of Europe were now at war. The Teutonic powers had hoped for Italy's co-operation, though it would seem that they had not really depended upon it. Italy, however, had lost her enthusiasm for the Triple Alliance, nor was Austria-Hungary's course with regard to Servia at all to her mind. Italy herself had ambitions on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and she had no desire to see the House of Hapsburg strengthen itself there. Her influence had been cast for peace, and she had supported Sir Edward Grey's efforts in that direction. On the 1st of August, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Marquis di San

Guiliano, informed the French Ambassador at Rome that Italy regarded the war undertaken by Austria, and the consequences that might result from it, as "aggressive" in character, and, therefore, "in conflict with the purely defensive character of the Triple Alliance." Under such circumstances Italy would remain neutral. Had Italy entered the war at this time and thrown her forces against southeastern France, France would have been conquered; but that she did not do so came as no surprise to those who had followed European history in recent years. The world owes Italy a great debt.

Little Montenegro, whose people were of Servian blood and whose King was the father-in-law of the King of Serbia, declared war on Austria on August 7th. She had not forgotten Austria's part in the loss of Scutari.

In the Far East, Germany found yet another enemy. Japan was an ally of Great Britain, and, though the terms of their alliance hardly required her to enter the conflict, she had not forgotten Germany's part in depriving her of the fruits of the war with China and she was also anxious to eliminate German influence in the Orient. She declared war on August 23d, and proceeded in leisurely fashion to pick up German possessions in the Far East.

All of the first-rate powers of the world, except the United States, more than half of mankind, and over two-thirds of all Christians, were now at war. For years pacifists had been saying that such a thing was impossible; yet, despite Hague tribunals and treaties of arbitration, the call to violence had gone forth; and men sprang up to answer the summons of the fiery cross with all the alacrity of old. Man was still a fighting, not a reasoning, animal. Right, justice, compassion, pity, love—all had ceased to be. Primal instincts once more resumed full sway, and there was "no law except the sword, unsheathed and uncontrolled."

"How could the Armageddon have been avoided?" the world has asked and is still asking. There were a number of alter-

natives by which the immediate occasion for the war could probably have been passed. If Serbia had bowed to all the conditions of the Austrian ultimatum and consented to lose her independence, or if Austria had accepted the answer that was returned, there would have been no war, and the same outcome would probably have resulted if Austria had accepted the proffered mediation of the powers. If Russia had stood back and permitted Austria to overrun Serbia, the war would have been confined to Serbia and Austria. If Germany, on the other hand, had stood aside, the conflict would have been between Russia and Serbia on the one hand and Austria-Hungary on the other. Really, however, such speculation, though interesting, is of little value. European relations being such as they were, a general war became inevitable the moment Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. The Germanic powers were determined that Serbia must be chastised and were willing to risk a general war rather than forego the pleasure. Russia was willing to go to war rather than permit the execution of this purpose.

As usual in such cases, each side has its theory of how the war originated. The pro-Ally view is that for years Germany had been preparing for the war, and some pro-Ally writers have even declared that Germany determined after the Agadir incident to make war in 1914 immediately after the harvests were gathered. In support of their contention, they point to Germany's great war preparations, to the fact that she refused to counsel Austria-Hungary to adopt a moderate course, to the fact that the first declarations of war came from the Central Powers. Germany, they assert, had long been looking forward to "The Day" and talking of when Germany's "hour" should strike, of her "place in the sun," of the need of aggressive war in order to assure her a greater position in the world. According to this view, Germany realized that she and her ally were relatively stronger than they would likely be in the future. Russia's naval and military strength was greatly

increasing, not only in ships and men but also by reason of the beginning of a network of strategic railways. The naval race between Germany and Great Britain was turning in Britain's favor, and the German navy would be relatively weaker in 1915 than in 1914. Furthermore, just at the critical juncture, France was disturbed by financial and political trouble; Russia was in the midst of a great strike; while Great Britain was in the throes of

was one of German civilization against the hordes of Slavic barbarism, that Germany and Austria-Hungary were fighting a defensive war against barbarian aggressors. For the sake of the future of the world, German "Kultur" must be spread about the world with bayonets. After Great Britain entered the war, and particularly after the Germans realized that she, owing to her navy, was their most redoubtable antagonist, the German view of the causes



NAPLES, ITALY

what almost amounted to civil war over the Home Rule question. The British view is that Germany believed that because of this last mentioned complication, Great Britain would remain neutral, and that now was the golden hour to strike.

The Germanic peoples, however, attempted to deny that they were the aggressors. War upon Servia, in their estimation, was rendered imperative by Servian intrigues that threatened the very fabric of the Dual Monarchy. They at first announced to the world that the conflict

of the war somewhat changed. They asserted that Germany was hated because of her success. Her enemies had formed a conspiracy to surround her with enemies and bring about her downfall. "Perfidious Albion" was at the bottom of the plot, and desired to destroy a dangerous commercial and political rival. Hatred of the British flamed forth hot and fierce. "*Gott strafe England*" ("God punish England") became the German watchword, and was written and printed on postcards, letters, dead walls, and even articles

of daily utility. The feeling found its fiercest expression in the poet Lissauer's deadly *Chant of Hate*, some lines of which, as translated by Barbara Henderson, are as follows:

"French and Russians they matter not,
A blow for a blow and a shot for a shot;
We love them not, we hate them not.
We hold the Weichsel and Vosges gate,
We have but one and only hate,
We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe and one alone.

"He is known to you all, he is known
to you all,
He crouches behind the dark grey
flood,
Full of envy, of rage, of craft, of gall,
Cut off by waves that are thicker than
blood.

Come, let us stand at the Judgment
Place,
An oath to swear to, face to face,
An oath of bronze no wind can shake,
An oath for our sons and their sons
to take.

Come, hear the word, repeat the word,
Throughout the Fatherland make it
be heard.
We will never forego our hate,
We have all but a single hate,
We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe, and one alone—
ENGLAND!"

Not all Germans, however, took this view of the war. The celebrated editor Maximilian Harden made use of the following outspoken words: "Let us drop our miserable attempts to excuse Germany's action. Not against our will and as a nation taken by surprise did we hurl ourselves into this gigantic venture. We willed it. We had to will it. We do not stand before the judgment seat of Europe. We acknowledge no such jurisdiction. Our might shall create a new law in Europe. It is Germany that strikes. When she has conquered new domains for her genius then the priesthoods of all the Gods will praise the God of War. Ger-

many is not making this war to punish sinners or to free oppressed peoples, and then to rest in the consciousness of disinterested magnanimity. She sets out from the immovable conviction that her achievements entitle her to demand more elbow room on the earth and wider outlets for her activity. Germany's hour has struck, and she must take her place as the leading power. Any peace which does not secure her the first position would be no reward for her efforts."

After the war began, Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador in London, wrote an account of his English experiences, and these were published in March, 1918. The account created a great sensation throughout the world, Germany included, for in it he exploded the German fiction that Great Britain had secretly contrived the war. He pictured Sir Edward Grey as an amiable gentleman, averse to war, living "mostly in his cottage in the New Forest, taking long walks, and . . . passionately fond of ornithology." This, Lichnowsky added sarcastically, "is the man who was called 'the Liar Grey' and the 'originator of the world war.'" Asquith was equally amiable, and during the critical days of July, "often came to warn us, and he was ultimately in despair over the tragic events. On August 2d, when I saw Asquith in order to make a final attempt, he was completely broken, and, although quite calm, tears ran down his face."

Prince Lichnowsky acquitted the British Government of desiring war. He revealed the fact, not known to him at the time, that a secret conference at Potsdam, on July 5th, promised support to Austria and decided "that it would not matter if war with Russia resulted." Lichnowsky himself worked for peace, but in vain; the War Lords had decided the time was ripe to strike.

In summarizing the events leading up to the outbreak Lichnowsky pointed out: (1) That Germany encouraged Count Berchtold to attack Servia. (2) That Germany rejected the British proposals of mediation, "although Servia, under

Russian and British pressure had accepted almost the whole ultimatum, and although an agreement about the two points in question could easily have been reached, and Count Berchtold was even ready to satisfy himself with the Servian reply."

(3) "On July 30, when Count Berchtold wanted to give way, we, without Austria

world outside Germany attributes to us the sole guilt of the war."

When the crisis came and Lichnowsky and his family left London, "Mrs. Asquith and other friends came to the embassy to say good-bye. A special train took us to Harwich, where a guard of honor was drawn up for me. I was treated like a departing sovereign. Thus ended my London mission. It was wrecked, not by the perfidy of the British, but by the perfidy of our policy. . . . I had to support in London a policy which I knew to be fallacious. I was punished for it, for it was a sin against the Holy Ghost."

Such were the conclusions, not of a partisan of the Allies but of the statesman who represented Germany in Great Britain at the outbreak of the war. His statement is sustained by innumerable other facts and revelations, notably by the disclosures of Dr. Mühlön, at that time a director of the great German firm of Krupps.

The text of Dr. Mühlön's letter was published in German papers and elsewhere. He stated that, in the middle of July, 1914, he was told by both Dr. Helfferich of the Berlin Deutsche Bank and by the head of the Krupp firm that Kaiser Wilhelm knew the nature of the ultimatum that would be sent to Servia, and that he would at once declare war should Russia mobilize. It will be recalled that the German Government repeatedly denied having had any information as to the nature of the ultimatum. His story, in part, was as follows:

"In the middle of July, 1914, as on many other occasions, I had a conversation with Dr. Helfferich, who was at that time the Director of the Deutsche Bank in Berlin and is now the official representative of the Imperial Chancellor. There were certain big transactions (in Bulgaria and Turkey) in which the firm of Krupp took an active interest for business reasons (supplying war materials), and the Deutsche Bank had adopted a negative attitude in the matter. In justification



PRINCE LICHNOWSKY AND WIFE

having been attacked, replied to Russia's mere mobilization by sending an ultimatum to Petersburg, and, on July 31, we declared war on Russia, although the Czar pledged his word that as long as negotiations continued not a man should march—so that we deliberately destroyed the possibility of a peaceful settlement.

"In view of these indisputable facts, it is not surprising that the whole civilized

of the bank's attitude, Dr. Helfferich gave me several reasons, and concluded with the following:

"The political situation has become very threatening. In any case the Deutsche Bank must wait before committing itself further in foreign countries. The Austrians have been with the Kaiser during the last few days. In eight days' time Vienna will deliver a very sharply-worded ultimatum

this Austro-Hungarian move. The Kaiser had said that he regarded a conflict with Serbia as a domestic affair concerning Austria-Hungary and Serbia alone, and that he would not allow any other state to interfere; that if Russia mobilized, he would mobilize too; that mobilization in his case meant immediate war; and that this time there should be no wavering. The Austrians, according to Dr. Helf-



HAMBURG, GERMANY

to Serbia. The ultimatum, which will have quite a short time limit, will contain demands of the following nature: punishment of a number of officers, dissolution of political associations, criminal investigations in Serbia with the coöperation of officials of the Dual Monarchy. In fact, immediate satisfaction will be demanded on a number of definite issues, failing which Austria-Hungary will declare war on Serbia."

"Dr. Helfferich added that the Kaiser had expressed his decided approval of

ferich, were delighted at the Kaiser's determined attitude.

"Thereupon I remarked to Dr. Helfferich that, even before his disquieting communication, I had been very much afraid that a world-war was coming, and that my fears were now converted into absolute certainty. He replied that 'things certainly looked like war, but that perhaps France and Russia would after all reconsider their attitude in the matter. The Serbians decidedly deserved a lasting lesson.'

When Dr. Mühlton mentioned Dr. Helf-

ferich's disclosures to von Bohlen, husband of Bertha von Krupp, heiress of the Krupp works, "Von Bohlen seemed greatly surprised that Dr. Helfferich should possess such information, complained that 'after all, these Government people can never keep their mouths quite shut,' and then made a statement to the following effect:

"He had himself been with the Kaiser during the last few days. The Kaiser

mobilized. This time people would see that he would not change his mind. The Kaiser's emphatic and repeated asseveration that this time nobody would be able to reproach him with irresolution had produced an almost comic effect.

"Vienna's ultimatum to Servia made its appearance on the very day which Helfferich had predicted to me. I was again in Berlin at the time, and said frankly



MENTON, FRANCE

had spoken to him too about his conversation with the Austrians and its result, but had so emphasized the secrecy of the matter, that he (von Bohlen) would not have ventured to tell even his own Board of Directors. But, as I already knew about it, he could tell me that Helfferich's statements were correct. Indeed, Helfferich appeared to know more details than he (von Bohlen) himself. The position was, in fact, very critical. The Kaiser had told him he would declare war at once if Russia

to Helfferich that I found the ultimatum, in form and in content, simply monstrous. Dr. Helfferich, however, expressed the opinion that this was only the effect produced by the German translation. He said he had seen the ultimatum in French, and one could not regard it as at all overdone in its French version. On the same occasion Helfferich also told me that the Kaiser's Scandinavian cruise was only a blind; that he had not arranged it on the customary scale, but was keeping in con-

stant communication (with Germany) and near enough to be reached at any moment. All one could do now was to wait and see what happened. One must hope that the Austrians—who of course did not expect the ultimatum to be accepted—would act quickly, before the other Powers had time to interfere. The Deutsche Bank had already made its preparations, so that it was ready for all eventualities."

Another German who told some of the real facts regarding the beginning of the war was August Thyssen, who was one of the chief iron, coal, and steel magnates of central Germany. At the beginning of the war Thyssen owned mines, iron works, and other enterprises in British India and other colonial possessions, as well as in France and Russia, and controlled the Vulcan Iron and Steamship Building Company of Germany. Herr Thyssen published a pamphlet, late in the war, for the purpose, he said, of opening "the eyes of Germans, especially of the business community, to facts. When the Hohenzollerns wanted to get the support of the commercial class for their war plans, they put their ideas before us as a business proposition. A large number of business and commercial men were asked to support the Hohenzollern war policy on the ground that it would pay them to do so. Let me frankly confess that I am one of those who were led to agree to support the Hohenzollern war plan when this appeal was made to the leading business men of Germany in 1912-13. I was led to do so, however, against my better judgment."

Herr Thyssen asserts that in the period just before the war the Hohenzollerns might have so directed the foreign affairs of Germany as to have secured peace for fifty years, but they realized that a prolonged peace would have resulted in the breakdown of the military system and with that breakdown the power of the Hohenzollerns would have come to an end. For this reason the Emperor and those about him decided to embark on a great war of conquest, and it was necessary to get the support of the commercial community. "They did this," continues Herr

Thyssen, "by holding out to them hopes of great personal gain as a result of the war. In the light of events that have taken place since August, 1914, these promises now appear supremely ridiculous, but most of us at the time were led to believe that they would probably be realized."

Herr Thyssen was personally promised a free grant of 30,000 acres of land in Australia and a loan of £150,000 to enable him to develop his business in that continent. Other firms were promised land in India, which was to be conquered by Germany. A syndicate with a working capital of £20,000,000, one-half of which was to be furnished by the Government, was formed for the exploitation of Canada. Huge indemnities were, of course, to be levied on the conquered nations, and as a result the German manufacturers were to be relieved from taxation for years after the war. On three occasions, the Kaiser himself addressed large private gatherings of business men at Berlin, Munich, and Cassel, and in flowery words made profuse promises to his hearers. He was particularly enthusiastic over conquering India. "India," he said, "is occupied by the British. It is in a way governed by the British, but it is by no means completely governed by them. We shall not merely occupy India. We shall conquer it, and the vast revenues that the British allow to be taken by Indian Princes will, after our conquest, flow in a golden stream into the Fatherland. In all the richest lands of the earth the German flag will fly over every other flag."

The victory was to have been achieved not later than December, 1914, and, at that time, Thyssen and others were to obtain their rewards. In reality, of course, the war did not end at that time, and, a year later, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, one of the chief promoters of the original scheme, began to have interviews of another sort with business men, the object of which was to obtain more money to finance the war. Pressure was put upon these men to force them to subscribe to the utmost of their ability, and Thyssen himself was personally asked to

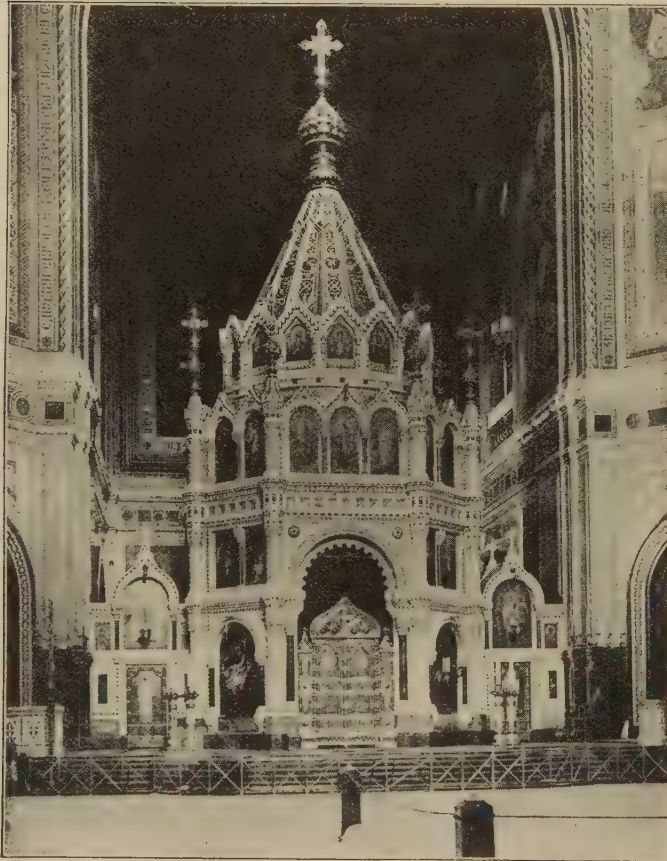
subscribe a million dollars. He declined to do so, and in consequence lost contracts with the war department. The greater part of his business was taken over by the Government at a figure that was equivalent almost to confiscation. Every man who declined to promise a subscription was treated in the same manner.

By the time he wrote his pamphlet,

humbugged and fooled into supporting a war from which the utmost he can hope to gain is to come out of it without national bankruptcy?"

Henry Morgenthau, who was American Ambassador to Turkey in these fateful days, says that the Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople told him that in May, 1914, the aged Francis Joseph had personally informed him that the Central Powers could not accept the Treaty of Bucharest as a settlement of the Balkan question and that only a general war could ever settle that question.

Another of Morgenthau's colleagues, namely, Baron von Wangenheim, the German Ambassador, in a burst of confidence, told him that, on July 5, 1914, he attended the Imperial Conference at Potsdam, to which reference has already been made, and that Kaiser Wilhelm solemnly put the question to each man in turn: "Are you ready for war?" All answered "Yes" except the financiers, who asked for two weeks more in which to sell their foreign securities and make loans. The conference decided to give the financiers time to adjust their affairs, and took great care to prevent suspicions being aroused. "The Kaiser went to Norway on his yacht, von Bethmann-Hollweg left for a rest, and Wangenheim



ALTAR, TEMPLE OF OUR SAVIOUR, MOSCOW

Herr Thyssen was completely undeceived. He realized that Germany could not win the victories predicted and that even if the war should end in a draw, many years would be required for the Fatherland to attain the same fortunate business and commercial conditions existing before the conflict. At the end he queried:

"Can any German to whom such prospects are held out by the Emperor fail to see that he has been bamboozled and

returned to Constantinople."

Fiction is often more convincing than fact, and, for a time, the Teutonic version of the outbreak of the war misled many excellent people. But the chief facts are now clear as day. The responsibility for the war rests upon the houses of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg—two mediæval anachronisms in a modern world—upon the militarists who surrounded them, and, lastly, upon their deluded and unfortunate

subjects. In the final analysis the main blame must fall upon Kaiser Wilhelm II., for the conflict, so fraught with evil to humanity, could never have been begun without his consent, approbation, and secret management.

From small beginnings the House of Hohenzollern had by war, marriage, purchase, and other means, but chiefly by war, built up their possessions until they ruled over one of the mightiest countries

little blood, won great advantages. Germany was the most powerful state on the continent of Europe. The Germans were determined to make their country the dominant power in the world.

French and Belgian hatred of the Germans was no less bitter than that of Germans toward their enemies, while the attitude of Austrians toward Servians and of Servians toward Austrians was nothing short of frenzy. Even Russian



GLASGOW UNIVERSITY, GLASGOW

in the world. It was the ambition of each of the line to leave his dominions larger than he found them. Kaiser Wilhelm II. was no exception to the rule. For a quarter of a century, it is true, he had engaged in no great war, but he had always looked forward to some day waging such a war, and now he thought the time had come. Furthermore, he and his War Lords had convinced the German people that war is both righteous and profitable. In their three last wars the subjects of the Hohenzollerns had, at the cost of comparatively

hostility was so great that they dropped the German name for their capital, which henceforward was to be known as Petrograd. British feeling at the outset was more contained, but the German treatment of the Belgians and a realization of all that was at stake in the mighty conflict ultimately aroused in Great Britain the spirit that was reflected in Kipling's lines:

"For all we have and are,
For all our children's fate,
Stand up and meet the war!
The Hun is at the gate.

Our world has passed away,
 In wantonness o'erthrown.
 There's nothing left to-day
 But steel and fire and stone.
 Though all we knew depart,
 The old commandments stand:
 'In courage keep your heart!
 In strength lift up your hand!'"

In the neutral world voices were raised for peace, and, as time passed, movement after movement with that end in view was launched. But men who knew the real nature of the conflict realized that all such efforts were doomed to disappointment. With the war once begun, there could be no hope of early compromise and peace. The people of the Central Powers believed that for them it must be victory or annihilation; theirs was the spirit of Bernhardt, "world power or downfall." Servia and Belgium knew that their existence was at stake, while the Russians realized that to make peace would involve their paying part of the cost of the war, either in territory or money. France had experienced the bitterness

of defeat in 1870 and believed that the price would be even heavier and more disastrous now. To the British defeat spelled the downfall of the fabric of their vast empire, and, furthermore, they early announced that they would not sheathe the sword until justice had been done Belgium. On the 5th of September, at the time the German armies were nearest Paris, Great Britain, France, and Russia signed a solemn agreement that none of them would make a separate peace, and this covenant was later ratified by others of the Allies. It was to be a fight to the finish, or until all parties were exhausted.

Centuries would not allay the hatreds that the war would provoke. Unborn generations would bear in bitterness and suffering the burdens which the conflict would impose upon their innocent shoulders. And surely, if there be a God of Justice, he will, in His own good time, punish the rulers who in wantonness of pride and ambition unchained the demons of destruction.

CHAPTER CLXXIV.—BELGIUM AND THE RUSH FOR PARIS.



THOSE people who were acquainted with European conditions and had an intelligent knowledge of military matters realized that the war that had now burst upon the world would be deadly beyond all precedent, not so much because of the increased destructiveness of modern weapons as because of the vast numbers that would be engaged in it. We have already stated that more than half the human race were, at least nominally, on one side or the other; but it must be confessed that this statement is somewhat misleading, for while Canada, Australasia, South Africa, India, Algeria, and some other colonies might send considerable bodies of troops, it was evident that most of the fighting would be done

by citizens of the home countries. Even so, the populations concerned were enormous. Before proceeding to a consideration of the actual events of the war, it will be desirable for us to take a survey of the population and wealth and military and naval strength of the combatants. Since Japan's part in the war did not prove a very active one, we shall ignore her resources; though it should be said that the possibility that they might be called into action no doubt was a source of some uneasiness to the Teutonic powers.

The total area of Germany was 210,000 square miles, of Austria-Hungary, 261,000 square miles; and their respective populations, in round numbers, were seventy millions and fifty millions. In addition, Germany owned over a million square miles of colonial possessions, with about fourteen million inhabitants, of whom

only about twenty thousand were of the white race.

On the Entente side, Russia possessed more than four times as much European territory as did her two enemies combined, and her European population alone exceeded their combined populations by twenty millions. France lacked only two or three thousand square miles of being as large as Germany, but her population was almost thirty millions less. The

only a short time before, after the war with Turkey.

The European population of the Allies amounted, then, to a grand total of about two hundred and forty millions, or almost exactly double that of the Central Powers. Outside of Europe, the Allies owned about two-fifths of the land of all the world, and their colonists and subject peoples were numbered by the hundreds of millions. It was evident, however, that each side



GERMAN EMPEROR, EMPRESS AND CROWN PRINCE

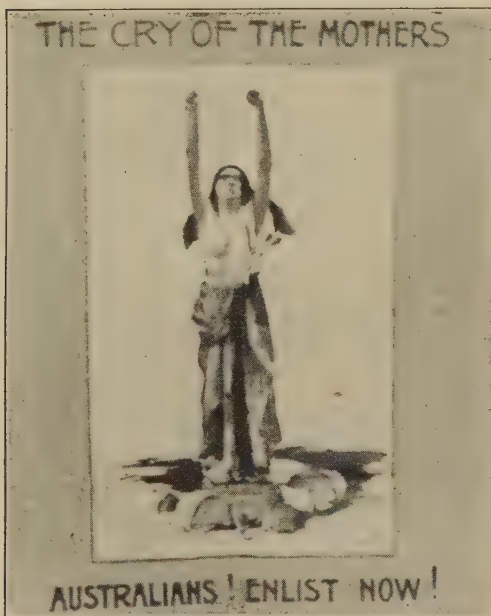
British Isles contain 121,000 square miles, and supported a population of over forty-five millions, or a little less than that of Austria-Hungary. The area of Belgium was 11,373 square miles, and her population about eight millions. Servia contained 33,891 square miles, inhabited by about four and a half millions of people. Little Montenegro had 5,603 square miles, and half a million of people. Neither Servia nor Montenegro, however, could count upon the absolute loyalty of all their people, as many of them had been added

must depend for its fighting men mainly upon its home people, though it was certain that France would be able to draw some troops from Algeria and her other African possessions, Russia from the thirty million inhabitants of Siberia, and Great Britain from Canada, Australasia, India, South Africa, and elsewhere. The total population of British blood in the British Empire was, in fact, about equal to the total population of Germany.

In the matter of wealth, also, the Allies enjoyed a marked superiority. Great

Britain alone, with a total wealth of perhaps \$85,000,000,000, was richer than Germany. France was almost as rich as Germany, and Russia richer by fifteen billions than Austria, while the combined resources of Belgium, Servia, and Montenegro were probably in excess of ten billions. The combined wealth of the Allies was from \$150,000,000,000 to \$200,000,000,000; that of the Central Powers, from \$80,000,000,000 to \$100,000,000,000.

On the sea the superiority of the Allies was overwhelming. In dreadnoughts,



COLONIAL RECRUITING POSTER

super-dreadnoughts, pre-dreadnoughts, battle cruisers, and submarines, Great Britain was about twice as strong as Germany. The sum total of the muzzle energy of the great guns on Britain's "capital" ships—that is, battleships of later types—was 16,728,430 foot-tons, against 8,639,200 for those of Germany; while, if to the above be added the muzzle energies of the great guns on older battleships, the figures stood 22,055,230 foot-tons to 10,914,000. France, though not so strong as Germany, was decidedly superior to Austria-Hungary. In late years, Russia had been rebuilding her

navy and possessed fairly strong fleets on the Baltic and Black Seas, with several dreadnoughts not yet finished. Of "capital" ships the Allies had 51, to 22 for the Central Powers and Turkey; of older battleships they had 107 against 29; of armored cruisers 75 against 11; of submarines, 262 against 37. Furthermore, in ships building, in ship yards, in dry docks, and in coaling stations scattered throughout the world, they enjoyed immense advantages. It was evident to every one well informed upon naval affairs that the Allies would control the high seas, and the only matter about which there was much doubt was as to how much annoyance the Central Powers would be able to inflict upon their enemies.

Upon the land, however, the Central Powers started with a marked superiority, though even here their superiority was rather in readiness, training, and equipment than in numbers. Exact figures are impossible, but the peace strength of the German army amounted to about 870,000 men and the war strength to about 5,400,000; the peace strength of Austria-Hungary was 436,000, and the war strength, 3,600,000. Russia's peace strength amounted to 1,384,000; her war strength to 5,400,000. The figures for France were respectively 790,000 and 5,300,000. Great Britain's regular army amounted to only 137,500 men; but, in addition, she had 251,000 Territorials, comparable to the militia of our own States, though better trained and officered, besides considerable colonial forces.

For years men like Lord Roberts had endeavored to convince their country of the need of raising a larger army in order to combat the German peril, but they had found it like preaching to the dead. Many Englishmen considered such a war improbable or even impossible, while others laid their trust in the fleet. But with the German armies flooding into Belgium and France, Britons at last realized that they must have a greater army. Almost unanimously the nation turned to Lord Kitchener as the man to become the head of the War Office and

to carry out the work of organization. The popular view was voiced by *The Times*, on August 5, and, later in the same day, Prime Minister Asquith announced that Kitchener had been offered and had accepted the post of Minister of War.

Lord Kitchener at this time was 64 years old and was probably the best known military figure in the world. As a youth in his teens he served with honor in the French army after the defeats of Worth, Gravelotte, and Sedan, which had laid France practically at the feet of the soldiery of Prussia. Later he served in Egypt under Sir Evelyn Wood and Lord Grenfell, and reorganized the Egyptian army after the capture of Khartoum and the death of Gordon. A decade later, when Great Britain took up once more the re-conquest of the Soudan, he carried out a systematic campaign against the Dervishes and crushed their hordes at Firket, Atbara, and Omdurman. In 1899, when disaster after disaster befell the British forces in South Africa, Lord Roberts and he went to the seat of war and brought the conflict to a satisfactory conclusion. Subsequently, he remodeled and improved the army in India, and, still later, he became British Agent and Consul General to Egypt, where by his justice and far-seeing measures he conciliated the Nationalist party and gained the confidence of the peasants of the Nile valley. In early life, he had experienced many dangerous adventures, had displayed dash, initiative, and dauntless courage in the field as a subordinate, and had been severely wounded in 1888 in an attack on Osman Digna's camp. But his great talent was for organization and for executive work. It will not be said of him that he was a strategist of high order, nor is it probable that historians will find his conduct of affairs in the War Office faultless, but his mere name and reputation at this period were of enormous value. Englishmen regarded him as the last word in efficiency and ability to bring things to pass.

Lord Kitchener had no illusions regarding the situation. He is reported to have said that the war would last for three

years. He realized that it would be necessary to build up a great British army, and he well understood that the task would take much time.

The raw material for soldiers in Russia was, of course, practically unlimited; while both Germany and Austria-Hungary had a few million more untrained men. Servia and Montenegro, between them, could raise three or four hundred thousand men, not especially well trained but hardy, and many of them already veterans of two



EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES

wars. Belgium maintained a peace force of forty or fifty thousand men, not very well trained.

At the beginning of the war, the German army stood supreme. It was not quite so large as the Russian, but it was better equipped, better trained, better officered, and possessed a confidence based upon four victorious wars fought within a century. From Waterloo onward, down to the battle of the Marne, the Prussians, who were the backbone of Germany, had hardly experienced a defeat. Nor had

their military organization gone to seed, as did the Prussian army that was formed by Frederick the Great and that was later defeated at Jena and Auerstadt by Napoleon. The Germans were keen enough not to repeat that mistake, and Kaiser Wilhelm II. spoke the truth when, on August 4, at the historic opening of the Reichstag, he said: "All that human forethought and energy can accomplish in arming a people has been done."

The heads of the German military machine were scientists who were keenly aware that the world does not stand still. No detail had been too small for their care-

were to show, the Zeppelin was hardly to justify its reputation, except for slaughtering non-combatants, and in the domain of the air, since they had concentrated upon aeroplanes, the French were as well equipped as were the Germans.

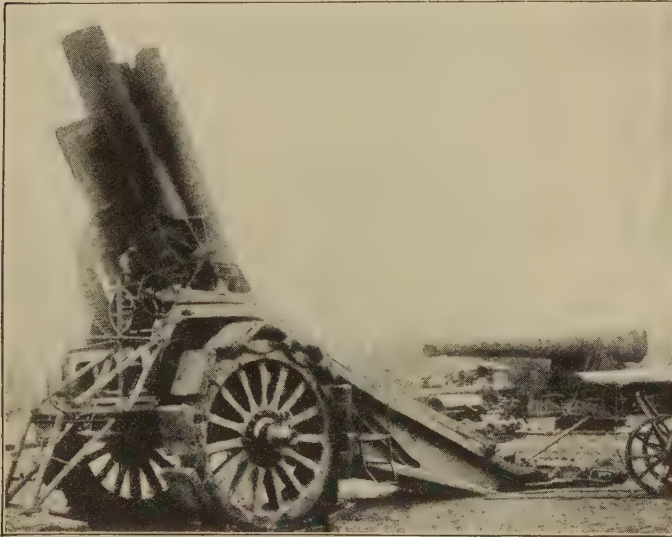
The French army was not much behind the German in efficiency, and yet it was not so well equipped. There were not enough rifles for all the reserves, and the troops still wore the glaringly visible red trousers and black coats. Nor were the supplies of ammunition so adequate, nor the factories for producing it by any means so large and numerous as in Germany.

The French officers were, however, splendidly trained, and the men were full of love for France and of hatred for the Germans. The spirit of comradeship between officers and men was most admirable, there being no social gap such as yawns between officers and privates in the German, the British, or even the American army.

In the matter of weapons, the French light field gun, the "75", was the best in the world; but the Germans greatly excelled in heavy artillery. Their improved Mauser rifle was also superior to either the Lee-Enfield of the British, the

Lebel of the French, or the "3-line" of the Russians. Their reserve supply of ammunition for great and small arms was also immense, and they were equipped for making more at a very rapid rate. Furthermore, as already stated, the Germans were more fully awake to the possibilities of the machine gun than were any of the other powers.

That this was so is not to the credit of the British military authorities. Their armies had had more practical experience with machine guns than any other nation. They had used them with great effect in their wars with the Matabeles, the Dervishes, and other savage and half



GERMAN 42-CENTIMETER GUN

ful attention. Their minds had always been open for ideas and improvements. And, thanks to this spirit and to their untiring labors, they had managed to prepare at least three unpleasant surprises for their enemies: (1) secretly they had evolved an almost invisible gray-green uniform; (2) they had discovered the importance of having an unusually large quota of machine guns; and (3) they had constructed powerful mobile howitzers capable of destroying in short order any fort in existence. They had also devoted much time and vast sums of money to the construction of immense, heavier-than-air flying machines; but, as events

civilized peoples, and frequently their Maxim guns, which fired a stream of rifle bullets, had mowed down the enemy by hundreds. British wars, however, for a century had been fought far distant from the homeland. British military men were inclined to think of battles in terms of conflicts waged thousands and thousands of miles from munition factories. In such conflicts there was always danger of running short of ammunition, and the machine gun is a notorious expender of cartridges. Therefore, the British military authorities deemed it unwise to equip their troops with more than two machine guns to the battalion. This, however, was a war which was fought almost at the doors of munition factories, and cartridges could be delivered almost at the battle front by the train load.

Even the Germans did not understand the full possibilities of machine guns, but it is beyond question that they gave more attention to this weapon than did their enemies. Some of their earlier victories were in part due to the skill with which they drew their enemies upon machine-gun positions and then cut them down with a withering fire.

Another important respect in which the Germans enjoyed a marked advantage over their enemies lay in the fact that they were thoroughly organized for war. In almost every activity of life consideration had been given to the problem of how that activity could be made to conduce to military efficiency. Many of the railroads had been built primarily for strategic purposes, and they could all, at a moment's notice, be used to the fullest extent for the transportation of troops. There was even an arrangement by which the Government subsidized individuals or corporations who purchased motor trucks of a type suited to war needs. At the outbreak of war, these trucks were at once available for the transportation of supplies, and they were no small factor in the unheard-of celerity of the German invasion of France. And so it was in other fields: Germany was a socialized state, with everything under government

ownership or control. Manifestly such a nation enjoyed a great advantage over a nation like England, in which individualism was the rule. France, to be sure, was centralized to a marked degree, particularly in government; but France was a Republic, while Germany was, in the last analysis, still under despotic rule. The German authorities knew their own minds, and were free from many impediments that detracted from French efficiency.

The Germanic powers also enjoyed an immense military advantage because of their central position. They could fight on interior lines, and, by using their superb network of strategic railways, could rapidly concentrate their forces at any given point. It was virtually an impossibility for the Russians to reinforce the French, or for the French to reinforce the Russians; but it was possible for a German regiment to be fighting on the west front in the morning of one day and to be taking up positions on the eastern front by nightfall of the next day, though to transfer large forces naturally involved more time.

In some respects the advantages of a central position were greater than would have been the case a hundred years before; in others, less. Thanks to railroads, it was possible to send troops from one front to the other with infinitely greater speed, but it could not be done so secretly as formerly. The watchful aerial scouts of the enemy were always on the lookout for such movements; and, if a corps or two was detached from the east front and sent to the west, Russian observers quickly reported the fact, and the news was telegraphed to the French and British general staffs. Any considerable weakening of one front was liable to invite an attack from the opposing enemy. In other words, by pushing in at the right time, the widely separated Allies were able to secure a certain amount of coöperation. The Germans and Austrians, aware of this fact, endeavored to make most of their transfers of troops at night.

So much for material matters, which are important in warfare but which lack

a great deal of being everything. In the domain of *morale* it must also be conceded that at the outset the advantage lay with the Germans. There were Poles in the east and citizens of Alsace and Lorraine in the west who had no enthusiasm for the war, but otherwise the whole German people—even the Social-Democrats with but few exceptions—were thoroughly united and were uplifted by a great fervor

war for over a year. As for the French, they were fully as patriotic and unified as were the Germans, but they lacked the German confidence, and did not really "find themselves" until the battle of the Marne.

In both material matters and in *morale* Austria-Hungary, however, was far behind its great ally. Its army and navy were much weaker, its organization for



GIANT SHELLS USED BY FRENCH 240

of patriotism and confidence in their own invincibility. One may or may not believe in the justice of the German cause, but as to German unity there can be no doubt. For decades the German authorities had labored to mould public sentiment in such matters, and they had undoubtedly succeeded. The Russians rose to the emergency with reasonable determination, but they fell far short of German enthusiasm, while easy-going, phlegmatic "John Bull" did not really awaken to the

war was comparatively non-existent, and it was financially a poor nation. Nor did its polyglot peoples, considered as a whole, have much enthusiasm for the war or possess a great deal of patriotism. In fact, one object of the rulers of the Dual Monarchy in precipitating the war had been to prevent the Empire from breaking up as a result of racial antagonisms. It was evident from the outset that Austria-Hungary was the weak member of the partnership, and it remained to be seen

whether the Germans would be able to inoculate their compatriots with their own determined, conquering spirit.

Officially Germany and France began to mobilize on the same day, August 2d, but, in reality, both had begun preparations some time before. The Germans had declared "*Kriegsgefahrzustand*", or "state of danger of war", on the 31st, and had secretly been making preparations at least a week earlier. For years the German military authorities had been looking forward to this call to arms, and no detail was too petty to have received their careful attention. Every trained man not already in the service knew exactly where he must go to find his outfit, complete from rifle to shoes and spiked helmet, and the problem of transporting the troops to the frontiers had been worked out long before. So complete were Germany's preparations in advance that she was able to gain several precious days upon even her best equipped opponent, France. Still the task of mobilizing and transporting three or four million men was too vast to be executed in a few hours, and it was, in fact, about two weeks before the Germans were completely in readiness for their grand stroke.

This does not mean that fighting did not begin for two weeks. German patrols crossed the French border even before war was declared, and, before mobilization was completed, thousands of men had been killed or wounded, but these early conflicts were preliminary operations.

From a comparison of the resources of the belligerents it at once becomes apparent that it was a vital matter to the Teutonic Allies to make the war a short one. On land they were for the moment better prepared, and it behooved them to reap the fruits of that preparation as quickly as possible. Men, money, and sea-power, either actually or potentially, were all upon the side of the Entente Allies. The German army was undoubtedly the most powerful military machine in existence, but common sense dictated that its power should be made the most of in the shortest possible time. The

people of the Entente Allies belonged to fighting races; and the history of a thousand years showed that, given the same training, equipment, leadership, and determination, an Englishman or a Frenchman makes as good a soldier as a German. Individually the Russians might not be quite so good, but what they lacked in quality they made up in numbers; and, even in quality, they might be expected to be fully as good as the Austrians and Hungarians, perhaps better. If a decision was not quickly obtained, Great Britain and Russia would raise and train overwhelming armies; while, in case the struggle should become one of exhaustion, the greater wealth of the Allies, and particularly of Great Britain, might prove to be the decisive factor.

Closely allied with this aspect of the matter was the subject of sea-power. History shows that in most long world-wide conflicts control of the sea has proved decisive. In the present case the Central Powers might expect to see their ships and commerce swept from the seas, their communications with the rest of the world cut off, while their enemies, with business less deranged, could continue to draw upon the world for supplies and munitions. Unless some unknown factors should develop, it was clear that if the Central Powers were to win in any large way, they must do so quickly.

Their military plan was, in fact, based upon this idea of forcing a speedy decision. In a few words, it was as follows: Austria-Hungary was, if possible, to hold the slow-moving Russians in check, while Germany, with virtually her whole army, should descend like a thunderbolt upon France. The Germans hoped in a few weeks' time to strike such mighty blows in the west as to paralyze France and render her helpless for the rest of the war, after which they could turn eastward and assist their ally to dispose of the Russians. A six months' war at most was the Teutonic hope.

It was for this reason that the Germans determined to violate the neutrality of Belgium and to seek to overwhelm France

by one mighty blow. The plan was in no sense a new one. The Germans had had it in contemplation for years and long since had made preparations for it. They had built railroads to the Belgian frontier and had provided stations with numerous side-tracks and long platforms in order that troops and guns might rapidly be unloaded.

If there existed no other evidence of Germany's long and deep laid scheme to violate the neutrality of Belgium, these



GENERAL VON EMMICH

railways would be sufficient evidence in the court of history. In a village containing only a dozen cottages side-tracks were provided on such a scale that, combined, they were able to accommodate trains carrying an army corps of 40,000 men. At one such station, in a thinly inhabited district, there were three platforms, each 500 yards in length. At another station there was a perfect network, two of the side-tracks being a half mile long and equipped with turn tables.

The whole German plan for invading

Belgium had been in readiness long before and it was merely necessary for the General Staff to take the plan out of its pigeonhole and push the necessary buttons. Troop movements of the vastness of the German invasion of Belgium cannot be suddenly improvised on the spur of the moment.

The German plan of invasion was a gigantic one. Along the Alsace-Lorraine front they planned to do little more than hold the French in check, though ultimately they struck hard in the region of Nancy. Their main attack was to be a great enveloping movement from the north-east through Luxemburg and Belgium. This attack was designed to roll back the French left, including the relatively small Belgian and British forces, upon the center, producing a confusion which would result in disaster.

The plan of the High Command was, in fact, to herd the allied armies against the eastern frontier and to bring about a new Sedan on an immensely greater scale. Paris and all of France would then be completely at their mercy. With France out of the war, they could then throw their own armies and those of Austria against the Russians with assurance of another complete success.

On August 2d, German troops crossed the Moselle at Wasserbillig and entered Luxemburg, the little independent grand duchy which lies between France, Germany, and Belgium. The young Grand Duchess vigorously protested against this violation of the neutrality of her country but without avail. The German invasion was not only in violation of the ordinary rules of international law but also of a treaty of 1902 which had been entered into when the railways of Luxemburg had been leased by the Imperial Directorate of the railways of Alsace-Lorraine. By this treaty the Imperial Government solemnly bound itself never to use the railways of Luxemburg, "for the transportation of troops, arms, materials of war, and munitions, and not to use them during a war in which Germany is involved, for provisioning the troops in a

manner incompatible with the neutrality of the Grand Duchy, and, in general, not to institute or tolerate in the management of these lines any act which would not be in strict accord with the duties incumbent upon the Grand Duchy as a neutral state."

On August 3d, after receiving Belgium's defiant refusal to permit a free passage over her territory, German troops under General von Emmich advanced from Aix la Chapelle and crossed the frontier near the Belgian city of Liége.

The Germans still labored under the delusion that the Belgians would not make much resistance, and von Emmich issued the following address to the Belgian people:

"It is with my greatest regret that the German troops find themselves compelled to cross the frontier of Belgium. They act under the compulsion of an inevitable necessity, the violation of Belgium's neutrality having already been made by French officers, who, in disguise, have traversed Belgian territory in an automobile, in order to penetrate Germany.

"Belgians! it is my greatest desire that means may yet be found to avoid a combat between two peoples who have been friends up to this time; formerly, even allies. Recall the glorious day of Waterloo, when German arms contributed to found and establish the independence and prosperity of your fatherland.

"But we must have a free way. The destruction of bridges, tunnels, and railways will be considered hostile acts. Belgians, the choice is yours.

"I hope that the German Army of the Meuse will not be required to fight you. A free path to attack him who would attack us is all we ask.

"I give formal guarantee to the Belgian people that they shall suffer none of the horrors of the war; that we will pay in gold money for the provisions that it will be necessary to take from the country; that our soldiers will show themselves the best friends of a people for whom we feel the highest esteem, the profoundest sympathy.

"Upon your wisdom and a sensible patriotism depends the escape of your country from the horrors of the war."

But the Belgian people felt highly outraged by the German invasion and had no intention of submitting peacefully to such treachery. Though poorly prepared for war, they made what resistance they could and thereby brought down upon themselves retaliation so severe as to shock the world.

Liége was the strongest place in eastern Belgium, and its forts commanded the natural highway and railroad lines that the Germans must control before they could carry out their plan of an invasion of France from the northeast. It was a manufacturing town, its chief industry, in fact, being the making of firearms. Its history dated from the Middle Ages, and it figures in one of Scott's best novels, *Quentin Durward*, a story of the age of Charles the Bold and Louis XI. In those days its citizens were reputed to be "the fiercest and the most untamable in Europe." Events were to prove that its modern inhabitants had not lost some of the characteristics of their forefathers.

At the beginning of August, 1914, Liége was defended by a ring of six major and six minor forts, which had been constructed about a quarter of a century before but partially rebuilt in more recent years. The main feature of these forts was a huge concrete shell, the top of which was about level with the earth, and out of which rose a sort of movable steel cupola, technically known as a "Gruson turret". The heavy guns of the fortresses were housed in these turrets, and the theory was that shells striking the curved surface of the turrets would be deflected off without penetrating. Below were chambers for the garrison, machinery, ammunition, and other stores. The earth, too, was pierced with galleries leading to machine guns, for use against infantry attacks.

As we have seen, the Belgian army was a small one, not especially well trained; and much of the defense of the country fell, in fact, upon troops corresponding

in preparation to our own inefficient militia. Nevertheless, a force had been hurried to the threatened frontier, and this force took up a position on the western bank of the broad river Meuse, with the Dutch frontier on their left and the forts of Liège covering their right. German attempts to throw pontoon bridges across the river were frequently foiled, but at

artillery bombarded the works with high explosive shells, great masses of infantry moved forward through the darkness and tried to carry the works by assault. They were met by a well directed fire that cut them down by thousands, and the assault failed. News of this temporary victory was at once spread broadcast over the world, and roused great enthusiasm in



BELGIAN ARMY OFF FOR THE FRONT

last a crossing was forced, and the Belgians had to retire. On the 6th, the victors joined the forces that had already laid siege to Liège. These forces had crossed the Belgian border further south, and had made their first attack upon the night of the 4th of August. The garrison of Liège, amounting to perhaps 40,000 men of all arms, were outnumbered, but they had managed to dig trenches and build wire entanglements, and met the attack with remarkable determination. While German

the Allied countries and among pro-Ally sympathizers in other countries.

The check proved, however, only momentary. All next day the battle raged, and meanwhile the Germans were bringing up the heavy howitzers that were to prove one of the surprises of the war. It would seem that at Liège, at least in the earlier stages, the Germans did not use their famous 42-centimeter guns, the "Brummers", but relied upon 21- and 28-centimeter Krupp and 30.2-centimeter

Skoda howitzers, the last mentioned weapon being of Austrian make. All these guns were, however, of the same general type as the celebrated 42-centimeter gun; and, as these weapons were to prove one of the sensations of the war, some description of them must be given here.

Certain features of these guns should be particularly noted. In the first place, they were not cannon, in the ordinary sense of the word; that is, they were not "direct-fire" guns, but were operated upon the principle of the old style mortars. With a comparatively small powder charge—considering their bore, which was very great, that of the 42-centimeter being about 17 inches—they hurled a very heavy shell high into the air, the expectation being that it would fall upon the object attacked and that the damage done should result mostly from bursting of the charge rather than from penetration. It was the size of this charge in the shell and not the power with which the shell was hurled that was particularly notable. The truth is that the great coast defense rifles in use in the United States, or the long 15-inch guns of the *Queen Elizabeth*, had much greater range and far greater penetration than did even the 42-centimeter "Brummers."

Another feature of these powerful howitzers was their mobility. Although their barrels were short, the total weight of even a complete 30.2-centimeter Skoda howitzer was almost forty tons. To transport such a weapon would have required an immense number of horses, but, in reality, horses were not used, except now and then at the last stage of a journey. Instead the guns were carried in sections by heavy tractors, having what were known as "caterpillar" wheels, and, on good roads, could move at a surprising rate of speed. The heavier types had to be mounted on specially prepared concrete beds, and it is said that some such bases had been secretly constructed by the Germans in the enemy's country long before the war began. As a rule, the guns were mounted behind a hill or perhaps in some quarry pit, completely out

of range of direct fire from the forts which they were designed to attack.

The gunners of these monsters rarely or perhaps never could see the object of their aim. Their fire was directed by observers upon some natural point of vantage, or in Zeppelins, captive balloons, or aeroplanes. The first shot might go wide of the mark, but gradually the aim would be corrected until the immense shells would be hurled with astonishing



GENERAL LEMAN

precision exactly upon the mark they were designed to hit. In our account of the siege of Port Arthur we have described how the Japanese artillerymen, after the capture of 203-Meter Hill, which overlooked the harbor, were soon able, by using this as a control station, to sink the remaining Russian warships. At that time aeroplanes had not come into use in warfare.

It quickly became apparent that the Liège forts, with their Gruson turrets,

could not withstand the power of the new artillery. Although virtually impregnable against the guns in use when they were constructed, they were smashed into ruin by the terrific power of the shells that landed upon them. Fort Fléron was the first to go, being silenced on the morning of the 6th. This broke the ring of the fortress, and General Lemman, realizing that the defense could not be protracted

General Lemman took refuge in Fort Loncin, and this fort and the others that remained undestroyed continued to hold out, the last falling on August 17. Major Mameche, the commander of one fort which had the task of preventing the Germans from using the Verviers railway line, found that he could hold out no longer, so he blocked up the tunnel through which the railway ran, and then fired the



RUINS OF A FORT AT LIÈGE

beyond a few days, withdrew his field forces to the west side of the Meuse River and blew up the bridges, leaving the remaining forts on the east side to hold out as long as they could.

That same day half a dozen Uhlans succeeded in passing through the gap into the town and attempted to capture the General, but were themselves slain. The troops and most of the population evacuated the city, and the Germans marched in and occupied it.

powder magazine of his fortress, thus blocking the road.

The end of Fort Loncin came on the 15th. It was already badly battered, and the final scene is thus described by General Lemman:

"After some time passed amid these horrors, I wished to return to my observation tower; but I had hardly advanced a few feet into the gallery when a great blast passed by, and I was violently thrown to the ground. I managed to

rise, and continued my way, only to be stopped by a choking cloud of poisonous gas. It was a mixture of gas from an explosion and the smoke of a fire in the troop quarters. We were driven back, half-suffocated. Looking out of a peephole, I saw to my horror that the fort had fallen; slopes and counter-slopes being a chaos of rubbish, while huge tongues of flame were shooting forth from the throat of the fortress. My first and last thought was to try and save the remnant of the

Such was the end of Liège. The delay which its defense had imposed upon Germany was of value to the Allies, though not so important as some writers have assumed. Of far greater importance was the spirit of the resistance. The fame of General Leman and his men went round the globe. The French Republic conferred upon him and upon the city of Liège the Cross of the Legion of Honor. The heroism of the defenders was a bugle call to the hearts of the Allied peoples. Out-



GERMAN INFANTRY LEAVING LIÈGE FOR FRANCE

fortress. I rushed out to give orders, and saw some soldiers, whom I mistook for Belgian gendarmes. I called them, then fell again. Poisonous gases seemed to grip my throat as in a vise."

The soldiers were really Germans, and when the heroic old officer recovered consciousness, he found himself a prisoner. On his way to prison in Germany, he wrote to his sovereign: "My thoughts will be, as they have ever been, of Belgium and the King. I would willingly have given my life the better to serve them, but death was not granted to me."

numbered, without hope of relief, exposed to a bombardment more deadly than the world had ever before seen, these Belgian soldiers, who a few days before had not even dreamed of war, were not too proud to fight for the honor and safety of their country, and they fought on so long as a cannon could be served or a rifle fired. The day of the hero had not set!

Long before the last fort had been reduced, German forces had pushed on past Liège toward the heart of Belgium. The Belgian troops that had withdrawn from Liège had fallen back and had been joined

by reinforcements, and the army thus formed was drawn up with its right wing extending toward Namur, its center resting in the region about Tirlemont, and its left extending northward in front of Aerschot. From about the 10th of August onward, numerous engagements were fought in this region with the screen of German cavalry, popularly known as Uhlans, though this name in its strictest

evitable. The crisis came just when the right wing in southern Belgium was beginning to come into touch with French forces marching up from the south, but before these forces were strong enough to warrant a real stand. It had already been decided that the Belgians should not retreat into France but should withdraw northwestward into the great fortified city of Antwerp. Leaving a garrison of



GERMAN ARTILLERY PASSING THROUGH BRUSSELS

sense is used to designate only one type of mounted troops; and also with other advanced German forces.

On the 10th, the Belgians won a handsome victory at Haelen over a considerable force; and in the next few days, held their own at Eghezée, Landen, Waremmes, and Diest. But the Belgians had only been fighting the advance fringe of the German hosts. When the main bodies of these hosts began to come up, retreat was in-

about 26,000 men in Namur, the main Belgian army fell back past Brussels, fighting rear-guard actions as it retreated toward the selected refuge.

On the 20th, the German tide swept into Brussels, which had surrendered without a struggle, and on which an enormous fine of \$40,000,000 was levied. A celebrated American war correspondent and novelist, Richard Harding Davis, has given us a vivid picture of the entry. Along the

route, to see that no attack or insult was offered, moved the police and special constables. Many of the inhabitants had fled the city; others remained within doors; and the audience who watched the march was made up largely of caretakers and servants.

First came three men, a captain and two privates, with rifles slung over their shoulders, and then "the Uhlans, infantry, and the guns. For two hours I watched them, and then, bored with the monotony of it, returned to the hotel. After an hour, from beneath my window I still could hear them; another hour and another went by. They still were passing. Boredom gave way to wonder. The thing fascinated you, against your will dragged you back to the sidewalk and held you there open-eyed. No longer was it regiments of men marching, but something uncanny, inhuman; a force of nature like a landslide, a tidal wave, or lava sweeping down a mountain. It was not of this earth, but mysterious, ghostlike. The uniform aided this impression. In it each man moved under a cloak of invisibility. To describe its grey-green color is impossible, because it has no color, and yet it absorbs all colors, and reflects no light. At all times the men clothed in it were indistinguishable. They blended with the grey stones of the streets, with the green of the trees; they shifted and merged like drifting fog. Even as you pointed, they dissolved into thin air. It was like a conjuring trick. It is a fact that often you would see advancing toward you a troop of horses and you could not see the men who rode them.

"All through the night, like the tumult of a river when it races between the cliffs of a canyon, in my sleep I could hear the steady roar of the passing army. And when early in the morning I went to the window the chain of steel was still unbroken.... This was a machine, endless, tireless, with the delicate organization of a watch and the brute power of a steam roller. And for three days and three nights through Brussels it roared and rumbled, a cataract of molten lead. The infantry marched singing, with their iron-

shod boots beating out the time. In each regiment there were two thousand men, and at the same instant, in perfect unison, two thousand iron brogans struck the granite street. It was like the blows from a giant pile-driver. The Uhlans followed, the hoofs of their magnificent horses ringing like thousands of steel hammers breaking stones in a road; and after them the giant siege-guns, rumbling, growling, the mitrailleuse with drag-chains clanking, the field-pieces with creaking axles, complaining brakes, the grinding of steel-rimmed wheels against the stones, echoing and re-echoing from the house-front."

The war in Belgium had already taken on a savage aspect, and it was to continue of this character in the days that followed. We have seen that Germany at first hoped that the Belgians would not resist their passage, and, even after the Belgian Government had returned a negative to the German ultimatum, the hope seems to have persisted that at least the resistance would not be very determined. But the Belgians ignored General Von Emmich's proclamation and at Liège and elsewhere displayed a stubborn determination to resist the enemy to the best of their power. The Belgian Government issued proclamations warning the civil population to abstain from hostilities, but there is no doubt that now and then individuals, carried away by indignation or love of country, disregarded these instructions and attacked the invaders when favorable opportunity offered. The right of a civil population to rise against an invader is conceded by international law and even by the "German War Book", but it was a right which the Belgian Government decided that it was best not to exercise, and it was a right which the Germans now refused to recognize.

In excusing their rigorous course in Belgium, the Germans have alleged that the Belgian civil population was guilty of many cruel acts and of other acts not warranted by the laws of war. They assert that in some cases Belgian men and women murdered the wounded or even put out their eyes; that they poisoned German soldiers

quartered at their houses; that they treacherously attacked German troops in occupied towns; and that they were guilty of various other diabolical and unwarranted acts. Some at least of these charges are probably true. The Belgian people were wrought up to a high pitch by the invasion of their country, and some of them, when occasion offered, no doubt did incautious and even cruel things.

were many fendish crimes committed by individual German soldiers in Belgium and northern France during this invasion. This is not to say that such crimes were approved by all the German soldiers or that such a crime as rape, when discovered, was not sometimes punished by the German military authorities. In an army such as the German, raised by universal conscription, all sorts of men were in the ranks,



GERMAN INFANTRY IN BRUSSELS

The offenses charged to the Germans fall into two classes: those committed without authority by individuals and those committed by direct orders of responsible officers. In the first class fall crimes ranging from venial thefts of food or wine up through the pillaging of money and goods to brutal killing of wounded prisoners, mutilations, unprovoked murder, and hideous outrages upon women and young girls. Beyond all question, there

from the gentlest to the most brutal and depraved. Among hundreds of German diaries subsequently captured by the Allies were a few that mentioned crimes to condemn them; in others, the crimes appear to have been set down with a sort of pride. War has a brutalizing effect upon humanity, and in the case of the invasion of Belgium there can be little doubt also that the acts authorized by way of policy by the military authorities encouraged

individuals to perpetrate many cruel acts upon their own responsibility. Furthermore, some of the worst crimes were undoubtedly committed by men who had drunk to excess of looted liquors. The evidence revealed by captured diaries is overwhelming that wine cellars were ransacked whenever found, and that the troops reveled in an excess of such refreshment. One soldier confided to his diary that of red wine "there is so much here that one can literally swim in it."

The acts committed by authority likewise took a wide range. They included the burning of villages and towns, the destruction of other property, pillage, the use of civilians, including women and children, as shields against the bullets of their countrymen, and wholesale executions of the civil population.

The real facts regarding the "German terror in Belgium" were long a matter of controversy in America and some other neutral countries. The Germans issued lying statements, and bribed or misled some neutral newspaper correspondents into issuing statements that no outrages had taken place. But the truth could not be concealed forever, and the world now knows that German behavior in that unhappy country would have disgraced savages. Yet all the while Germans were boasting of the superiority of their *Kultur*.

Prussian troops had never been distinguished for gentleness. Even in repressing the Revolutionists of 1848, who were men of their own race, they were guilty of many atrocities, including the massacring of civilians, mistreatment of women, and the bayoneting of babies. When German troops were about to embark for China, in 1900, to fight the Boxers, the Kaiser himself had addressed them and had said:

"As soon as you come to blows with the enemy he will be beaten. No mercy will be shown! No prisoners will be taken! As the Huns, under King Attila, made a name for themselves, which is still mighty in traditions and legends today, may the name of Germany be so fixed in China by your deeds that no Chinese will ever

again dare even to look at a German askance....Open the way for Kultur once for all."

It was this speech which now led to the Germans being called "Huns."

The German officers were provided in advance with blank forms to be used in issuing proclamations to terrorize the people. Furthermore, officers and men were supplied with phrase books containing alternate translations in German and French of sentences most likely to be useful. The very first sentence in the book was: "Hands up!" Among others were: "Carry out all the furniture." "I am thirsty. Bring me some beer, gin, rum." "You have to supply a barrel of wine and a keg of beer." "If you lie to me, I will have you shot immediately." "Lead me to the wealthiest inhabitants of this village. I have orders to requisition several barrels of wine." "Show us the way to —. If you lead us astray, you will be shot."

All told, many hundreds of Belgians were executed during the month following the invasion of the country. The Germans claimed that these deeds were done by way of reprisal for unlawful acts of war committed by the inhabitants, and in some cases this was probably true. But in most cases the retaliation was carried out in a way that was particularly shocking to a world which has come to accept the view that the innocent must not be punished for the guilty. Even in those cases where civilians committed acts of war against the invaders it was, of course, frequently impossible to ascertain exactly who had done the firing. Often such persons escaped scot free. The German procedure in such cases was to collect a number of men, preferably men of importance, stand them up in line, and shoot them down.

The Hague Conventions of 1907 expressly recognized the right of a people, when suddenly assailed, to conduct an unorganized warfare against the invader. But the Germans in their treatment of the Belgians refused to recognize this right and treated the unorganized com-

batants with implacable severity. The principle upon which the Germans went was thus summarized by the *Kölnische Zeitung*:

"We all made one fundamental principle clear: for the fault of the individual the community to which he belonged must suffer. The village in which our troops had been shot at by the civilian population was burned down. If the culprit was

and, when the latter cannot be found, they must suffer for the guilty."

Beside such a policy as this the course of Union commanders in the South during our Civil War, or of the British during our Revolution, seems mild indeed.

Hundreds of pages would be required to tell the full story of the German outrages. We can give space to only a few of the most notable.



GERMAN GUNNERS IN BELGIUM

not discovered, a few representatives were taken out of the general population and shot. Women and children were not touched, except when they were found with weapons in their hands.

"This principle may seem hard and cruel,—it has been developed from the customs of modern and ancient military history, and, as far as it can be spoken of at all, recognized. It is also justified by the theory of setting an awful example. The innocent must suffer with the guilty;

At the quaint Flemish town of Dinant, on the river Meuse, a force of Germans were beaten by a detachment of French on the 15th of August. On the 21st, the Germans returned, burned part of the town, and next day drove back the French. "On Sunday, August 23, at 6.30 A. M., soldiers of the 108th Regiment of Infantry invaded the Church of the Premonstratensian Fathers, drove out the congregation, separated the women from the men, and shot fifty of the latter. Be-

tween seven and nine the same morning, the soldiers gave themselves up to pillage and arson, going from house to house and driving the inhabitants into the street. Those who tried to escape were shot. About nine in the morning, the soldiery, driving before them, by blows from the butt ends of rifles, men, women, and children, pushed them all into the Parade Square, where they were kept prisoners till 6 o'clock in the evening. The guard took pleasure in repeating to them that they would soon be shot. About 6 o'clock a captain separated the men from the women and children. The women were placed in front of a rank of infantry soldiers, the men were ranged along a wall. The front rank of them were then told to kneel, the others remaining standing behind them. A platoon of soldiers drew up in face of these unhappy men. It was in vain that the women cried out for mercy for the husbands, sons, and brothers. The officer ordered his men to fire. There had been no inquiry nor any pretense of a trial. About twenty of the inhabitants were only wounded, but fell among the dead. The soldiers, to make sure, fired a new volley into the heap of them. Several citizens escaped this double discharge. They shammed dead for more than two hours, remaining motionless among the corpses, and when night fell succeeded in saving themselves in the hills. Eighty-four corpses were left in the square, and were buried in a neighboring garden." Other wholesale executions took place in the same town, while many of the inhabitants were sent as prisoners into Germany.

Of this massacre the American Minister, Brand Whitlock, wrote to his Government:

"One scene surpasses in horror all others; it is the fusillade of the Rocher Bayard near Dinant. It appears to have been ordered by Colonel Meister. This fusillade made many victims among the nearby parishes, especially those of des Rivages and Neffe. It caused the death of nearly 90 persons, without distinction of age or sex. Among the victims were babies in arms, boys and girls, fathers and mothers of families, even old men.

"It was there that 12 children under the age of 6 perished from the fire of the executioners, 6 of them as they lay in their mothers' arms:

"The child Fiévet, 3 weeks old.

"Maurice Bétemps, 11 months old.

"Nelly Pollet, 11 months old.

"Gilda Genon, 18 months old.

"Gilda Marchot, 2 years old.

"Clara Struvay, 2 years and 6 months.

"The pile of bodies comprised also many children from 6 to 14 years. Eight large families have entirely disappeared. Four have but one survivor. Those men that escaped death—and many of whom were riddled with bullets—were obliged to bury in a summary and hasty fashion their fathers, mothers, brothers, or sisters; then after having been relieved of their money and being placed in chains they were sent to Cassel [Prussia]."

Similar happenings occurred at Aerschot, Tamines, Andenne, and numerous other places; but the scene of the most famous outrage was Louvain. This city lies to the eastward of Brussels and is the seat of one of the oldest universities in Europe. The Germans occupied the city on August 19th, and for several days there was relative peace and quiet. But on August 24 and 25, the Belgian army made a sortie from the intrenched camp at Antwerp, defeated the Germans in the region around Malines, and drove some of their forces back to Louvain. According to the German story, the inhabitants fired upon the returning troops; according to the people of the city, one detachment of the Germans fired by mistake upon another. In any event a carnival of death and destruction ensued during the night of the 25th and the two following days. Fire was deliberately set to the place, and the University, with its precious library of rare books and manuscripts, the church of St. Peter, and many houses were burned to the ground. Many of the inhabitants were shot or otherwise killed, while hundreds of others were seized and sent to Cologne.

The captured diary of a soldier of the Prussian Guard contained the following

description of the retribution inflicted, on the night of September 1, on a Belgian village near Blemont:

"The inhabitants fled through the village. It was horrible. Blood was plastered on all the houses, and as for the faces of the dead, they were hideous. They were all buried at once, to the number of sixty. Among them many old men and women, and one woman about to be de-

thing was pillaged. The poultry and everything else were killed. There was a mother with her two little ones; one had a large wound in the head and had lost an eye."

Captured diaries contained descriptions of many such horrible scenes but space will permit the insertion of only a few. The following is an excerpt from the diary of Reservist Schlauter of the 4th



BELGIAN TROOPS

livered. It was a ghastly sight. There were three children who had huddled close to one another and had died together. The altar and the ceiling of the church had fallen in. They also had been telephoning to the enemy. And this morning, September 2d, all the survivors were driven out, and I saw four little boys carrying on two poles a child five or six months old.

"All this was horrible to see. A blow for a blow. Thunder for thunder. Every-

regiment of field-artillery of the Guard describing an incident which occurred on August 25th:

"Three hundred of the inhabitants of the town were shot and those who survived the volley were requisitioned as gravediggers. You should have seen the women at this moment! But you can't do otherwise. During our march on Wilot things went better. The inhabitants who wished to leave could do so and go where they liked, but anyone who fired was shot.

When we left Owele shots were fired; but there, women and everything were fired upon. At the frontier they have today shot a Hussar and destroyed the bridge. The bridge has been rebuilt by the gallant infantry."

"In this way we destroyed eight houses with their inmates," says another captured diary. "In one of them two men with their wives and a girl of 18 were bayoneted. The little one almost unnerved me, so innocent was her expression, but it was impossible to check the crowd, so excited were they. For in such moments you are no longer men but wild beasts."

The following extracts are from the diary of a German officer in the 178th Regiment of the Twelfth Saxon Corps:

"August 17th. In the afternoon I had a look at the little chateau belonging to one of the King's secretaries (not at home). Our men had behaved like regular vandals. They had looted the cellar first, and then they had turned their attention to the bedrooms and thrown things about all over the place. They had even made fruitless efforts to smash the safe open. Everything was topsy-turvy—magnificent furniture, silk, and even china. That's what happens when the men are allowed to requisition for themselves. I am sure they must have taken away a heap of useless stuff simply for the pleasure of looting.

"August 23d....Our men came back and said that at the point where the valley joined the Meuse we could not get on any further as the villagers were shooting at us from every house. We shot the whole lot—16 of them. They were drawn up in three ranks; the same shot did for three at a time....

"The sight of the bodies of all the inhabitants who had been shot was indescribable. Every house in the whole village was destroyed. We dragged the villagers one after another out of the most unlikely corners. The men were shot as well as the women and children who were in the convent, since shots had been fired from the convent windows; and we burnt it afterwards.

"The inhabitants might have escaped the penalty by handing over the guilty and paying 15,000 francs.

"The inhabitants fired on our men again. The division took drastic steps to stop the villages being burnt and the inhabitants being shot. The pretty little village of Gue d'Ossus, however, was apparently set on fire without cause. A cyclist fell off his machine and his rifle went off. He immediately said he had been shot at. All the inhabitants were burnt in the houses. I hope there will be no more such horrors.

"At Leppe apparently 200 men were shot. There must have been some innocent men among them. In future we shall have to hold an inquiry as to their guilt instead of shooting them.

"In the evening we marched to Maubert-Fontaine. Just as we were having our meal the alarm was sounded—everyone is very jumpy.

"September 3d. Still at Rethel, on guard over prisoners....The houses are charming inside. The middle class in France has magnificent furniture. We found stylish pieces everywhere and beautiful silk, but in what a state....Good God!....Every bit of furniture broken, mirrors smashed. The Vandals themselves could not have done more damage. This place is a disgrace to our army. The inhabitants who fled could not have expected, of course, that all their goods would have been left intact after so many troops had passed. But the column commanders are responsible for the greater part of the damage, as they could have prevented the looting and destruction. The damage amounts to millions of marks; even the safes have been attacked.

"In a solicitor's house, in which, as luck would have it, all was in excellent taste, including a collection of old lace and Eastern works of art, everything was smashed to bits.

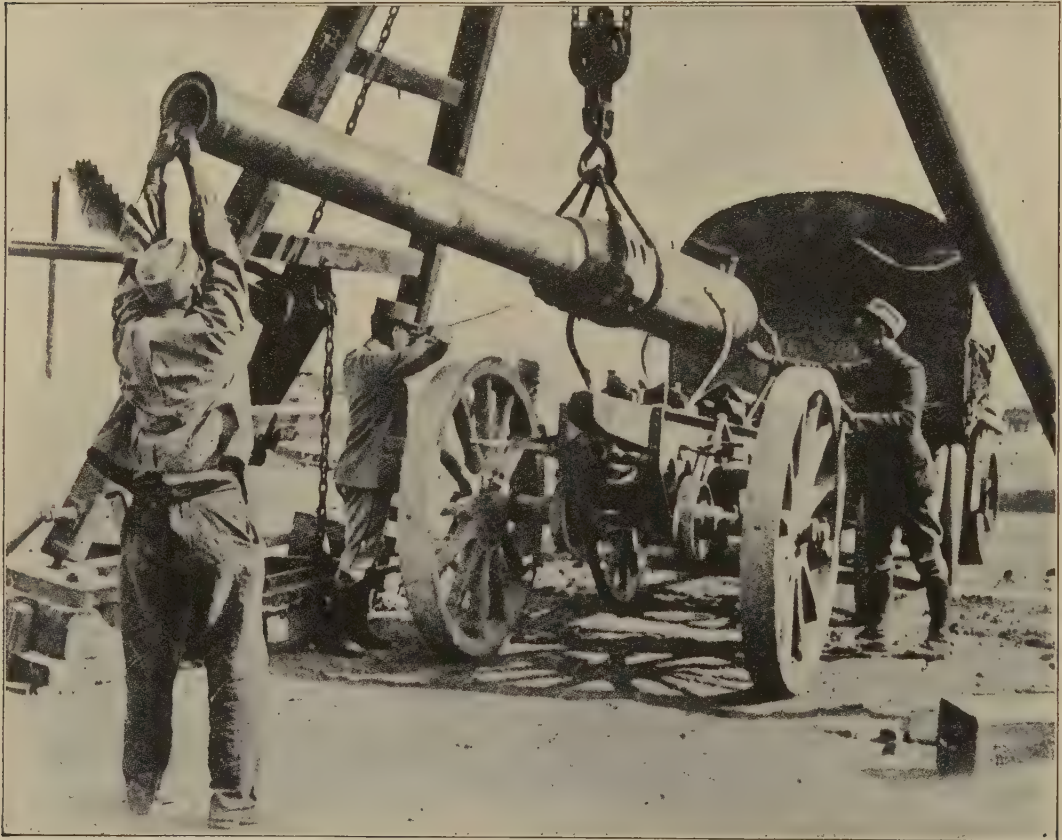
"I could not resist taking a little memento myself here and there....One house was particularly elegant, everything in the best taste. The hall was of light oak; I found a splendid raincoat

under the staircase and a camera for Felix."

An account of the use of civilian prisoners to shelter the Germans from the fire of their enemies was written by Lieutenant Eberlein and published in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* on October 7th, 1914. In part it was as follows:

"We had arrested three civilians, and suddenly a good idea struck me. We

The shooting at us from the house at the side stopped at once; we were able to occupy the house in front, and became masters of the principal street. Every one after that who showed himself in the street was shot. The artillery, too, did good work during this, and when towards seven in the evening, the brigade advanced to free us, I was able to report that 'St. Dié is free of the enemy.'



BELGIAN SOLDIERS SETTING UP A HEAVY GUN

placed them on chairs and made them understand that they must go and sit on them in the middle of the street. On one side entreaties, on the other blows from the butt-end of a gun. One gets terribly hardened after awhile. At last they were seated outside in the street. I do not know how many prayers of anguish they said; but they kept their hands tightly clasped all the time. I pitied them; but the device worked immediately.

"As I learned later on, the....regiment of reserve which had entered St. Dié more from the north had had similar experiences to ours. The four civilians that had been made to sit in the street had been killed by French bullets. I saw them myself, stretched out in the middle of the street, near the hospital."

Minister Whitlock gives an instance of this German practice of using civilians as screens. He says: "The Germans at-

tacked Hougaerde on the 18th of August: the Belgian troops were holding the Gette Bridge in the village. The Germans forced the parish priest of Autgaerden to walk in front of them as a shield. As they neared the barricade the Belgian soldiers fired, and the priest was killed. After the retreat of the Belgians, the Germans shot 4 men, burned 50 houses, and looted 100."

The explanation of the rigorous policy of the Germans in Belgium would seem to be that they realized that unless something was done to cow the spirit of the country they would be constantly subjected to uprisings and annoyances in their rear. A wireless dispatch sent out from Germany toward the end of August declared that "the only means of preventing surprise attacks from the civil population has been to interfere with unrelenting severity, and to create examples which, by their 'frightfulness,' will be a warning to the whole country." German warfare had always been ruthless, and the need of terrorizing the civil population of an enemy, of breaking their spirit, had been inculcated by many of their writers on war and by their "War Book." Such a course was defended as not only necessary but as least productive of bloodshed in the end.

There can be no doubt that the policy of "frightfulness" in Belgium presently broke the courage and spirit of the civil population and thus accomplished the object which the conquerors had in mind. In the world at large, however, it created a feeling of hostility toward Germany that probably worked infinitely more harm to the German cause than was gained. Sympathy for Belgium was the more pronounced because it was known that she had been forced into the conflict against her will. Well might the wretched Belgian fugitives, as they fled from their burning homes and the dead bodies of their relatives, cry out that they had had no hand in the murder of the Austrian Archduke!

Most of the German troops who passed through Belgium took no active part in the

conquest of that country; for, in spite of the interest which the events excited throughout the world at the time, the actual fighting, as regards numbers and bloodshed, was relatively unimportant. The real work lay ahead in France, and thither the Teutonic legions hastened along the paths hacked out by their advanced forces.

Meanwhile what of the French? They too had had a plan, and, in the early days of the war, they tried to carry it out. It was to cross the eastern frontier and redeem the beloved "lost provinces"—Alsace and Lorraine. A considerable force was sent northward to guard the Sambre and Meuse gateways, while an offensive was undertaken from Belfort and over the crests of the Vosges. Southern Alsace was lightly held by the Germans, and the French were able to occupy, after some fighting, the town of Altkirch, on August 7th, and Mülhausen, on the next day. The tricolor was greeted with transports of joy by many of the inhabitants, and the news that French troops had reached the bank of the Rhine aroused great enthusiasm in France.

General Joffre, the French Commander in Chief, issued the following proclamation to the inhabitants of the province:

"Children of Alsace!

"After forty-four years of sorrowful waiting French soldiers once more tread the soil of your noble country. They are the pioneers in the great work of revenge. For them what emotion and what pride!

"To achieve this work they have made the sacrifice of their lives. The French nation unanimously urges them on, and on the folds of their flags are inscribed the magic words, 'Right and Liberty.'

"Long live Alsace! Long live France!"

But soon Austrian troops were reported to be pushing through southern Germany to help their allies, while the Germans attacked the invaders on the 9th of August. The battle began badly for the French, and they retired from Mülhausen.

A new forward movement, led by General Pau, a one-armed veteran of the war of '70, was soon begun, and there was

brisk fighting in the Vosges passes, resulting favorably to the French. At St. Blaise, a sharp fight took place, in which the German general was wounded and the French took their first standard. The Germans were driven eastward and northward and, on the 20th, after severe street fighting in which they captured twenty-four guns, the French again took Mülhausen. Much of the territory thus gained had soon to be abandoned, but some political advantage was gained, as the encouragement



GENERAL PAUL PAU

afforded the French by these successes was considerable.

Further north General de Castelnau with over two hundred thousand men routed a Bavarian army corps, and then pushed onward into the Lorraine lowlands toward Strassburg and Metz. General Dubail with another army moved down the Bruche valley, and captured Schirmeck and Muhlbach, with twenty guns and fifteen hundred men. Saarburg was taken by assault, thus breaking the railway line from Metz to Strassburg. Paris greeted the news of these successes with the same

enthusiasm as those further south, and the arrival at the capital, by way of Switzerland, of an Alsatian member of the German Reichstag, Abbé Wetterlé, added to the general joy.

But on the 20th, the same day that the Germans entered Brussels, a great German force under Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria and General von Heeringen, aided by the Metz garrison, fell upon the invaders from three sides at once. The French 15th Corps faltered and then fled, and the whole army was forced back. The Germans claimed 10,000 prisoners and 50 guns, and though the French disputed having sustained such losses, a defeat was undeniable. Within a few days all the French troops were out of Alsace and Lorraine, except in the region of the southern Vosges passes; and France was thinking not of aggression but of preserving herself from annihilation.

The German avalanche had, in fact, begun to move. Against Verdun and the northern barrier fortresses, through the gateways of Luxemburg and Belgium, poured the mightiest host that had ever gone to war. To meet and turn it back was now the superhuman task of General Joffre and his "children."

In certain quarters it has been contended that Joffre and his lieutenants had not until now realized the German plan of throwing a vast host across Belgium into northern France. But the fact that the main German concentration was in the region between Liège and Luxemburg had been ascertained by spies and by aerial reconnaissance at least as early as August 12th, though the immense power of the impending attack was not realized until much later.

General Joffre attempted to anticipate the German blow by a counterstroke. Evidently if the French could have taken or masked Metz and pushed on down the Moselle valley, they would have rendered a German invasion by way of Belgium to the last degree hazardous. The defeat before Metz destroyed all hope of success in this direction, and to Joffre fell the hard task of realigning

his immense army and accepting the defensive.

Three French armies were already on the Belgian and Luxemburg borders. One under General Lanrezac extended from about Maubeuge to the Meuse, a second, under General Langle de Cary, was posted across the Ardennes-Luxemburg border, and a third, under General Ruffey, held the region west of Verdun. Some of these forces had attempted to push forward into Belgium, but, after a considerable success won at Dinant, August 15th, by Lanrezac, the French were checked and then thrown back.

Great hopes were placed by the Allies upon the resistance which they expected would be made by Namur, just north of the Belgian border. This place, with its five large and four smaller forts, was deemed at least as strong a place as Liège, and it had had much longer time for preparation. It commanded the confluence of the Meuse and the Sambre and also important roads leading into France. It was garrisoned by about 26,000 men, but many of them were raw troops and most had become discouraged by defeat and by the stories of the vast numbers and terrific power of the enemy. On the 20th of August, a German army of about 150,000 men began an active attack upon the fortress. A continuous stream of 21-, 28- and 42-centimeter shells was soon pouring in upon the forts, which, with their much lighter guns, were unable to make any effective return. Under this storm of fire and iron the defenders soon became demoralized and fled from the trenches. One fort held out until the 25th, but by the 23d the Germans were able to secure the passages of the Meuse and Sambre and pass on with their main forces into France. Part of the garrison of Namur succeeded in escaping into France, and about 12,000 were subsequently transferred from Havre to northern Belgium by sea. With the fall of Namur the preliminary stage of the campaign may be said to have ended, and the real campaign to have begun.

For the great onslaught the Germans

had in motion a horde of about a million and a half men, divided into several armies. Much the greater number of this vast force was moving southward out of Belgium and Luxemburg, and the cavalry attached to this wing alone about equalled all the men who fought on both sides at Gettysburg. Pushing in through the Longwy gap there was also another great army under the German Crown Prince. The German plan was to dash southward at tremendous speed, crush all opposition,



PRINCE RUPPRECHT OF BAVARIA

destroy the French armies, capture Paris, and force France to sign a peace.

To meet the invasion the French, at this time, had about 1,300,000 men mobilized, but only about half were near the frontier, and, of this half, too large a proportion seemed concentrated in the east. To meet the great avalanche from the north there were only the armies of Generals Lanrezac, Langle de Cary, and Ruffey and the little British army. This last force consisted of two army corps and a considerable number of cavalry, in all about

75,000 or 80,000 men. It had been landed at Boulogne and other French ports, and mobilization and transportation had occupied about sixteen days. The British considered this a great record, and, compared with past performances, it was; compared with what the Germans and French had done, it was slow work. If the force had arrived three or four days earlier, it could have been of great assistance at Namur.

However, it was a splendid little army, being composed in large part of officers and men who had fought in petty wars in many parts of the world and hence



CROWN PRINCE IN FRANCE

were not going under fire for the first time. It was somewhat weak in artillery and machine guns; but it was made up in large part of skilled marksmen, trained to fight in open order and to shoot coolly and painstakingly at a definite mark. It could probably have whipped anything of its size in the world. It was to need all its skill and resourcefulness during the next three weeks—and after.

The commander of the British Expeditionary Force was Field Marshal Sir John D. P. French. He was born in Kent, in 1852, and was of Irish descent. He had been destined by his parents for

the church but at the age of 14 he entered the navy and in 1874 transferred to the army. He fought in the Soudan against the Dervishes and won high reputation as a cavalry commander in the Boer War. With the exception of Earl Kitchener and Lord Roberts, the latter of whom was now too old for active service, he was now the most distinguished British soldier. He had been out of sympathy with the Home Rule policy of his government and had resigned his commission, but he was now restored to the service and put in active command.

The arrival of the British army did a vast deal to hearten the French—in fact, its moral value was several times its actual strength. Never had been surpassed the transports of enthusiasm with which the grateful French had greeted the grinning "Tommies." The kilted bare-kneed Highlanders, in particular, came in for careful scrutiny, and the weird, haunting music of the bagpipes was always sure to collect a crowd. The dress of the Highlanders was soon to draw from the Germans taunts about "women," but, after a few hand to hand meetings with the doughty Scots, the soldiers of the Kaiser were to decide that the proper name for them was "the Ladies from Hell."

Each man of the expeditionary force carried in his pack a parting letter from the grim head of the British war office—Earl Kitchener of Khartoum—setting forth that he was to remember that the honor of the British army depended upon him, and that to his allies he must "be invariably courteous, considerate, and kind. Never do anything likely to injure or destroy property, and always look upon looting as a disgraceful act.... Keep on your guard against any excesses. In this new experience, you may find temptations—in wine and women. You must entirely resist both temptations, and, while treating all women with perfect courtesy, you should avoid all intimacy."

The British army formed the extreme left of the Allied forces, and it extended on either side of the town of Mons, with the fortress of Maubeuge a dozen miles or so in the rear. On the British right,

about Charleroi and along the Sambre, southwest of Namur, lay the French army of General Lanrezac, and beyond that the army of General Langle de Cary. The German armies from west to east were commanded by Generals von Kluck, von Bülow, von Hausen, the Duke of Württemberg, and the Crown Prince of Prussia.

Fighting began about Charleroi, on August 21st, continued with ever growing intensity over an ever widening area on the 22d, and reached a culmination on the 23d. The fighting in and about Charleroi was of the most bitter character, and the town was taken and retaken repeatedly. Among the French troops were some Chasseurs d'Afrique and Turcos from Algeria and northern Africa, and these troops fought with particular courage and ferocity in bitter hand to hand encounters. But the French were outnumbered, and besides were threatened by a flanking movement of von Hausen's army from the east, while news of the fall of Namur exercised a discouraging effect. To avoid complete disaster, a retreat was begun by the French on the afternoon of Sunday, August 23d.

Meanwhile, the British had been engaged in numerous skirmishes, but the pressure against them did not become pronounced until Sunday. On the morning of that day, Sir John French was of the opinion that he was opposed by a force which at most was not much larger than his own. The British held their own well throughout the day, though they found it expedient to draw back from the towns of Binche and Mons. At one place the British line was behind a canal. There several times the Germans threw pontoons across the canal and every time the bridges were destroyed by the British artillery. About five o'clock in the afternoon came the disturbing news, by telegraph from General Joffre, that the French army on the right had already withdrawn and that at least three German corps, or about

120,000 men, were moving against the British in front, while a fourth corps was making a turning movement to westward to get in their rear. A retreat was inevitable, and the important question was whether it could be executed without a catastrophe.

More or less fighting continued throughout the night, but at daybreak the Second Division made a demonstration as if to



FIELD MARSHAL SIR JOHN FRENCH

retake Binche, and under cover of this movement the Second Corps, under Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, retired some distance and intrenched. The First Corps, under Sir Douglas Haig, then withdrew, and, thus alternating, the army gradually fell back to a position that rested on the fortress of Maubeuge. Meanwhile the Germans were pushing on, and both sides suffered considerable losses. At one period of the day the commander of a brigade of British cavalry thought he saw an

opportunity to paralyze the further attack of the German infantry by a charge against his flank. The charge was made, but at about five hundred yards it was brought to a halt by barbed wire, and the Ninth Lancers and the Eighteenth Hussars were shot to pieces.

The French were still retreating, and next day the British were compelled to decide between the alternative of taking

in large measure of French reserves of the older class.

Such was the beginning of the Great Retreat, a movement that has few counterparts in history. For twelve days and nights the weary French and British fell back southward. For twelve days and nights, aided by bicycles, motorcycles, motor cars, and motor trucks, the exultant Germans poured after them, giving



A REGIMENT OF SCOTTISH FIGHTERS

refuge in Maubeuge or again falling back. The Germans were making determined efforts to get round the left flank, and evidently desired to hem the British against the fortress and surround them. The temptation to gain a respite in the fortress was strong, but the British commander knew well that to yield to it would be fatal.

The next day the retirement was renewed, and Maubeuge was left to hold out as long as it could, its garrison consisting

them no rest. For twelve days and nights the world, with bated breath, watched the panorama and wondered what would be the end. Every day and hour of that time there was bitter fighting, and from day to day the retiring armies escaped destruction only by a hair's breadth, thanks to the exercise of soldierly qualities that have never been surpassed, for there is nothing tests the real fiber of an army like retreat.

They made the enemy pay a price for

his advance. Again and again they turned and fought to gain the precious hours needed for withdrawal. They mowed down the great massed formations of the Germans as grass falls before the sickle, yet more masses were constantly pushing forward. "Nothing seems to stop them," a French soldier explained to a correspondent. "We kill them and kill them, but they come on." One of the most heroic episodes took place at Marville, where five thousand Frenchmen of all arms, with quick-firers, beat back 20,000 of the enemy for twelve hours, inflicting tremendous losses and falling back at last, carrying many helmets as trophies, only because they were losing touch with the rest of their army.

For the British, Wednesday, the 26th, proved to be "the most critical day of all." The little army had been reinforced the day before by a new division, the Fourth, which had just detrained, but this accession hardly more than made up for the losses already suffered. "At daybreak," says Field Marshal French, "it became apparent that the enemy was throwing the bulk of his strength against the left of the position occupied by the Second Corps and the Fourth Division. At this time the guns of four German army corps were in position against them, and Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien reported to me that he judged it impossible to continue his retirement at daybreak (as ordered) in face of such an attack. I sent him orders to use his utmost endeavors to break off the action and retire at the earliest possible moment, as it was impossible for me to send him any support, the First Corps being at the moment incapable of movement."

No help was possible either from the French, while the position was the more serious because the troops had not had time to intrench their position properly. But the artillery, though outmatched at least four to one, fought splendidly and inflicted terrible losses on the German masses. Once the Prussian Guards Cavalry Division charged the British 12th Infantry Brigade, but "were thrown back

with heavy loss and in absolute disorder." In the afternoon, however, it became "apparent that, if complete annihilation was to be avoided, a retirement must be attempted," and the movement was begun, and successfully carried out, with the utmost skill and resourcefulness, by Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien.

Singing *Tipperary* as he went, "Tommy Atkins" trudged southward day after day, pausing to shoot when the Germans came



GENERAL VON HAUSEN

too close, and disgustingly demanding why he was kept retreating when he had not been beaten!

Meanwhile what of France? News of the retreat from Mons and Charleroi was suppressed as much as possible, but the fact could not be indefinitely concealed from the people that the armies were falling back. Terror-stricken fugitives in hordes, bearing their most precious possessions, streamed southward to escape the "Huns," spreading far and wide the bitter news that the enemy was coming.

At first the people expected that the retreat would be short, that a stand would soon be made; but as day after day went by and the armies still fell back, anxiety deepened. Outwardly the French strove to keep up their confidence and courage, but secretly each man was asking himself, "Is it to be 1870 over again? Are the Germans indeed irresistible?"

On the 27th, it was announced that the Government had been reconstituted as



RENE VIVIANI, PRIME MINISTER, FRANCE

a Government of National Defense, with the strong men of the country, of every party, in it, under the continued premiership of M. Viviani. M. Millerand became minister of war, and the energetic General Gallieni was made military governor of Paris. Feverish work at the fortifications of the city, the bringing in of large quantities of provisions, including vast herds of cattle, which were put into the public parks, looked ominous and seemed to foretell a siege. Long trains filled with

wounded were moving southward, and, though most of these were sent round the city, still the facts became known. One day a convoy of British wounded arrived in the Nord Station and provoked a great outburst of sympathy from the grateful French.

On August 30th, the first of a series of air raids took place. On that day a German "Taube" circled over the city, amid a storm of bullets, and dropped five bombs and a message, which read: "The German army is at the Gates of Paris—you can do nothing but surrender."

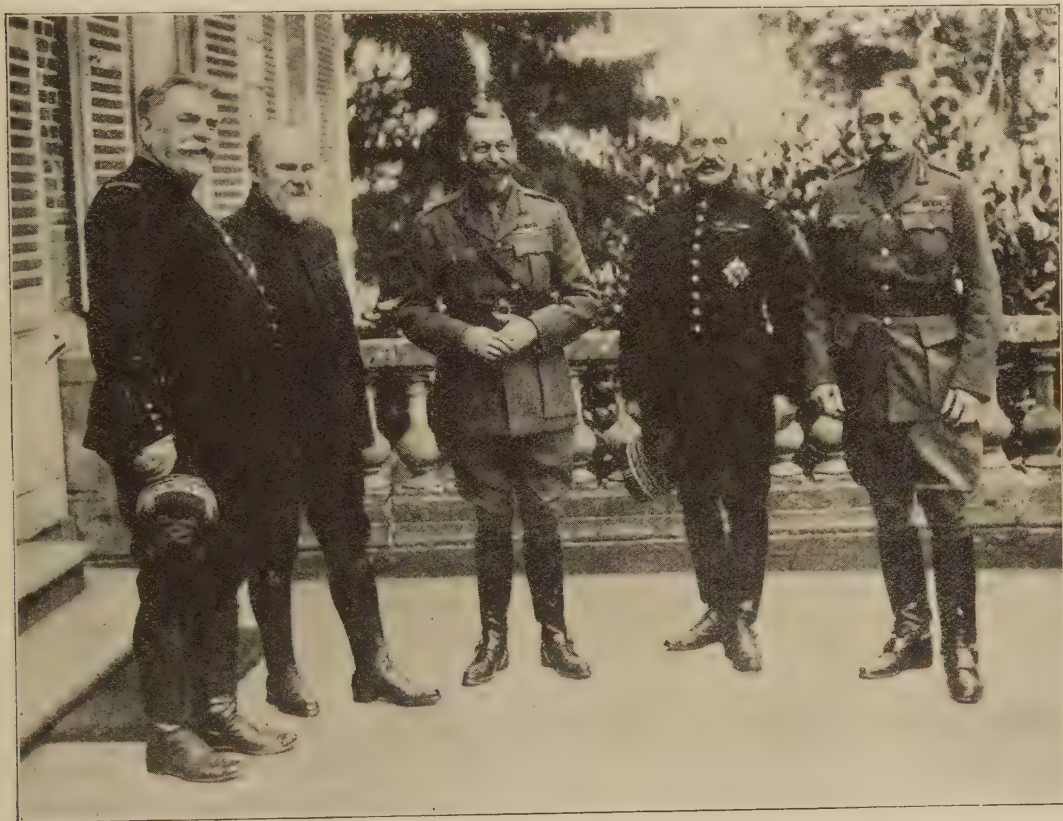
The Government now hastily removed the capital to Bordeaux, and a vast exodus of private citizens from the threatened city took place. The railways, already overtaxed by military demands, could do little toward moving the multitudes who sought safety in flight, and the public highways leading southward were choked with hundreds of thousands of fugitives, of every sex and class, on foot and in every conceivable vehicle. Along one road, that from Paris to Tours, were "sixty unbroken miles of people." Elegant, delicate women, wearing high-heeled shoes, poor old women from the attics, boy students, shopgirls, grandfathers and grandmothers leaning on the shoulders of their grandchildren, mothers carrying new-born babies, every conceivable kind of person except those able to be soldiers, made up the vast torrent fleeing from the great city.

Meanwhile, the invaded portions of France were suffering what Belgium had already suffered. Again the story of the German atrocities is much too long to be told in detail, and only a few episodes can be mentioned.

At Braine-le-Compte and Soignies, in Hainault, a number of houses were burnt. At Obourg a lunatic asylum, which contained 200 women patients, was set on fire. At Nimy the Germans plundered and massacred, and burned 84 houses. Seventeen of the inhabitants, including four women, were killed. Others were driven forward, as a screen, as the Germans marched on toward Mons. For the British

in Mons this pitiful crowd of civilians was the first indication that the Germans were within range. "We waited for the advance of the Germans," says a British officer; "some civilians reported to us that they were coming down a road in front of us. On looking in that direction we saw, instead of German troops, a crowd of civilians—men, women and children—waving white handkerchiefs and being

and gave orders to fire, which we did." "I saw the Germans advancing on hands and knees towards our position," testifies another Briton; "they were in close formation, and had a line of women and children in front of their front rank. Our orders at that time were not to fire on civilians in front of the enemy." A Belgian standing in a side-street saw six of the victims shot by the Germans for trying



GENERAL JOFFRE

PRESIDENT POINCARÉ

KING GEORGE

GENERAL FOCH

GENERAL HAIG

pushed down the road in front of a large number of German troops." "They came on as it were in a mass," says another British soldier, "with the women and children massed in front of them. The Germans seemed to be pushing them on, and I saw them shoot down women and children who refused to march. Up to this time my orders had been not to fire, but when we saw women and children shot, my sergeant said: 'It is too heartrending,'

to get away. The Burgomaster of Mons himself had been seized in the streets, and was driven forward with the others.

The Germans renewed these cowardly tactics on the other side of Mons, on August 24th, when the British were in retreat. "They had collected a number of women and children from the houses in the town," says a British soldier. "I could see that the Germans had their bayonets fixed and pointed at the backs of the women and

children, to make them advance." "It was about 11 a. m. They were being pushed along by the Germans. One old man was very old and bent. I noticed two women in particular who had two, or possibly three children, and they were holding them close in as if to shield them. One of the women had a blue apron on. Altogether, I suppose there were 16 to 20 women there, about a dozen men. I was in the last file, and I kept on looking round as we were retiring."

This screen was driven against the British positions in Frameries, according to the testimony of British soldiers. "When they were motioned to draw to the side by one of our own men," states a soldier, "they were fired on by the Germans from behind for doing so. I should think 50 people were shot down. In some cases the children had been walking, in others they were carried by the women."

Some terrible deeds were done in a place called Tamines. The last act took place in the afternoon. "About 4.30," says a witness, "the Germans arrived at the Place Saint-Martin in large numbers. Some soldiers saw us. We came out, and they took us to a superior officer. He drew his revolver, aimed it at the men of the family, and told the soldiers that we must all be shot. We knelt down and begged for mercy for the children. The soldiers then took us to the station, where another officer said: 'They must all be shot.' They set us against the wall and the soldiers pointed their guns at us. My sister-in-law went in search of the officer. The children cried: 'Have mercy upon us.' Then the officer called out: 'Halt!' He was quite a young man. He sent us to the church of Les Alloux, where there were already 2,000 persons. The soldier said: 'You have been firing on us; you will all be shot.'"

What happened to the men is related by one of their number. "The Germans forced the inhabitants (women and children as well as men) to leave their houses and go to the church. While we went out by the front door the Germans entered by the back and set our houses on fire so

that in a very short time the whole commune was one vast furnace. When the whole population was assembled at the church, the women and children were sent off towards the nunnery, while the men—400 of us—were forced to march in ranks of four towards the open, between a double line of German soldiers. While we were marching the Germans kept on firing at us, and in this way pitilessly massacred a considerable number of my fellow-citizens. Seeing that numbers of my comrades were being struck down by the shots, I fell to the ground myself, though I was not wounded, and remained lying there among the corpses, without moving, till about midnight. That was how I saved my life."

At the first volley nearly all the 400 fell, whether wounded or not; others threw themselves into the river Sambre. The latter were drowned or were shot in the water by Germans standing on the bank. Those lying unwounded on the ground arose in obedience to German commands and were mowed down immediately by a second hail of bullets—this time, it is said, from a machine-gun. Even then about half the 400 were only wounded, and the Germans went round the square killing by bayonet thrusts or blows from rifle butts, any who showed signs of life. Many of the slaughterers wore Red Cross badges on their arms. Only about 30 of the 400 managed to save their lives, and of these all but four were wounded.

In that part of France which remained unconquered, one of the many disquieting features of the situation was the knowledge that German spies were everywhere. "When Marshal Soubise goes to war," said Frederick the Great, "he is followed by a hundred cooks. When I take the field, I am preceded by a hundred spies." The Germans had not forgotten this saying of the greatest of the Hohenzollerns, and their invasion of France had been prepared by literally thousands of secret agents. Not only had these spies made maps of every road and set down every feature of the country, but they had es-

established a cunning code by which they were able to signal their compatriots through advertisements posted along the roads and by numerous other means. A spy hunting mania swept over not only France but all the Allied countries, and the discoveries made well-nigh surpassed belief.

In spite of every discouragement, however, it was generally remarked by those

conquer. The Russians were coming up in the East. The fleets of Great Britain were sweeping the seas. The forces of France were gathering. In the meantime France must suffer patiently while waiting for the brighter tomorrow. Many incidents were told to illustrate the heroic spirit. An officer in Paris during one of the darkest days of the period was approached by a poorly clad boy of ten years,



LOADING AMMUNITION TRAINS

who knew the French people that they were surprisingly calm. There was excitement, of course, yet there was no talk of revolution, no barricades, no volatile effervescence of the sort which the world had come to associate with the French temperament. On the contrary, the people were quiet. There was a sort of Spartan determination in the air. Things were not going well, but the tide would turn and presently France and her allies would

who handed him a paper on which was written: "We must not despair; France cannot be beaten." The incident was so remarkable that an investigation was made, and it was discovered that the boy's mother and sisters and an aged relative had for days been busy in their poor lodgings writing thousands of these statements and handing them out to the people in the hope of heartening them. In the words of the French captain who told

the story to the world, it was an incident "worthy of the great traditions of Greece and Rome." The heroic spirit of the first Revolution, the spirit that comes echoing forth from the *Marseillaise*, was abroad in France. The soldiers of France felt that spirit and kept of good courage.

In the face of such a stupendous crisis, however, spirit alone can accomplish little without intelligent leadership. Were the leaders who held in their hands the destinies of France—nay, even the destinies of the world—men who could rise to the supreme demands of the hour?

Let us consider for a moment the situation. The German hosts were at the very gates of Paris. The French and British for days had been falling back, resigning to the enemy some of the fairest parts of France. Only in the east did the great barrier fortresses hold back the tide, and at the north even these were hard pressed. If the defenders fell back much further, Paris would be besieged, and the appalling power of the German great guns, as revealed at Liège and Namur, was such that military men knew that the ring of fortresses might soon be broken. The time was at hand when the army must stand and fight, but if it were beaten, it would doubtless be hemmed against the eastern border and destroyed or captured in another vast Sedan. And the fate of France was bound up in that army, for there would neither be time to raise another nor the men with which to compose it. With France out of the way, Germany and Austria could easily overrun Russia. Only England would then remain between the Teutons and world domination.

As for the Germans, they appear to have been supremely confident as to the outcome. The rapidity of their advance had been unexampled in warfare. The minor checks they had received were forgotten. In a week, at most, they expected to be in Paris, and already considered the French armies and the "contemptible" little force that the British had been able to put into the field as good as destroyed. From East Prussia came

glorious tidings of a stupendous victory over the Slavs. Tens of thousands of Russians had been shot down or driven into lakes and swamps to perish. Tens of thousands of others had been captured. The Black Eagles were irresistible. The war would be over by Christmas. The Central Powers would exact great cessions of territories and vast money indemnities. Deutschland would indeed be "*über alles*." The *Vossische Zeitung* expressed the feeling of elation and absolute assurance of victory in the following words: "The mind is almost unable to conceive what is told the German people about their victories from the east and west. It is, as it were, a judgment of God which condemns our antagonists as the criminal originators of this war."

Such were the triumphant feelings of the German civilians and of the private soldiers, and under officers. As for the chiefs, just as the prize seemed almost within their grasp, there arose an uneasy feeling that perhaps the situation was not exactly so roseate as it appeared.

For there was a master hand and brain behind that retreat. At the head of the French armies stood one Joseph Joffre, a cooper's son but a veteran of the war of '70 and of various little wars since that time, no *poseur* and self-seeker like Boulanger but a deep student of military science and a devoted lover of France. Around him stood a group of able officers like Pau, Foch, and de Castelnau. From the time that the diversion into Alsace and Lorraine had failed and the retreat from the north had begun, General Joffre had been working with a definite strategic conception in his mind, and upon it he was determined to stake the destinies of France.

The idea upon which his plan was based is what is sometimes called "the open strategic square," which involves having part of the army, "the operating corner," engage the enemy, while the remainder is held in reserve in readiness to concentrate in overwhelming force upon a favorable point. The plan is not without its dangers. In the present instance, the

"operating corner," composed of the British army and the French armies of Langle de Cary and Lanrezac were to be forced back for days, exposed every day to annihilation, which would have ruined the plan. But risks had to be run, and General Joffre was cool-headed enough to run them. In the meantime he formed new armies, and concentrated large forces, particularly in the neighborhood of Paris. He meant to fight the big battle on ground chosen by himself, where the ranges would be known to the meter by his artillerymen; where, if he won a victory, the Germans would be in imminent peril of meeting the total destruction they hoped to bring to him. He counted upon the Russians at least preventing the Germans from sending any more reinforcements westward; by their activities they did, in fact, cause the Germans to transfer several army corps from the west to the east. A demonstration by the Belgians from Antwerp would, it was hoped, compel the Germans, in order to protect their rear, to detach forces that otherwise would be sent forward into France.

The plan called for the greatest possible resolution. There must be no swerving from the one great idea. To a few higher officers the General said: "I mean to deliver the great battle in the most favorable conditions, at my own time, and on the ground I have chosen." Everything was to be sacrificed to one final object—Victory.

If an officer faltered, even though he was one of Joffre's closest friends, he was relentlessly sacrificed, and a man was substituted who, in the acid test of actual battle, had shown an aptitude for leadership. Great cities and the whole of fair provinces were abandoned to the mercies of a remorseless enemy. The tears of homeless fugitives tore at the great human heart of the commander, but these and other trials he bore for the sake of his idea. Sacrifice sometimes brings its reward, and so it was now to prove.

On the 5th of September, General Joffre knew that the time had come. More than once in the retreat situations had developed that had threatened the utter ruin of his conception, but always the splendid fighting qualities of the retiring French and British soldiers had fended off disaster. He had expected to fight as the Germans passed Amiens, where a new army under General Maunoury was forming, but the unexampled rapidity



GENERAL JOSEPH JOFFRE

of the German advance forced him to fall still further back, and Maunoury's army was transferred to Paris. Meanwhile, the eastern barrier still stood firm, and Verdun, the pivot of the whole movement, though hard pressed, still bade defiance to the Crown Prince's legions. From Verdun westward, over a front of one hundred and eighty miles, extended a line of French armies, but with the greatest concentration of forces about Paris, where the decisive blow was to fall. From the Verdun hinge the French line had swung back upon

Paris, like a door, and had even swung a little past. And presently the beauty of the plan became manifest.

By many observers throughout the world it was supposed that when the Germans reached Paris, they would at once besiege it; but, under the circumstances, this was manifestly impolitic, if not impossible. Armies, not cities, have rightly been deemed their prime objectives by German strategists, and to destroy the French army was now the German aim. Instead of attacking or attempting to surround Paris, von Kluck, at the extreme German right wing, turned southeastward after the French army. To outflank that army was now manifestly impossible, but the Germans still hoped to break through its line and roll it up eastward in irretrievable ruin. Great forces in front of Nancy also began a desperate effort to break through the eastern barrier. There would be time enough for Paris after the French army was destroyed.

The French well knew that they were staking all upon a single hazard. On the evening of September 5th, General Joffre issued to his soldiers his last appeal: "At the moment of engaging in a battle on which the fate of the country hangs it is necessary to remind every one that the time has passed for looking backward. Every effort must be made to attack and drive back the enemy. Troops that can no longer advance must at all costs hold their ground, and die where they stand rather than retreat. In the present circumstances no weakness can be tolerated."

To describe in detail the titanic conflict that followed is impossible. For four days the fate of France hung in the balance. For four days the fruitful fields of the valley of the Marne were stained with the blood of brave men, and resounded to the reports of thousands of cannons and millions of muskets, while overhead the hawk-like aeroplanes darted hither and yon on perilous missions. The Germans fought with a courage worthy of Rossbach, of Leuthen, of Königgratz, of Gravelotte; the French with the spirit of Arcole and Austerlitz and in the knowl-

edge that the future of their country and of all that made life dear to them hung in the issue.

The main French effort was directed toward smashing von Kluck's exposed right wing; that of the Germans to hacking through the French center. The Germans, in fact, now realized that they were out-generaled and that only by cutting the French line in two could they retrieve the situation. Their efforts were, therefore, almost superhuman. The Prussian Imperial Guard, 30,000 strong, the pride of the German army, and other picked troops were massed for the great effort.

But the blow fell against General Foch, the most resourceful of all the French subordinates, an officer who as director of the Ecole de Guerre had been fond of declaring that battles are won by refusing to admit one's self vanquished. Foch headed an army that had been formed and stationed to oppose exactly such an effort. It was like the meeting of an irresistible force with an immovable body. On the 8th and again on the morning of the 9th, it looked as if the Germans might succeed by sheer momentum in accomplishing their object. Foch's right wing was pushed back, while his left barely managed to cling to the outskirts of the Sézanne Plateau. "My left has been forced back; my right is routed; I shall attack with my center," said the redoubtable Frenchman. At one time an officer came to report that his men were exhausted. "So are the Germans. Attack!" was the curt answer. Nothing could conquer such determination. The German efforts were foiled. The Imperial Guard was hurled into the marshes of St. Gond. The hope of a smashing German victory vanished.

Meanwhile the French and British had thrown themselves upon von Kluck like a pack of wolves. The Fifth French army under D'Espérey and the British army under Marshal French fell upon him in front, while the Sixth French army, under Maunoury, sallied from the Paris defenses and attacked his flank. Outnumbered and caught at a disadvantage, von Kluck fought so well, nevertheless, that his

enemies had need of all their strength. The crisis came on the fourth day, September 9th. The French advance had been completely arrested; but General Joffre threw in a reserve corps from Paris, the troops being rushed to the scene of action by the energetic General Gallieni, governor of the city, on trains and in a great fleet of commandeered automobiles and taxicabs. The Germans had already suffered immense losses and besides were worn out by the strain of the long marches before the battle. The British and French had forced the passage of the Marne, one of Foch's divisions had broken the German line, and the High Command was obliged to speak that hard word "retreat." The whole German host from Verdun westward turned back from Paris and from the triumph many had supposed was already won, and their retirement involved also that of the Crown Prince of Bavaria from before Nancy, against the defenses of which his legions had dashed in vain.

The retreat was managed with consummate skill, but the Allies pursued so energetically that a considerable number of prisoners and many guns were taken, while the roads for miles were lined with ruined motor trucks and other property destroyed or abandoned by the fleeing enemy. Defeated, but still formidable, the German hosts managed to reach strong positions beyond the river Aisne, and here turned at bay.

Another decisive battle of world history had been fought; a new name had been added to the list of Great Captains. Whatever else the future might have in store, whatever bitter sacrifices she might have to make, France could not now be conquered. For a thousand years, and perhaps for other thousands more, men will study how the soul of a nation, rising to a supreme crisis under the guidance of an inspired leader, triumphed over the impossible and averted annihilation. The name of this leader is Joseph Joffre, and his triumph and that of his country will be called the "Miracle of the Marne."

The German defeat at the Marne was in part due to physical exhaustion and

to lack of war munitions and food supplies. Since they must eat less, they drank more. These beer-drinking Germans were not used to the French wines. Weary and sweating after a day's march they would rush into the cellars of the houses. There are many references to such matters in captured German diaries. "Wine by the cask!" wrote one of von Kluck's soldiers on August 17. "We live like gods in France!" As a French historian remarks, "The wine of France had its part in our



GENERAL VON KLUCK

victory." The extent to which weariness and drunkenness was carried is thus indicated in a captured notebook of an officer on von Kluck's staff:

"Our soldiers are worn out. For four days they have been marching forty kilometers a day. The ground is difficult, the roads are torn up, trees felled, the fields pitted by shells like strainers. The soldiers stagger at every step, their faces are plastered with dust, their uniforms are in rags; one might call them living rag-bags. They march with closed eyes, and sing in chorus to keep from falling

asleep as they march. The certainty of victory close at hand and of their triumphal entry into Paris sustains them and whips up their enthusiasm. Without this certainty of victory they would fall exhausted. They would lie down where they are, to sleep at last, no matter where, no matter how. Only the delirium of victory keeps our men going. And, to give their bodies a drunkenness like that of their souls,

troops are at last able to rest on their laurels, order will be restored."

For some days the German hosts defeated at the battle of the Marne retreated northeastward pursued by the triumphant British Tommies and French *poilus*, that is, "shaggy ones," or "bearded ones." Presently, however, the Germans took up a defensive position along the Champagne Hills behind the Aisne River, ex-



RETREAT OF THE GERMANS AT THE MARNE

they drink enormously. But this drunkenness also helps to keep them up. Today, after an inspection, the General was furiously angry. He wanted to put a stop to this collective debauch. We have just persuaded him not to give severe orders. It is better not to be too strict, otherwise the army could not go on at all. For this abnormal weariness abnormal stimulants are needed. In Paris we shall remedy all this. We shall forbid the drinking of alcohol there. When our

tending from the Oise River eastward past Rheims and through Champagne, around Verdun to Metz. They were much favored by the nature of the ground, particularly on the Laon Plateau, the bulwark of their position toward the west; and they strengthened themselves by strong fortifications and by bringing up reinforcements. In the fortifications they mounted both their field artillery and the heavy guns which they had intended to use against the forts of Paris. They

realized the importance of holding this position, as it was the last of any strength south of the Belgian frontier.

The German position was rendered much safer by the capture of the great fortress of Maubeuge. The Allies had left a strong garrison in this fortress while on the retreat to the Marne and the Germans had speedily besieged it, using the heavy siege artillery that had battered down the forts of Namur. The bombardment of the forts forming a ring around Maubeuge began on August 27 and continued until September 7 when the place surrendered. The Germans claimed to have taken 40,000 prisoners including four generals, and much war material including 400 cannons. Many of the prisoners were French reservists and not the best troops.

The fall of Maubeuge was due in large measure to the effectiveness of the Teutonic howitzers. Here, as at Liège and Namur, was exemplified the fact that steel and concrete fortresses under the fire of these howitzers were quickly changed into pent-houses of destruction. Military engineers realized that the former fortress, the evolution of thousands of years of warfare, had become worse than useless. The French quickly dismantled their forts around Verdun and elsewhere and scattered their heavy guns around on railway and caterpillar mounts, covered by every possible device of camouflage and protected merely by earthworks. In case the enemy discovered the location of such guns they would be hurriedly removed to some new position.

The Allies were anxious to drive the Germans out of their new line, and threw themselves against it with vigor. There ensued the long and confused conflict known as the battle of the Aisne. The German superiority in heavy artillery was very useful to them, and, though compelled to give ground at some points, they were able, in general, to hold the Allies back. The conflict soon became one of trenches, of long range artillery fire, of sapping and mining, of hand grenades, and of short rushes of small bodies of troops fighting for local points of vantage. Both sides suffered immense losses

in these weeks of bloody fighting, but neither side was strong enough to overwhelm the other.

In a word the long and dreary period of trench warfare had begun in the west. Thenceforth, the spade became almost as important as the rifle, and soldiers burrowed underground like moles. Soon the armies were so completely concealed from one another that men might lie for weeks in trenches only a few score yards from their foes and never see a single hostile soldier.

If European military men had carefully studied similar phases of our own Civil War, more especially the final defense of Richmond and Petersburg in '64-'65, they could have foreseen what was coming, but those in authority had not done so. It is not improbable that if the French and British generals had understood the possibilities of trenches and barbed wire entanglements they might have withstood at the French border the mighty German tide that came flooding down across the Belgian plains. They did not, and the battles of Mons, Charleroi, and the Marne were mainly fought in the open. The Germans, it must be confessed, were the first to learn the lesson, and, after their defeat at the Marne, they took up fortified positions behind the Aisne, whence for four years all the efforts of the Allies could not dislodge them.

The resort to trench warfare speedily resulted in a return to the use of an old and almost discarded weapon, namely, the hand grenade. This had been one of the earlier developments following the introduction of gun-powder, and the troops who were armed with grenades were called grenadiers. A popular British army song, which dates from the 16th century, tells how:

"When e'er we are commanded to
storm the palisades,
Our leaders march with fusees, and
we with hand grenades;
We throw them from the glacis about
the enemy's ears,
Sing, tow, row, row, row, row, row,
the British Grenadiers."

There were still grenadier regiments in the British army but their business had long since ceased to be the hurling of bombs. When trench fighting began, such weapons were so scarce that General French's men improvised them by filling tin cans with explosives and nails or other missiles and attaching fuses. It was not long, however, before all the armies were equipped with large supplies of grenades, and many of

their line northwestward in order to attack and envelop the German right flank. They also hoped by this movement to join hands with the still unconquered Belgian army about Antwerp and to bar the Germans from western Belgium and the Channel ports of France. To this threat against their left the Germans promptly replied by extending their own lines, making use of new army corps and drawing troops



GERMAN MACHINE GUNS IN ACTION

the troops received careful instructions in how to throw them. "Rifle grenades" that could be fired from an ordinary service rifle also came into common use. Hand grenades were, of course, particularly adapted to trench fighting and were very effective when dropped into dugouts in which enemy soldiers were lying concealed.

Finding themselves unable to drive back the Germans by direct frontal attacks, the Allies early began to extend

from Alsace and French Lorraine, Belgium, and also from the forces behind the Aisne. Thus there began a sort of "race for the sea;" the ultimate conclusion of this extension of both lines was that, by about the 20th of October, the German right and the Allied left rested on the North Sea, so that no possibility of envelopment by either remained.

In this movement the British army played an active part. Early in October, Sir John French's force began a move-

ment toward the Belgian border, and, by the 19th, the whole force had been transferred thither. By this change the British were not only placed in a position to defend the Channel ports, which threaten England, but also in one to which it was much easier to bring supplies, munitions, and reinforcements from home.

The French also began to transfer large forces thither, and the supreme command on this northwestern front was given to General Foch, the bulwark against which the great German tide had broken in the battle of the Marne.

Every day of this period saw numerous bitter battles—conflicts which in any previous war would have been given extended description but which in this often had no more influence upon the final result than outpost skirmishes. Aeroplanes, field telephones, and other devices of the new warfare were being constantly used and developed, and each side was learning the importance of intrenchments and of heavy artillery.

One episode of this fighting that attracted great attention throughout the world was the German bombardment of the Rheims Cathedral. This famous building, erected in the thirteenth century, was generally considered to be the most beautiful structure in the world. For hundreds of years it was the place of coronation of the French Kings, and it was to this cathedral that Joan of Arc, the Maid of Domremy, brought Charles VII. to be crowned. Rich in historic associations and marvelously beautiful, it was one of the greatest art shrines in the world.

In the middle of September, German gunners from the lines north of the city repeatedly fired upon the cathedral. Parts of it were badly damaged, the roof was destroyed by fire, and much of the priceless glass in the wonderful "rose window" was shattered. The building was full of German wounded at the time, some of whom were injured by the shells. The people, infuriated by the German vandalism, endeavored to wreak their vengeance upon these captives, but a heroic priest restrained them by speaking noble words

to the effect that they must remember that they were Frenchmen, not savages.

The bombardment of the Rheims Cathedral aroused a wave of indignation among art-loving people in all neutral countries, and condemnation of the act was outspoken and bitter. The Germans attempted officially to defend their course by asserting that the French had used the towers for observation purposes. This the French denied, and declared the bombardment was merely another instance of German "frightfulness." The extreme German



GENERAL FOCH

view of the transaction was set forth by Major General von Disfurth, retired, who declared that it was of no consequence if all the monuments ever created, all the pictures ever painted, all the buildings ever erected by the great architects of the world, were destroyed, if, by this destruction, Germany's victory over her enemies was promoted. "War is war, and must be waged with severity. The commonest, ugliest stone placed to mark the burial place of a German grenadier is a more glorious and venerable monu-

ment than all the cathedrals in Europe put together. They call us barbarians. What of it? We scorn them and their abuse. For my part, I hope that in this war we have merited the title of barbarians. Let neutral peoples and our enemies cease their empty chatter, which may well be compared to the twitter of birds. Let them cease their talk of the cathedral at Rheims and of all the churches

lost several times and was virtually destroyed by German bombardments. In the middle of September, following the German retreat from the Marne, the Belgian army moved forward from Malines toward Weerde in such strength that their enemies were obliged to recall large forces from the French border. A hot four days' battle ensued, which was ended by another retreat on Antwerp.

It was clear that the Belgian army would continue to be a thorn in the German side so long as Antwerp continued in its possession, so, toward the end of September, as a part of a new offensive in the west, the Germans began a determined effort to capture the city. Accordingly General von Beseler with a considerable army, well supplied with heavy German and Austrian artillery, was sent to reduce the place and destroy or capture what remained of King Albert's little army.

The great commercial city of Antwerp, which at the outbreak of the war had a population of about four hundred thousand people, lies on the river Scheldt about fifteen miles above the Dutch border. It was generally considered to be one of the most strongly fortified cities in Europe; it was defended by four separate lines of defense, the outermost line of forts being a dozen miles southeast of the city. The fact that the rivers Rupel, Nethe, and Scheldt extend on three sides of the city greatly added to its natural strength. Immediately after the war began, steps had been taken to cut down trees, to clear away buildings, and



FRENCH TESTING A NEW GUN

and castles in France which have shared its fate. These things do not interest us. Our troops must achieve victory. What else matters?"

During the German advance on Paris, the activity of the Belgian army based on Antwerp had necessitated the use of large German forces to safeguard communications with the Fatherland. Much fighting took place in the region about Malines, and this place was taken and

to remove other obstacles that would interfere with the fire of the forts or give cover to an approaching enemy. Millions of dollars worth of property was thus destroyed; while acres upon acres of barbed wire entanglements were constructed, together with "man-traps" and chevaux-de-frise of stakes. Mines were planted in places where the Germans might be expected to come, dynamite was placed under every bridge, and search-

lights were installed which could sweep the zone outside the forts. However, notwithstanding all these preparations, the place had some vital weaknesses against the new system of attack, and unfortunately the Krupp firm had had a large part in the construction and arming of the original defenses; in consequence, the Germans knew the permanent fortifications as well as or better than did the Belgians themselves.

The people of Antwerp had been given a foretaste of what was in store for them as early as the 25th of August. At one o'clock on the morning of that day, a German dirigible appeared over the sleeping city and dropped ten enormous bombs, which blotted out buildings and killed or wounded over fifty people. All the victims were civilians, many of them women and children, and no military damage was done. The airship was greeted with a fusillade of bullets from anti-aircraft guns, machine guns, rifles, and even from the revolvers of the gendarmes, but it escaped seemingly without injury. Thereafter the city was kept in Stygian darkness at night in order that the enemy would have no means of ascertaining its location.

The Belgian army managed to keep open a line of retreat toward the southwest, and the Germans were unable to surround the city. Instead they proceeded to drive a wedge through its defenses, concentrating their attack along the Lierre-St. Catherine-Waelhem sector. They knew exactly the range of the guns mounted in the forts, and so they proceeded to mount their own great siege howitzers beyond the range of these guns. What followed was, says an eye-witness, like "a professional heavyweight prize-fighter, with an abnormally long reach, holding an amateur bantam-weight boxer at arm's length with one hand and hitting him when and where he pleased with the other." With the regularity of clockwork and the power of a giant trip-hammer, the besieging army proceeded with almost no loss to itself to pulverize the Belgian forts and blow the Belgian soldiers out of their trenches. Furthermore, the great

reservoir forming the chief water supply for the city was destroyed by shell fire, and this loss threatened the population with pestilence.

By October 3, the outer forts at the main point of attack had been silenced, and a German force, pushing through the breach, had managed to effect a crossing of the Nethe River. The garrison was discouraged and worn out, and it was apparent that the defense could not be greatly prolonged. The Belgian Government was upon the point of leaving the city, when word came that Winston Churchill, the British First Lord of the Admiralty, had started for Antwerp, and had important word to communicate. That afternoon, "a big drab-colored touring car filled with British naval officers tore up the Place de Meir, its horn sounding a hoarse warning, took the turn into the narrow Marché aux Souliers on two wheels, and drew up in front of the hotel. Before the car had fairly come to a stop the door of the tonneau was thrown violently open and out jumped a smooth-faced, sandy-haired, stoop-shouldered, youthful-looking man in the undress Trinity House uniform. There was no mistaking who it was. It was the Right Hon. Winston Churchill."

Mr. Churchill announced publicly and impressively that "We're going to save the city," and the Antwerpers took heart, thinking that surely he had means at hand to make good his words. In the course of the next few days there did, in fact, arrive five or six thousand men of the British Volunteer Naval Reserve, and they and the lumbering London motor 'buses, which brought their ammunition and supplies by way of Bruges and Ghent, were greeted with wild shouts of "*Vive les Anglais! Vive Tommy Atkins!*" The reinforcement was, however, more apparent than real, for the men were poorly equipped and were almost without military training, while the 4.7-inch naval guns which they brought with them lacked much of being able to cope with the great siege howitzers of the enemy. They fought with great courage and helped to hearten

the Belgian defenders, but they really accomplished little toward delaying the German advance. It shortly became apparent that the city must fall, and, on the night of October 6, the Belgian Government slipped away to Ostend, while Mr. Churchill departed for the coast in an automobile, escorted by an armored car.

There now set in a great exodus of the civilian population of Antwerp and the surrounding country. Hundreds of thou-

in the open fields; and it has been estimated that more people perished of privation on this flight than were killed in the actual siege of the city.

By the evening of October 7, the besiegers had hacked their way close enough to begin the actual bombardment of the city. Their first explosive shell killed a fourteen-year-old boy and wounded his mother and little sister, and other shells effected great destruction to buildings, and



GERMAN GUARD MOUNT IN ANTWERP

sands of people fled across the border into Holland or southwestward to Ostend and other places on the coast, whence many of them were carried by steamer to England. A very large number escaped by boat down the Scheldt; the rest by every conceivable vehicle or on foot. The roads were crowded with pitiful wanderers, who suffered greatly from lack of shelter and want of food. In a single night near a small town on the Dutch frontier, a score of women gave birth to children

killed many people. On the next night, the Germans brought their great 42-centimeter guns into action and began hurling in shells that weighed about "a ton apiece and had the destructive properties of that much nitro-glycerine." As they came these shells "made a roar in the air which sounded at first like an express-train, but which rose rapidly in volume until the atmosphere quivered with the howl of a cyclone. Then would come an explosion which jarred the city to its very

foundation. Over the shivering earth rolled great clouds of dust and smoke. When one of these terrible projectiles struck a building it did not merely tear away the upper stories or blow a gaping aperture in its walls: the whole building crumbled, disintegrated, collapsed, as though flattened by a mighty hand."

The evacuation of the city had already begun, and, on the 9th, the civil authorities negotiated a surrender. A large force of Germans passed through that night in pursuit of the retiring Belgians and British, and, on the following afternoon, about sixty thousand others made a triumphal entry, and for five hours marched before their commander and his staff, who sat on horseback before the royal palace. Not many of the inhabitants remained to watch this spectacle furnished by their conquerors.

By the capture of Antwerp the Germans gained possession of one of the greatest commercial cities in the world, but most of the gallant little army that had defended it managed to escape toward Dunkirk and Calais. Some thousands of the Belgians, however, and about a third of the British crossed the border into Holland, and, of course, were interned for the war. Some of the British, at least, did this because their officers were too ignorant of international usage to understand the consequences of such an act, and were too supercilious to accept a warning given by an American war correspondent.

Most of the army, aided by two British cavalry divisions, which had been landed at Ostend and Zeebrugge, and later by French forces, managed to effect its escape to southwestern Belgium. With them went King Albert and also heroic Queen Elizabeth, the royal children being sent to England for safety. Throughout all these stirring days and those that followed the King showed himself a figure of romance—simple, brave, heroic. Though he was the idol of his people, his dominions in Europe were soon to be reduced to a

narrow strip not many miles long and only a few miles wide. He exposed himself to dangers and discomforts like a common soldier. It is related that on one occasion after a tour through the muddy trenches, an officer attempted to brush some of the dirt off the King's clothes. But the King said: "If the soil of my country thus clings to me, let it remain."



QUEEN ELIZABETH OF BELGIUM

With East Prussia for the present relieved of danger and Antwerp taken, the Germans had now gotten their second wind. Von Moltke, the Chief of Staff, had been relieved of his command, and was succeeded by General von Falkenhayn. It was determined once more to try to force a favorable decision in the West; the first attempt having been foiled at the battle of the Marne. With tremendous energy and almost lightning rapidity

the Germans concentrated six or seven hundred thousand men, many of them fresh levies, for an effort to smash through the Allied line to Dunkirk and Calais. The seizure of these places would have given them a base from which to make a possible later attack upon England, it would have insured the conquest of all that remained of free Belgium, and it might have been followed by a rolling up of the Allied line and by a new attempt upon Paris.



GENERAL ERICH VON FALKENHAYN

To meet this blow there was at first only the shattered Belgian army, the British army, now considerably enlarged by reinforcements, notably by some native troops from India, and inconsiderable French detachments, one of them consisting of a brigade of marine fusiliers, composed for the most part of Breton naval reservists.

The battle that followed lasted for weeks and was one of the fiercest of the whole war. The issues at stake were hardly less vital than those of the Marne,

and for a long time the outcome was in doubt. The Belgian army was so badly in need of rest and reorganization that at first the brunt of the attack had to be borne mainly by the British. Their number was so small that the long line could not be strongly held, and more than once the oncoming German hosts seemed certain to achieve their goal.

The fighting along the Yser Canal and about Dixmude was particularly ferocious, sustained, and sanguinary. "As the struggle swayed backward and forward through wood and hamlet, the fighting assumed a most confused and desperate character. The units became inextricably mixed, and in many cases, in order to strengthen some threatened point or to fill a gap in the line, the officers had to collect and throw into the line what men they could, regardless of the units to which they belonged."

The Germans fought under the eye of their Emperor and under exhortations to the effect that their ruler considered that breaking through was of vital importance to the issue of the war. In serried columns the grey-clad masses surged forward in close order against the Allied trenches only to be shot down by thousands and tens of thousands. History probably records no higher example of devotion than was displayed by these soldiers, many of them boys still in their teens, as they rushed forward to almost certain death for Kaiser and Fatherland.

The Germans did not confine themselves to infantry attacks. Day after day they poured a stream of shells upon the Allied positions. Some of these shells were of immense size, and were known by the British as "Black Marias" and "Jack Johnsons." Night after night the survivors would have to creep forth to renew their shattered trenches and to patch up the barbed wire entanglements in front. The strain was terrific, but British troops have always been marvelously strong in defense, and they lived up to the best traditions of their race on these flat Flanders' plains, crouched down in the Flemish mud.

There were many critical days, but October 31st was the most critical of all. Before noon of that day the line of the British 1st Division in the region between the Menin Road and the Yser Canal was attacked by forces six or eight times stronger and had to give way. Its retreat "exposed the left flank of the 7th Division; and, owing to this, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, who remained in their trenches, were cut off and surrounded." Soon after, General Lomax, commander of the 1st Division, was wounded and three of his staff officers and three of the 2d Division were killed by a shell that struck the headquarters of their army corps. Fortunately General French and his staff were close at hand and aided General Haig in the superhuman task of saving the day. On this occasion the British generals did not remain in the rear, far out of reach of the bullets, as is customary in every army, but exposed their lives as freely as did the common soldiers. A few reserves were hastily gathered; even drivers of transport wagons and officers fired rifles at the charging German hosts until rifle barrels grew burning hot. The 1st and 2d Divisions rallied, and, with the 2d Warwickshires leading, recaptured the village of Gheluvelt at the point of the bayonet. Later in the day, French reinforcements arrived, and, by ten o'clock that night, the line was again practically where it had been in the morning.

Several days more of fierce fighting followed in this region, but the danger was never quite so great as on the 31st. In a supreme effort to break through two brigades of the Prussian Guards were brought up, and were given the Kaiser's special commands to take Ypres. On the 11th of November, after a heavy bombardment, the Guards pressed forward, passing diagonally across a part of the Allied front. They were subjected to a fierce fire of artillery, rifles, and machine guns, but such was their resolution and

momentum that they broke through in three places and penetrated some distance into the woods behind the British trenches. Here they were subjected to fierce attacks, were enfiladed with machine guns, and were either killed, captured, or driven out. The number left dead in the woods alone amounted to 700.

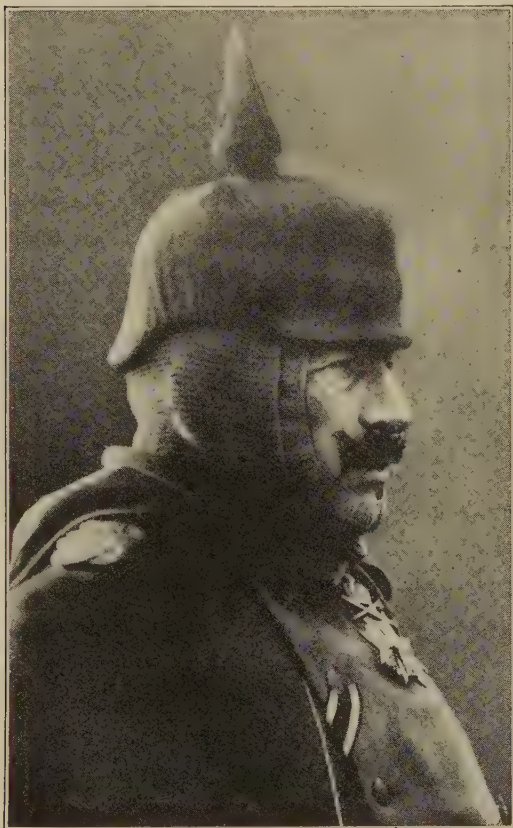
As the days of this great battle for the Channel ports passed by, the Belgians



GENERAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG

and French were able to take an increasingly large part. In their muddy trenches by Dixmude five thousand Belgians and six thousand French marines held out from October 16th to November 10th against a hundred thousand men under the Duke of Württemberg. Gradually more troops were brought up, but they would probably have proved inadequate had it not been for two powerful allies. On October 19th a British flotilla con-

sisting largely of light draught ships, some of them monitors bearing long range guns, appeared off the coast and proceeded to batter the German works with lyddite and shrapnel shells. As the gunners were directed by observers in aeroplanes and balloons, they were able to make splendid practice and inflict enormous losses, while themselves keeping out of range of all but the heaviest of the German guns.



KAISER WILHELM II.

Furthermore, some of the smaller vessels entered the canals and were able to render assistance from there. Nevertheless, the Germans, on the 24th, managed to get across the Yser between Nieuport and Dixmude, but, in desperation, the Belgians opened the flood-gates and let in the sea upon the lowlands. The French and Belgians had then merely to defend the high places and the raised roads, and, though bitter fighting continued for more than three weeks, they were ultimately

able to make good their stand upon what remained of free Belgium.

As at the Marne, the Germans had been unable to triumph over the steady valor and skilled leadership of the Allied troops. At the Marne much of the credit for victory had been due to the genius and determination of General Ferdinand Foch. He it was who had been in command in this battle in Flanders. And as the German legions had dashed in vain against his determined spirit in the region of Saint Gond and the Sézanne plateau in September, so again, in October and November, they were turned back by that determined spirit from Dixmude and Ypres.

Thus failed the second of the great German attempts to force a decision in the West. The Allied losses had been enormous, but those of the Germans had been immensely greater, for they had flung themselves forward in close formations, heedless of death. The Allies found forty thousand dead Germans, and thousands of others were buried by their own comrades or were drowned in the canals or rivers. Altogether their losses probably exceeded a hundred and fifty thousand men in this great Battle of Flanders, or, as the Germans were at first inclined to call it, the "Battle of Calais."

By superhuman efforts the Allies had managed to bar the Germans from the Channel ports, but though they held the field, they were much too weak to follow up their victory by an energetic offensive.

As in the region of the Aisne and toward Verdun and beyond, the conflict now resolved itself into a war of trenches. From Switzerland to the North Sea, along a line of more than four hundred miles, the two armies lay confronting each other in positions too strong for either to be able, for the present at least, to drive the other out.

The Germans themselves realized that their effort to decide the war in the West had failed, and during the coming year they reversed their plan. They settled down to a strategic defensive on

the Western Front, and devoted their greatest efforts to an offensive designed to eliminate Russia from the conflict.

One of the main questions that remained to be solved in the west was, would the French, aided by the slowly increasing British volunteer armies, be able ultimately to drive the Germans out of their trenches, or would the stalemate, which was to last for so many months, endure till the end of the war?

All of Belgium except a petty strip in the southwest, and several of the chief industrial departments of France were in their hands. Their enemies were not only deprived of the use of the mines and machinery in these regions, but to a considerable extent the Germans were able to make use of them for themselves. For many months the war in the west, except for a few hundred square miles



BELGIAN DOG TEAM FOR DRAWING MACHINE GUN

What, then, were the main results of the first four months of the war on the Western Front? Each side had had some failures and some successes. The Germans had failed to capture Paris or to annihilate the armies of their enemies—even the army of little Belgium. The grand stroke, toward the success of which every human and humane consideration had been sacrificed, had failed. Yet the Germans had much to show for their efforts.

in Alsace remaining in French hands, could be fought on the enemy's own soil. The attempt on Dunkirk and Calais had failed, but the Germans held most of the Belgian seacoast, and this would be helpful in the submarine campaign against the British navy and merchant shipping.

As for the Allies, they had passed through the fiery furnace and had come out scorched but alive. Though suffering enormous

losses, they had beaten back their enemy in two of the greatest battles in world history. Though they had lost much, they had saved more. Threatened repeatedly with annihilation, they might well be grateful that they had come through the ordeal so well. They faced the future with confidence. In the acid test of battle, the French army had once more shown itself worthy of the best traditions of a glorious past. The little Belgian army had suffered terribly, but it still remained in being, and could be recruited from the hundreds of thousands of fugitives who had fled from their native land before the conqueror. Of the gallant little army

of Britons who had seen more desperate service in four months than had perhaps ever before fallen in the same time to the lot of an army there remained hardly more than some fragments, but reinforcements were pouring in, and though, in future, the quality could never again be so good, the numbers would in time become immensely greater.

Events on the Eastern Fronts had already shown that the war was to be a long one, an affair not of months but of years. And the Allies felt that, having survived the first great onslaught, they had reason to feel content, for they believed that Time was on their side.

CHAPTER CLXXV.—FIRST BATTLES ALONG THE EASTERN FRONTS.



IN order to understand the course of events along the Eastern Fronts, it is necessary first to study the map. Russian Poland, it will be observed, projects westward between East Prussia and Austrian Galicia as into the jaws of a trap, and forms what is known to military men as a "salient angle," which is always considered a difficult position to defend. This weakness of the Russian position might be eliminated in one of two ways: by conquering those portions of Germany and Austria that lay to the north and south of Poland, or by withdrawing from Poland and taking up a straight line of defense to the eastward. This last step was what the Russians were ultimately forced to do, but, of course, they did not seriously consider it at first, but devoted their efforts to capturing the projecting "jaws" of hostile territory that threatened them.

In preventing the consummation of this Russian purpose the Germans and Austrians were aided by two important circumstances. The defense of East Prussia was simplified by the fact that it possessed some natural advantages in the

way of defense and by the fact that the German fleet controlled the Baltic Sea. On the other hand, Austrian Galicia was in large measure a flat country which would be comparatively easily overrun; but behind it rose the tall and rugged ramparts of the Carpathians, through whose passes the Austrians, if defeated, could retire, and from which they could sally out and harass the invaders. In the matter of strategic railroads and ordinary highways, the Central Powers enjoyed an immense advantage, and were able to mass troops at a given point, by train or automobile, much more rapidly than could the Russians.

This advantage would have been all the greater had it not been for two or three other considerations. The Russian infantryman was physically superior to any other soldier in the world, and could out-march any other soldier. Furthermore, in the Cossacks the Russians had in great numbers a body of mobile horsemen superior to any other *large* body of cavalry in any army; men whose trade was war and who were the descendants of men whose trade was war. For transportation of supplies the Russians depended in large measure upon immense numbers of two and four-wheeled wagons, drawn by hardy

horses. Such transport trains could not, of course, move with anything like the rapidity of motor trucks, but they could go where motor trucks could not go, and were, upon the whole, better suited to warfare in Russia, where good roads were uncommon.

The plan of the Central Powers as regards the Eastern Front has already been explained in its larger lines. The Germans threw, as we have seen, almost the whole of their immense army westward against France, leaving the task of meeting the Russians to a comparatively small force of their own troops and to the Austrians. It was hardly expected that these forces combined would be able permanently to hold in check the vast hordes that the Russians would move westward; but Russian mobilization was known to be a slow matter, and the Germans expected to gain a decision over France before the Russians could strike any decisive blow. In fact, because of the greater rapidity with which Austria could bring her forces into play, it seems that the two allies hoped that in the first few weeks of the war, a large part, if not all, of Poland might be overrun.

The Russian objects may be summarized as follows: to mobilize as quickly as possible; to threaten East Prussia and draw off some of the pressure from France; to smash the Austrian armies before the German troops in the west could come to their aid. In all these objects they were reasonably successful, and no history of the great conflict is complete which does not lay heavy emphasis upon the influence exercised at this time by the Russian armies.

The first actual fighting of the whole war took place, of course, upon the Servian border. A bombardment of Belgrade was begun before Germany or Russia entered the war, and Austrian forces began an invasion of the country. The Russian menace was so great, however, that not enough troops could be spared for the purpose, and, after overrunning a portion

of the little country, the Austrians were badly defeated by the Servians along the heights of Tzer, at Shabat, and near Losnitza, and were forced to retreat, whereupon the Servians and Montenegrins began an invasion of Bosnia. Much bitter fighting subsequently took place in this Servian region, details of which will be given later; but, for a long time, the attention of the world was mainly directed to other campaigns.



GRAND DUKE NICOLAI NICOLAIVITCH

Those people who based their opinion of the Russian army upon the showing it had made in the war with Japan soon discovered that they were not in accord with the actual facts. The Russian military establishment had been reorganized, and, though the system was by no means a perfect one, the armies that now marched to battle were much more efficient than those which had met defeat after defeat on the plains of Manchuria.

At the head of the Russian armies stood the Grand Duke Nikolai Nicolai-

vitch, son of the Russian commander in the last war with Turkey and second cousin of the reigning Czar. He served as a young man under his father in the campaign of Plevna, Lochva, and the Shipka Pass, and was awarded the Cross of St. George for valor under fire. He took no part in the war with Japan, but throughout his career kept abreast of developments in military science, and was active in the reorganization of the Russian army after the disasters in Manchuria had made evident its weaknesses. Personally he inherited the unusual height and extraordinary physical strength so common among the house of Romanoff, being six feet and five inches tall. His wife was a daughter of the King of Montenegro and a sister of the Queen of Italy.

Russian efficiency was greatly increased in the war by a novel step. Drunkenness had long been the bane of the Russian army and of many of the Russian people, the popular drink being the exceedingly strong liquor known as vodka. An imperial ukase was issued closing the wine shops during mobilization, and this was presently followed by an edict forbidding the sale, transportation, or consumption of any liquors during the period of the war. The Russian example was followed to a lesser extent by others of the warring countries. France, for example, totally abolished the use and manufacture of the demoralizing and poisonous absinthe.

It was universally recognized that racial sympathies and antipathies would probably play a great part in the course of events along the Eastern Front. We have already shown that there were millions of Servians within the boundaries of the Dual Monarchy who were dissatisfied with their status, while, to a lesser extent, a similar situation existed in eastern Germany. The longing of hundreds of thousands of people of Italian blood in the region about the Adriatic to be united to Italy also gave reason for anxiety to Francis Joseph, and was ultimately to prove an important factor in the situation. Russia, likewise, was not without her troubles of a similar nature; and the de-

sire of the Poles for independence had been evidenced in the past in many bloody outbreaks. On the 15th of August, the Grand Duke Nicholas, commander-in-chief of the Russian forces, issued, on behalf of the Czar, a proclamation promising autonomy to Poland, with freedom of religion and language. It was a clever stroke, cleverly phrased, and undoubtedly did much to hold the Russian Poles in loyalty to Russia. The Russian people, in fact, entered the conflict much more united than could have been expected, and really with genuine enthusiasm. In Austria-Hungary, however, there was much Slavic disaffection, which made itself felt in mutinies and also by lack of resistance in the field.

Although the Germans at the outset had only five or six army corps available for service in the east, both they and the Austrians attempted an offensive. The Germans seized a stretch of Polish territory to the east of Silesia, including the important railway town of Kalish and also Czeszochowa, the latter a city held in particular esteem by the Poles because of its historical associations. The Germans did not expect, however, to push this invasion with any great vigor at this time, and the chief movement was left to the Austrians further southward. Meanwhile, a Russian force under General Rennenkampf had crossed the border into East Prussia. The first considerable action took place on August 5 when the Russians reached Stallupönen, the Germans being driven out of this town with considerable losses. It was not until about a week later, however, that the real forward movement of the Russians began.

The Austrians in the early days of the war massed almost a million men in Galicia. These troops were divided into two armies; one, facing northward and based on the great fortress of Przemyśl, had for its task the invasion of Russian Poland; the other, based on Lemberg, faced northeastward and had for its duty the protection of the right flank of the first army and of eastern Galicia against Russian attacks from that direction. The first

army was made up of the best troops; the second was more heterogeneous in its makeup and included some regiments whose enthusiasm for the war was more or less doubtful.

As has been said before, much depended upon the speed with which Russia would be able to mobilize. The Russian Empire, it should be remembered, was a country of vast extent and enormous distances,

mentality of the private soldiers that composed the hosts thus gathered was low, but in many previous wars the Russian troops had shown themselves able to endure an immense amount of punishment; while the fact that the country contained an almost inexhaustible reservoir of men enabled Russia to view with equanimity losses that, if suffered by some powers, would be fatal. In the Cossacks the



RUSSIAN WOUNDED IN DRIVE AT GALICIA

even European Russia being ten times as large as Germany. Furthermore, the railway system of the country was much less developed than was the case in either of the Central Powers, while the organization of the army was generally supposed to be somewhat cumbersome. Estimates of the time required for mobilization ran as high as forty-two days, and yet such was Russian speed at this crisis that within two weeks after the war began they were ready for big movements. The average

Russians had an enormous body of light cavalry composed of the best horsemen in the world. A word picture of mobilization of a Cossack village in one of the Ural provinces follows:

"On July 31st the village awoke to find a red flag waving before the Government building, the sign that a general mobilization had been ordered. Immediately everything was in a state of uproar. Nobody knew who was the enemy and nobody cared. It was sufficient that

there was war. Only the women made wild conjectures as to whom it was against. There was no thought of work. Horses were groomed, uniforms donned, rifles and sabres cleaned with enthusiastic vigor. Soon the Government veterinary surgeon took his stand before the chief building and the work of examining the horses began. Each man in turn brought up his horse and put it through its paces. The test was most strict, and any animal showing the slightest defect was promptly



GENERAL RUSSKY

branded as useless. All day the work continued, a crowd of women and children watching the proceedings. At night the red flag was pulled down and a red lamp was hoisted in its place. In the evening there was a great feast. A whole ox was roasted, there was dancing among the younger people, but owing to the new regulations there was practically no vodka. All through the night men came riding into the village from the outlying districts.

"On the Sunday when the preparations were almost complete the consecration service was held. The whole village as-

sembled before the little wooden church. It was a stirring sight to see these great warriors in their full battle array kneeling before their Maker and solemnly asking His aid. At the conclusion of the service each man was blessed by the priest and anointed with holy water. Then he led his horse away and received the blessings of his family.

"On the following day they set off on a journey of thousands of miles. The women, children, and old men watched them. Their eyes gleamed with tears and their breasts heaved. Then, when the last man had disappeared from view, they turned away, walked to the fields, and took over the labors which the men had left unfinished."

Less than a week after the Germans began their assaults upon the forts of Liège, the first Austrian army moved across the frontier into Russian Poland. Their first objectives were Krosnik and Lublin, but the ultimate aim was probably Warsaw. The Russian forces opposing them were too inferior in numbers to make a decided stand, but withdrew, making what resistance they might, before the invaders. This movement and that of the Germans from the west was hailed in Berlin and Vienna as a triumphant march on Warsaw, but events soon showed that Warsaw was not to fall at this time.

Meanwhile, the Russians themselves had been gathering two great armies for an invasion of eastern Galicia. The first of these, under General Russky, was designed to move directly against the second Austrian army, while another, under General Brusilov, moved from the southeastward nearer the Carpathians against the same army's right wing. On the 14th of August, Russky's great army, preceded by vast clouds of Cossacks, crossed the Galician border. The Austrians had already been beaten in several skirmishes, and Russky's forces pressed onward until, about the day that the Germans in the west were marching through Brussels, he was drawing near the position of the second Austrian army extending before the fortress and town of Lemberg. The advance of both the Russian armies through

Galicia was generally well received by the Slavic inhabitants, many of whom greeted the Czar's troops as deliverers and gave them food and drink.

The period which in the west witnessed the battles of Mons and Charleroi and the retreat of the British and French toward the Marne saw a vast and complicated conflict in Galicia in the region of Lemberg. The Austrian forces, though enormous, were outnumbered by the combined hosts of Russky and Brussilov, and were defeated in stubborn and bloody battles at Tarnopol, Halish, and other places. Eleven times a Russian corps commanded by the Bulgarian General Radko Dimitrieff captured a mountain that was the key to the Austrian position, and eleven times the Austrians took it back. But the twelfth time the Russians held the hill. The Austrian right and left wings were forced back until their center in front of Lemberg was threatened with envelopment; and, early in September, what remained of this Austrian army retired westward in disorder, followed by the victorious Russians. The great city of Lemberg was taken, and all of eastern Galicia bowed to the invaders.

Meanwhile, the first Austrian army, which was endeavoring to invade Poland, suffered a bloody repulse in the region of Lublin. The rout of the second army uncovered the flank of the first, and the Austrian commander was forced to fall back and attempt to stem the Russian tide. A new and desperate battle took place at Rawa Ruska in the neighborhood of Tomaszów, and again the Russians were victorious. Other defeats followed, and soon what remained of the Austrian armies were in full retreat westward and southward toward the great fortresses of Przemyśl and Cracow. Their retirement was harassed by great numbers of Cossacks, and prisoners were gathered in on a scale hitherto unknown in warfare. By September 16, the Russians were able to announce the capture of 250,000 Austrians, almost a third of their original number, while tens of thousands of others had been killed or wounded. Vast quantities of supplies, innumerable

rifles, great numbers of cannons and machine guns were also captured. Siege was laid to Przemyśl, and soon swarms of Cossacks were climbing the passes of the Carpathians and threatening to descend into the rich plains of Hungary.

As we have already stated, Russia, like Germany, threw her main strength at the outset into one effort, namely against the Austrians in Galicia; but, by way of a diversion in favor of her hard-pressed Gallic ally and for other purposes, she also made a raid into East Prussia. The forces which undertook this task numbered over two hundred and fifty thousand men, and were divided into two armies, one of which crossed the frontier from the region of the Niemen and the other from that of the Narew. The southern army consisted of nearly four army corps under General Samsonoff; the northern army of three corps and one division under General Rennenkampf. The two armies planned to form a junction at Hilsburg for mutual support.

The German forces in readiness to oppose them were comparatively weak in numbers, nor were they, for the most part, first line troops. The German task was, however, lightened by the fact that their fleet controlled the Baltic and afforded protection to the northern border, and also by the fact that East Prussia was not only well fortified but possessed many natural advantages in the way of defense, while the German strategic railways and highways enabled them to transport their troops from one point to another with great rapidity. The region in which the main battle was to be fought was a network of small lakes and slimy swamps, covered in part by pine and birch woods. The highways through this region were few, and an invading army would be compelled to move slowly along these highways, and, if attacked at one point, would be unable to send reinforcements thither with any ease or dispatch. If defeated, the invaders would be likely to fall into disorder in the labyrinth, to lose guns and men and horses in unexpected depths—in short, to be annihilated.

The first Russian operations were, however, decidedly successful. The region to the north of Tilsit was cleared by the Cossack patrols attached to the northern army, and the German advanced posts were forced back to the line of Stillen, Gumbinnen, and Goldap. North of Stallupönen a strong Russian force fell upon a German army corps, and, after a bitter fight, turned the German flank and forced them to retreat toward Gumbinnen, with

them, while the inhabitants communicated information by preconcerted signals. Thus on one occasion some Cossacks set out to surprise a German force occupying a village, and on the way passed a haystack that had been fired. The owner was seemingly making every effort to save his property, and was frantically throwing bucket after bucket of water on the flames, though the only result was a vast column of dense smoke that rose toward the



ARTILLERYMEN OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY

a loss of many killed and wounded, several hundred prisoners, and about twenty cannons.

The Russian advance was much hampered by the ease with which the enemy obtained information of their movements, arrangements for this purpose having been made by the Germans long before. Not only were there secret telephones by which the position of the invaders could be described to the German gunners, but the German aeroplanes hovered overhead and allowed no movements to escape

heavens. The Cossacks rode onward, and after going a couple of miles fell into an ambushade from which only a part escaped. As the survivors rode back, they saw that the haystack was still smouldering, but the owner had disappeared. Subsequently it was discovered that the "water" he had used contained a chemical that made great clouds of smoke, and that thereby he had signaled to his countrymen to be in readiness.

Furthermore, according to General Yanouskevitz, Chief of the Russian General

Staff, the German Government had for years been buying land on strategic points in both East Prussia and Poland, and building houses that were particularly suitable for purposes of defense. Ostensibly this was done by individual farmers, but much of the expense was paid through military appropriation. Says Robert R. McCormick, to whom General Yanouskevitz told the story: "Dwellings were erected that overlooked long stretches of territory in the direction of Russia; they were built with thick fort-like walls on the eastern front with small loophole windows, but with wide doors and windows and with thin walls towards the west. Many of these houses were connected by underground telephones, so that in the early stages of the war farmers could telephone from within the Russian lines to the German headquarters. Early in the war Russian batteries carefully concealed would be struck by the first shell from a German gun."

On the 19th of August, the Russian northern army had arrived in front of the main German position about Gumbinnen. A bitter battle followed, which was not decided until the 21st. Both sides displayed great heroism, and the Russians were subjected to a frightful fire from artillery and machine guns. The Russians pushed in with the bayonet, while a regiment of Horse Guards charged a German battery and took the guns. Ultimately the Germans were outflanked, and were forced to retreat. The retreat degenerated into a rout, and thousands of Germans, with many pieces of artillery and vast quantities of stores, fell into the hands of the victors. The survivors, threatened by the second Russian army coming up from the south, were unable to retreat westward and threw themselves into the seaport of Königsberg.

About the same time this second army had attacked a single German army corps in the neighborhood of Frankenau. The Russian superiority in numbers was very great, and the Germans were defeated and lost many guns and prisoners. A portion of the defeated troops retreated

westward, while the rest joined their comrades in Königsberg.

In the very days, therefore, that the German armies in the west were driving the French and British back from Mons and Charleroi and were beginning their triumphant march toward Paris, the German armies in the east were flying in disorder before the hordes of the Czar; while the non-combatants in East Prussia were receiving a taste of the horrors of war that their countrymen had inflicted upon the Belgians. The Cossacks were nothing loth to play a retributive rôle, and there is no doubt that the civil population of parts of East Prussia, both then and later, were treated somewhat rigorously.

Hordes of fugitives fled westward, even as far as Berlin, spreading news of the disasters and breeding a feeling approaching panic. German susceptibilities were so stirred by this news and by that from Galicia that several army corps were detached from the western army and were hurried eastward to endeavor to turn back the Russians.

From a purely military point of view it is clear that this action was a mistake. It would have been better to have permitted the Russians to ravage East Prussia for the time being and to have worked their will with the Austrians rather than to have detached forces from the west at the most critical moment in the whole war. The scales of victory hesitated so long at the Battle of the Marne that, had the German leaders in that battle been able to throw into the balance the six or seven army corps that had been hurried eastward, they might have won the battle, and a victory would have meant the downfall of France. With the French and British armies out of the way, it would then have been a comparatively easy matter to have driven out the Russians. The Kaiser, or the Imperial Staff, or whoever was responsible for the decision did not, at this juncture, display the iron resolution to ignore everything but the one great end that we have witnessed in General Joffre. Political and sentimental considerations were permitted to interfere

with military expediency; and, though the sending of fresh troops to East Prussia resulted in a great victory, it was but a poor exchange for what was lost in the West.

As for the Russians, they would have done well had they pushed onward with less confidence and greater caution. They had already accomplished their main object—that of effecting a diversion helpful to their hard pressed western ally. As it was, their precipitancy led them into a great disaster.



FIELD MARSHAL PAUL VON HINDENBURG

German generalship in East Prussia had been decidedly weak, and it was necessary to find a new leader. The choice of the Imperial General Staff and of the Kaiser fell upon General Paul von Hindenburg, who was quickly to become the most prominent figure among all the German leaders. This officer was then about 67 years of age and was a veteran of the Austro-Prussian and of the Franco-Prussian wars. He had been slightly wounded at Sadowa, and took part in the famous

storming of St. Privat. For some years he was a professor in the War Academy, and in 1903 reached the rank of a commanding general. In 1911, he retired, and was living on his pension in Hanover, being engaged in writing his memoirs. He had given the subject of the defense of Germany against Russia a great deal of study, and, according to widely circulated stories, knew the labyrinth of the Masurian Lakes as well as he knew his own street. He was of an outspoken disposition, and, it is said, the Kaiser was loth to appoint him because, a few years before, he had been most caustic in his criticism of the management by the Kaiser of an army engaged in maneuvers. In appearance he filled the ideal of a soldier, being over six feet tall, broad of body and shoulders, and fierce and grim of countenance.

Von Hindenburg received news of his appointment to command the eastern army on the 22d of August. A special train carried him and his Chief of Staff, General von Ludendorff, who was likewise to make the world resound with his name, to the Eastern Front. Hindenburg said afterward: "I had time only to get together the most necessary articles of clothing and have my old uniform put in condition for service." Arrived at the front, he lost no time in inaction.

Army corps snatched from the Western Front were transported with astonishing speed over the superb system of strategic railways, other troops were withdrawn from western Poland, and still others were brought up from the interior of Germany or by sea from Königsberg. In an incredibly short time von Hindenburg managed to assemble in front of Samsonoff an army of about two hundred thousand men, and in the very country of the Masurian Lakes, where he had so often rehearsed the drama that was now being acted out in reality.

The Russians were poorly served by their intelligence department, were comparatively weak in artillery, and were ignorant of the labyrinth in which they fought. For three days von Hindenburg

contented himself with the defensive, but, on the 26th of August, he began to execute a cleverly conceived offensive. His plan resembled that of Hannibal at Cannæ. First he concentrated on his right near Soldau a great mass of men and guns and pushed the unsupported Russian left wing backwards. Then, leaving a comparatively weak force here to hold the defeated forces from making a new advance, he hurried many of his men and guns by railroad and motor cars to his own left wing near Allenstein, and, on the 27th, repeated the same tactics against the Russian right. The Russian army had now assumed the form of a crescent, with the horns turned from the enemy. Pressure was continued during the next two days, during which the Russians were battered by the German artillery. Finally the Russians attempted to retreat, but they were so badly involved in the labyrinth that they were unable to withdraw in anything approaching good order. Two army corps, of about eighty thousand men, were caught in the swamps about Tannenberg, and practically all were either shot down or captured.

Many who called for quarter were denied it. The slaughter was so terrible that even some Germans were sickened by it. A private soldier, wounded in the battle, wrote anonymously to Ambassador Gerard the following letter of protest:

"It was frightful, heart-rending, as these masses of human beings were driven to destruction. Above the terrible thunder of the cannon could be heard the heart-rending cries of the Russians: 'O Prussians! O Prussians!'—but there was no mercy. Our Captain had ordered: 'The whole lot must die; so rapid fire.' As I have heard, five men and one officer on our side went mad from those heart-rending cries. But most of my comrades and the officers joked as the unarmed and helpless Russians shrieked for mercy while they were being suffocated in the swamps and shot down. The order was: 'Close up and at it harder!' For days afterwards those heart-rending yells followed me, and I dare not think of them or I shall go mad. There is no

God, there is no morality and no ethics any more. There are no human beings any more, but only beasts. Down with militarism."

As a result of the Russian defeat, the siege of Königsberg had to be raised by Rennenkampf's army, and practically all of East Prussia was freed from the invader. The great news was given to the German public in a series of official dispatches culminating in the following, issued September 3d:

"The troops of Colonel-General von Hindenburg in the east are garnering



GENERAL RENNENKAMPF

further fruits of their victory. The number of prisoners is growing daily; it has already reached 90,000. It is impossible to determine how many cannons and trophies are still concealed in the Prussian forests and swamps. Apparently not two, but three, Russian commanding generals have been captured."

By the Germans the victory of Tannenberg was proclaimed another Sedan, and in the numbers captured it was upon a scale not inferior to that battle, upon whose anniversary the tidings of victory reached Berlin. All of Germany was

aflame with the great news. Von Hindenburg became in a moment the hero of the war, and his reputation was increased by later events. In the west the German legions were still pursuing the retreating French and British, and the German public confidently waited on tiptoe for the still greater news of the fall of Paris. Many people were confident that the war was practically over, but the War God willed otherwise.

to be a long and bitter one, a matter of years not of months, of money and material resources as much as of men.

After his victory at Tannenberg, von Hindenburg endeavored to force the Russians under Rennenkampf against the Baltic Sea, but Rennenkampf managed to elude the danger and retired into Russian territory and took up a position about Suwalki. Leaving about four army corps to hold Rennenkampf in check, von



WARSAW FORT SPLIT BY HEAVY GERMAN SHELLS

Ten days more and the Germans in the West, defeated and worn out, were retreating before the triumphant French and British, and the conflict in that quarter was soon to become a warfare of spades and trenches, with no likelihood of an early decision. In the East the armies were to fight many desperate engagements, none of which, however, whatever its outcome, could break the deadlock. By the middle of September, the possibility of a short war had passed. The conflict was

Hindenburg transferred large forces by rail through Prussia and Silesia to the region of Kalisch. This forced the Russians in this region to withdraw to the region of Ivangorod, while the Austrians, moving forward from Cracow and elsewhere, managed to raise the siege of Przemyśl.

Von Hindenburg attacked Ivangorod and Warsaw. The first was easily held by the Russians, but Warsaw narrowly escaped capture, being only saved by the

opportune arrival of some Siberian troops and some regiments of the Corps de la Garde, hurried up from Ivangorod. Other troops were sent to Warsaw, and von Hindenburg was driven back to Silesia and the Austrians to Cracow, while the Russians managed once more to lay siege to Przemyśl.

It was at this time that the Battle of Flanders was at its height. To effect a

menace in the Caucasus and about the Black Sea, their activities were truly remarkable.

Late in November, von Hindenburg concentrated a large army around Thorn and attempted a counterstroke against Warsaw. He won initial successes over General Rennenkampf, and practically surrounded large Russian forces about the town of Lodz. German dispatches



RANGER CORPS, AUSTRIAN ARMY

diversion in favor of the hard pressed French, British, and Belgians, the Russians sent a considerable force under General Baron Sievers into East Prussia from the region of Suwalki and attempted an offensive elsewhere along the line. Gumbinnen was captured in East Prussia, Russians drew near to Cracow, Cossacks again crossed the Carpathians, and the Austrians were forced back in Bukowina. In view of the fact that the Russians were compelled at this time also to meet the Turkish

forecasted a new Tannenberg and the removal of the Russian menace, and von Hindenburg was created a field marshal. But the Russians called up reinforcements, and an army coming from the north got in the rear of a German army north of Lodz, cutting it off from its communications. The Germans in turn were nearer a great disaster than at any time up till then during the war. So great was the peril that von Hindenburg telegraphed to the Western Front to send him every man that

could be spared. But before the reinforcements could arrive, the threatened army, under General von Mackensen, by "unbelievable" exertions, managed to cut its way out, though only after enormous losses.

Meanwhile the Austrians had attacked the armies of Generals Brusiloff and Dimitrieff in the region of the Carpathians, but had been driven back with tremendous losses, particularly in prisoners. Bukovina was overrun, but with the help of

in front of the Bzura-Rawka line, and for ten days and nights the Germans alternately bombarded the Russian trenches and assaulted them with infantry. The losses on both sides were terrific, but the Russians held firm, and the Germans were foiled. It was evident that Warsaw could not be captured by frontal attack from the west.

The failure of the Germans in Poland was rendered all the more discouraging by events in Serbia. Some weeks before the



PANORAMA OF PRZEMYSL

German reinforcements, partly cavalry from the Western Front, the Austrians were able to hold in check the Cossack raids into Hungary. They failed, however, to relieve Przemyśl, and Cracow was still threatened.

Following the escape of the German army surrounded near Lodz, the Russians again evacuated this city, and fell back to the strong Bzura-Rawka line. Late in December, von Hindenburg made a desperate effort to hack his way through, by frontal attacks, to Warsaw. Several hundred pieces of artillery were massed

Austrians had again attempted to overrun that little kingdom, and had sent several army corps to do the work. Confronted by superior numbers, the Servians were driven out of the northwestern corner of their country, Belgrade was captured, as a birthday present for the aged Francis Joseph, and, by the beginning of December, the fate of the little kingdom seemed sealed.

But the Russians sent a raiding expedition into Hungary, and a large force was detached from the Austro-Hungarian army in Serbia to meet this new menace, while

aged King Peter showed himself a worthy descendant of the old Servian Kings. Mounted on a white charger, he rode in front of his troops, harangued them in burning words, and then led them to victory after victory. Within less than two weeks Belgrade was recaptured, and not an Austrian remained on Servian soil except as a prisoner.

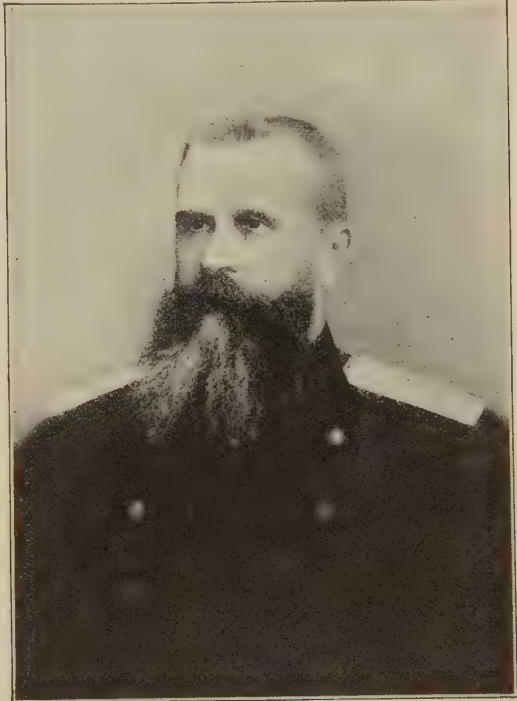
The Servian victories and the failure of the attempt upon Warsaw greatly lowered Teutonic prestige, and the Balkan situation became threatening. But again von Hindenburg evolved a brilliant stroke. Once again he began desperate assaults upon the Bzura-Rawka line, and then suddenly threw two hundred thousand men by strategic railways and automobiles into East Prussia and fell like a thunderbolt upon the inferior forces of General Baron Sievers. The Russians were badly beaten and suffered losses almost equal to those of Tannenberg.

East Prussia was again practically freed of invaders, and von Hindenburg endeavored to follow up his victory by an invasion of Poland from the north, but was held up by the obstinate resistance of the great barrier fortresses of Grodno and Ossowetz. As a counterstroke the Russians advanced from Prasnysz upon Mława, and as a result a great battle was fought that lasted through the final week of February, 1915, and resulted in a Russian victory.

Far to the southward Germans and Austrians in the same month managed to redeem a large part of Bukowina. This success and the victory in East Prussia restored Teutonic prestige. The likelihood of Roumania's entering the war on the side of the Allies became more remote, while there was talk that Bulgaria might throw in her lot with the Central Powers. Bulgarian irregulars did, in fact, invade Serbia, but the Bulgarian Government was not yet ready to drop its neutrality mask, and the act was disavowed.

Meanwhile the Russians had continued to press the Austrians and to besiege the great fortress of Przemyśl. The success of the Austrians in temporarily raising

the siege of this place in October had ultimately resulted to their disadvantage, for, when the relieving army was again driven back, many thousands of soldiers from it took refuge in the fortress, with the result that it was greatly over-garrisoned. The Russians again drew their lines about the fortress, but their investment was in the nature of a blockade rather than a siege. So vast was the extent of the Austrian position that the Russian lines



GENERAL IVANOFF

of circumvallation were about forty miles in length.

The Austrians repeatedly attempted to drive back the Russians and relieve their beleaguered comrades, but in vain. Early in the new year, the Russians had heavy artillery in readiness to be sent for use against the fortress, but in view of the determined German and Austrian attempts to pierce the Russian lines in the Carpathians, it was decided best not to risk the safety of this siege material. About the first of March, however, the guns were brought up and placed in position, and a heavy bombardment was begun.

Some of the outer fortifications were carried, but the Austrian position was still so strong that the defenders could have held out for a long time had it not been for sickness and famine.

By the end of the third week in March, the position of the Austrians had become desperate. Their food supply was virtually exhausted; the men were starving; while the hospitals were filled to over-

Carpathians, whose distant, snow-clad summits could be seen from Przemysl in the clear spring sunshine. For hours the Austrians hurled themselves against the iron ring, but were unable to break through, and finally those that remained alive withdrew exhausted and disheartened.

Further resistance was now useless, and, on March 22d, General Kusmanek surrendered the fortress to General Ivanoff,



AUSTRIANS IN THE CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS

flowing with wounded and those sick with typhus and other diseases. Communication with the Austrian armies had been kept up by aeroplane, but the Austrian authorities could offer no hope of a speedy relief. Finally General Kusmanek, the commander of the defenders, gathered a force of 20,000 of his strongest men, fed them on what remained of the scanty supply of food, and ordered them to break through and join their comrades in the

who commanded the besiegers. The number of troops who thus fell into Russian hands was over 119,000, the largest number that had surrendered at one time in the whole war. Little wonder that the great news was greeted with rejoicing in all the Allied countries, or that throughout Russia crowds paraded the streets and streamed to the cathedrals to celebrate *Te Deums*. The spoils of war also included over a thousand cannons, but many of these

had been rendered unserviceable by the garrison before surrendering.

The capture of Przemyśl released the army that had been besieging it to reinforce the Russian armies operating in the region of the Carpathians. Stupendous efforts were now made by the Grand Duke's forces to capture this great natural barrier and overrun the plains of Hungary, into which raids had already more than once been made by Cossacks.

The fighting in the Carpathians was done under the most adverse conditions, at high altitudes, amid snow, and the Russian attacks were directed against strong natural positions. The chief efforts, of course, were directed against the various passes, and the fighting consisted, therefore, of numerous local but correlated engagements, in which the Russians suffered immense losses but gradually pushed their enemies back. By the middle of April, they had managed to capture the principal chain of the Carpathians on the front Reghetoff-Volosate, a distance of about seventy miles, and had taken upwards of seventy thousand prisoners. At one point the Austrians made sixteen desperate attempts to recover a commanding height but failed.

The Allied cause at this moment seemed more in the ascendant than at any time since the beginning of the war. The French and British public were looking forward to the "spring drive," which they hoped would result in the expulsion of the Germans from France and Belgium. The naval attempt upon the Dardanelles, it is true, had been checked, but it was generally supposed, even in neutral countries, that the Straits would be forced in a few months at most. The Austro-

Hungarian Empire was hard pressed, and the Russians seemed upon the point of sweeping over the Hungarian plains to join hands with the Servians and perhaps with the Italians, who were on the eve of entering the conflict. Some observers thought that by autumn it would all be over with the Central Powers.

Quietly, however, these Powers, and particularly Germany, had been making stupendous preparations. Vast new forces



GENERAL VON KUSMANEK

had been raised and equipped. New methods of warfare had been evolved. And movements were in readiness that were to shatter all the Allies' hopes for speedy victory and were to result in their discomfiture in almost every theater of action.

Before we follow the course of the campaigns on land, however, it is desirable that we should describe the early events of the war upon the seas.

CHAPTER CLXXVI.—ON THE SEAS AND BEYOND.



T was the contention of one of the greatest of American historians, the late Rear Admiral Mahan, that in worldwide conflicts such as we are describing that side is almost certain to win which succeeds in controlling the seas. His doctrine of sea-power as applied to history was widely accepted in many countries, and certainly many precedents could be cited to uphold it. To go no further back than the sixteenth century, it was the British navy which enabled Great Britain to triumph over the Spaniards in the series of wars beginning in the days of Drake, and it was the superiority of that navy over that of the Dutch which settled the conflict for commercial predominance in the seventeenth century. Had France controlled the seas, she and not Great Britain would have won the "Second Hundred Years War," and she would have retained Canada and developed India. For years only the British navy stood between Napoleon and complete dominance in Europe. On the other hand, Great Britain lost the Thirteen Colonies in America because temporarily she lost command of the seas. As for other great wars, it is virtually certain that if it had not been for the blockade the Southern Confederacy could not have been conquered; the Spanish-American War was decided by the destruction of the Spanish fleets; and without her victorious navy Japan could not have won her war against Russia. Such precedents gave weight to the theory, and, in consequence, among knowing observers, there was much speculation as to whether it would hold true in the present conflict.

The relative strength of the opposing navies, so far as ships, guns, and men were concerned, was known with reasonable

accuracy, and a statement regarding the matter has already been made. It was known, for example, that the combined navies of the Entente Powers were fully twice as strong on paper as those of the Central Powers, and it was recognized by naval men that where a fleet fights another fleet only half as strong in ships and guns the odds are really, for a number of causes, much greater than the ratio of 2 to 1. It was also known that some of the British super-dreadnoughts carried heavier guns than did any of the German ships, and experts believed that this would give the British a decided advantage in an engagement, even when the vessels otherwise were equal. The British system of fire control, that is, of aiming and firing the guns, was also supposed to be the best in the world.

Evidently, therefore, if the men and officers of the Entente navies were equal in courage and seamanship, man for man, to those of the navies of the Central Powers, the outcome of a finish fight was a foregone conclusion—unless some accident or chance or new device in warfare should neutralize these overwhelming advantages. Possibilities in the use of the submarine and the airship gave, on this account, an interest to the course of naval operations that would otherwise have been lacking.

The question of immediate control of the sea was quickly settled. The French concentrated a large part of their fleet in the Mediterranean, and this force, together with a few British ships, was so overwhelmingly superior to the German and Austrian ships in those waters that they made no effort to do much more than escape. German and Austrian merchant ships in the Mediterranean region were either seized or were laid up in Austrian or neutral ports, while the warships of these powers that were outside of Austrian ports scurried rapidly for places of safety.

Only two German vessels in this region deserve our particular attention. These

were the *Breslau* and the *Goeben*, the former a protected cruiser of 4,478 tons, and the latter a giant battle cruiser of 22,640 tons, both new vessels and exceedingly swift. On August 2d, these two vessels were at Messina in Sicily, but, on receiving news of the declaration of war against Russia, they put to sea. On the 4th, they made a demonstration off the coast of Algeria, and the *Goeben* inflicted considerable damage upon the port of Philippeville. The same day, they met the British battle-cruisers *Indefatigable* and *Inflexible* and the light cruisers *Weymouth* and *Gloucester*, which closed in on them, and, upon being asked what was wanted, replied that war was imminent between Great Britain and Germany. The German ships separated and fled. The slower British ships, which had not yet received news of war, followed but were outdistanced.

The German ships again entered the harbor of Messina, but, as Italy had remained neutral, they could stay in this port only twenty-four hours. Meanwhile, they had received news of the outbreak of hostilities between their country and Great Britain. From Germany came the wireless dispatch: "His Majesty expects the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* to succeed in breaking through!" The British supposed that the Germans would make for some Austrian harbor on the Adriatic, and concentrated most of their ships in the Straits of Otranto, but left the swift light cruiser *Gloucester* on the watch off Messina. It is said that the British were sending false radio messages to the Germans to rush for Pola. But this was no part of the German intention. With bands playing and flags flying, the German ships steamed out of the harbor as if for the Straits of Otranto and the Adriatic. The little *Gloucester* kept them constantly in sight and wired their movements to the main British squadron. Off Cape Spartivento, the *Goeben* and *Breslau* suddenly began letting off into the air "all the discordant vibrations which their wireless could command, jamming the air with such a hullabaloo that the *Gloucester* was unable to send any intelligible messages." Then the

German cruisers turned southward and steamed for the Ægean Sea and the Dardanelles. The plucky little *Gloucester* kept at their heels, and once even audaciously offered battle, but the larger British ships never came in sight of the German vessels.

Treaties signed in 1856 and 1871 forbade warships to use the Dardanelles except by special permission of the Sultan and then only in times of peace, but German



PRINCE HENRY OF PRUSSIA

influences were in the ascendant at Constantinople, and Baron von Wangenheim, the Kaiser's zealous Ambassador, had every thing arranged. On arriving off the entrance to the Straits, the German cruisers hoisted the Turkish flag, steamed up the Straits, and in due course dropped anchor at Constantinople. When the Allies protested to Turkey, they were told that Turkey had "bought" the two cruisers. Such a sale, in time of war, was itself illegal, but, in reality, the sale was a fictitious one, and was part of a deep-laid

plot, of which more will be said in a future chapter.

The British commander who was responsible for the escape of the German cruisers from Messina was certainly guilty of a grave blunder. He was brought to trial before a court-martial and was exonerated, but the evil consequences of his failure cost the Allies dear.

and over 100 protected cruisers, destroyers, and other vessels, and was the most powerful combination ever assembled up to that time under one flag. The fact that most of the British fighting strength was thus gathered into one great unit was exceedingly opportune, for it removed all chance of the Germans fighting the British navy and destroying it in detail. The



MANNING GUN ABOARD BRITISH SUBMARINE

Much greater interest centered at this time about the naval situation in the North Sea. It so happened that on the 18th of July the British navy had assembled at Spithead for summer maneuvers and to be inspected by the King. The international situation became so threatening that the fleet was kept together to await the outcome of the diplomatic battle. The fleet consisted of 24 dreadnoughts, 35 pre-dreadnoughts, 18 armored cruisers,

Germans had either to fight against tremendous odds or seek safety in their harbors, and they chose the latter course.

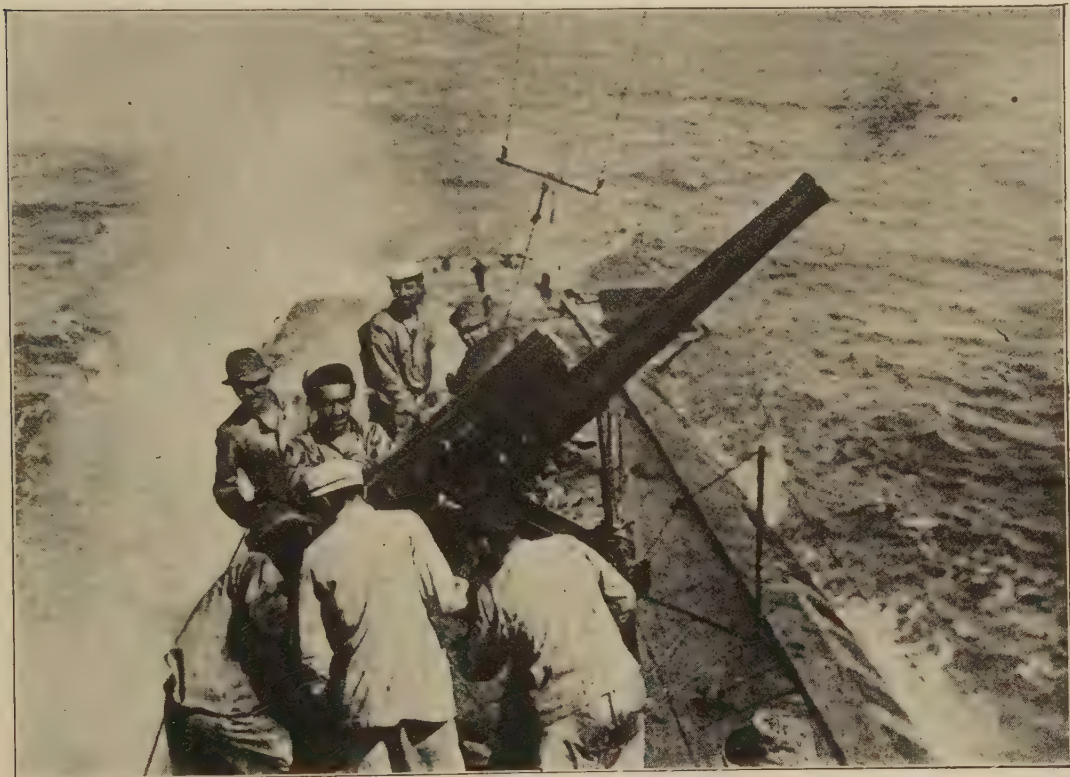
Many short-sighted people supposed that the British fleet would proceed to attack the German vessels in their harbors and would bombard the German coast. The truth was, however, that any such attempts would have been sheer madness. The German coast and harbors were protected by mine fields and an elaborate

system of fortifications containing many enormous guns, while the danger from submarines in such an attack would have been very great.

From the outset the British determined to play the game safely, to risk no great disaster. They firmly believed that, if they could retain control of the sea, they would ultimately be able to dictate the terms of peace; and they knew that it was to the last degree vital to their own

England." The British were resolved, therefore, to take no foolish chances but to confine themselves to keeping the German navy and merchant marine penned up in German harbors.

Even this task was by no means an easy one. The cession of Heligoland to Germany in 1890 had left Great Britain without any naval base near the German coast, and blockading vessels were compelled to operate from English and Scotch



GUN MOUNTED ON ITALIAN SUBMARINE

peace and safety for them to retain that control. Great Britain is dependent for much the larger part of her food supply upon other nations. If her fleet had been destroyed and the Germans had gained control of the sea, they would not only have been able to land troops in England and conquer her colonies at leisure, but they would also have been able to subject her to a ruinous blockade against which it would have been useless to struggle. A "single error might end the history of

harbors. This difficulty was not an insuperable one, and, if it had not been for submarines, the task of patrolling the North Sea coast of Germany would have been comparatively easy. Events soon showed, however, that a close blockade gave the ubiquitous wasps too many opportunities to get in their work of destruction; and ultimately the British merely kept small patrol boats, such as destroyers and also their own submarines, on the watch for any attempt on the part of the Ger-

mans to come out. These boats were equipped with wireless telegraph outfits, and were thus able to report in a moment to vessels hundreds of miles away any threatening movement of the enemy's ships.

The British operations were also hampered in other ways. For one thing they had not enough destroyers. In the early days of the war after other requirements had been attended to, there were only 42 destroyers available to act as a screen

requirements in the way of boiler cleaning and the refit and adjustment of their more delicate machinery, and the necessity for giving not only the machinery but the personnel periods of rest. The heavy ships then had two alternatives—either to remain at sea without a destroyer screen, or to return to harbor with the destroyers. In the early days, the first alternative was adopted, the risk being accepted but minimized as far as possible



FRENCH DESTROYER IN THE ATLANTIC

for the Grand Fleet, whereas the German High Seas Fleet might be able to have 88 of these vessels. In a book published after the war Admiral Jellicoe says:

"The fuel capacities of destroyers was only sufficient for them to remain at sea in company with a fleet for some three days and nights, whereas the fleet itself could remain out for three or four times that period. Moreover, the destroyers could not be kept nearly so constantly at sea as the large ships, owing to their

by keeping the ships in the northern part of the North Sea."

Furthermore, the British were lacking in docks and in secure naval bases. Their chief bases for the Grand Fleet were the Firth of Forth in Scotland, the harbor of Scapa Flow in the Orkneys, and Lough Swilly on the northeast coast of Ireland. The danger of a sudden attack by German destroyers and submarines on the High Fleet in these inadequately defended bases was so great that for a time the Grand Fleet actually

retreated from before the enemy to Lough Swilly. Regarding this matter Admiral Jellicoe says:

"The anxiety of officers in command of fleets or squadrons at anchor in any of the bases used by the Grand Fleet was immense. For my part, I was always far more concerned for the safety of the fleet when it was at anchor in Scapa Flow during the exceedingly brief periods which were spent there for coaling during the early days of the war, than I was when the fleet was at sea, and this anxiety was reflected in the very short time that the fleet was kept in harbor. It was also the cause of my taking the fleet to sea very hurriedly on more than one occasion owing to the report of the presence of a submarine in the anchorage, and considerable risks were accepted in getting the fleet to sea in very thick weather at night on at least one of these occasions.

"I have often wondered why the Germans did not make greater efforts to reduce our strength and capital ships by destroyer or submarine attacks on our bases in those early days. They possessed, in comparison with the uses for which they were required, almost a superfluity of destroyers, certainly a superfluity as compared with ourselves, and they could not have put them to a better use than an attack on Scapa Flow during the early months of the 1914-1915 winter."

Admiral Jellicoe attributes the German failure to attack the fleet at this time to the fact that they doubtless "credited us also with possessing harbor defenses and obstructions, which, in our case, were non-existent, although we did our best in the fleet to give the impression that we had obstructed the entrances, for, pending the provision of proper obstructions, we improvised various contrivances. It may have seemed impossible to the German mind that we should place our fleet, on which the Empire depended for its very existence, in a position where it was open to submarine or destroyer attack."

The fact that the British were forced to occupy such distant bases enabled the German fleet more than once to carry out short raids against the English coast. A grave fear existed in inner circles in England lest the Germans should attack the transport of the Expeditionary Force to France. Admiral Jellicoe says that the German failure to do so



ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JELlicoe

surprised him and some other naval officials. "The conditions for him were distinctly favorable. He must have been aware that our main fleet was based far to the northward, and if he had timed an attack on the cross-channel traffic for a period during which he reckoned that the destroyers were returning to the base to fuel, he would have stood a good chance of making the attack and returning to his base before that fleet could intervene.

Consequently he would only have had to deal with the comparatively light forces based in southern waters. On the other hand, if our fleet arrived on the scene without destroyers, the Germans would have possessed no mean advantage."

German forethought and preparation gave Germany control over the Baltic Sea. The Kiel Canal, dug in the '90s and greatly enlarged and deepened just before the outbreak of the war, proved



ADMIRAL VON TIRPITZ

of vast strategic value in this connection. Let us suppose, for example, that the British decided to send their whole fleet into the Baltic through the straits lying between Denmark and Sweden. They could probably pass through these straits—possibly after some losses from mines and submarines—but the moment they entered the Baltic, the German fleet would issue from the west end of the Kiel Canal and harry the coasts of England and sweep Allied commerce from the seas. If, on the other hand, the British should

decide to send only part of their fleet into the Baltic, the Germans could attack either that portion in the Baltic or that portion which remained in the North Sea, as seemed best to them, and the British would be exposed to the grave danger of being defeated and destroyed in detail.

The Kiel Canal, therefore, gave the Germans control of the Baltic, and the fact was to prove of great significance in the war. The Germans were not only enabled to conduct a considerable commerce with Norway and Sweden but were also able to blockade Russian Baltic ports, assist German military operations against Russia, and hamper Russian military operations against Germany. Had the Baltic been open to ships of the Allies, the spectacular campaigns in Galicia and Poland during the spring and summer of 1915 would probably not have occurred, for Russia could then have obtained sufficient supplies of ammunition—her vital lack—to have enabled her to hurl the invaders back. The Kiel Canal was one of the many factors that helped to give the Great War its wonderful complexity.

At a signal from the Admiralty the great British fleet weighed anchor and most of it suddenly vanished from the sight of the world, remaining shrouded by the mists of obscurity for months and months. Had the German battle fleet ventured out into the open sea, the existence of the British fleet would no doubt soon have proved a concrete reality of the most impressive sort, but this was no part of the plan of Admiral von Tirpitz and his officers. They believed that in a pitched battle the German fleet would be hopelessly outmatched, and they, therefore, had long since decided to hold the fleet in safety on the wait for a favorable opportunity. The German battleships withdrew to harbors about the Kiel Canal, where they were safe not only from the British High Fleet but also from prying British submarines. It was the German hope that by a gradual process of "whittling," that is, by drawing the British vessels to destruction against their fortresses, by sinking others by mines or submarines or by

bombs dropped from Zeppelins, they could so reduce the strength of their enemy that a naval battle could be fought on more nearly equal terms.

The opening weeks of this campaign of whittling were somewhat encouraging. The waters of the North Sea were strewn with mines, while the German submarines sallied forth in secret prepared to strike whenever opportunity should offer. A few days after the war with Great Britain began, according to Captain I. Persius,

The greatest loss attributed to the work of a mine was that of the British dreadnought *Audacious*. This vessel, which was completed in 1913, had a tonnage of 23,000, and was one of the real first line units of the British fleet. The facts about the disaster that befell her were kept from the public, but it is now known that she struck a mine off the northeast coast of Ireland on October 27, 1914. The fleet, which at this time was based at Lough Swilly, was at sea preparing



TYPE OF BRITISH WARSHIP

a German naval expert, "the minelayer *Koenigin Luise* planted mines at the mouth of the Thames, one of which destroyed the cruiser *Amphion*." The *Koenigin Luise* was sunk for her pains, but other German vessels, indeed sometimes neutral vessels in German pay, strewed the North Sea with mines. The Allies and some of the neutral powers protested, but the British presently found it necessary to follow the German example. Literally scores of neutral merchant vessels were sunk by these mines, as well as a few British and German warships.

for target practice when an explosion beneath the *Audacious* resulted in the flooding of the port engine room and the partial flooding of the center engine room. At the time, it was not known whether she had been mined or torpedoed, but subsequently it was learned that she had struck a mine. Says Admiral Jellicoe in his book:

"Shortly after the *Audacious* struck the mine, the S.S. *Olympic*, on passage from the United States to Liverpool, closed the ship on learning of the disaster, and at once volunteered to help in any way

possible. Captain Dampier of the *Audacious* asked that his ship might be taken in tow and brought into Lough Swilly, and Captain Haddock of the *Olympic*, disregarding the danger of submarine attack, or of being mined, took immediate steps to carry out this request. Unfortunately a considerable sea was running, which increased during the day. In spite of the most seaman-like handling of the *Olympic* and, later in the day, excellent work on the part of the master of the *Thornhill*, the hawsers constantly parted, owing to the state of the sea and the weight of the *Audacious*, the stern of that ship being almost awash by the afternoon. The attempts to tow the injured ship had to be abandoned before dark, and Sir Lewis Bayly, Captain Dampier, and the few officers and men who had remained on board to work the hawsers, were taken off the *Audacious* by 7.15 p. m. The remainder of the ship's company had been removed without accident, in spite of the heavy sea, in the course of the day by destroyers, trawlers, and other small craft, and in the boats of the *Audacious*.

"Arrangements were made for the *Liverpool* to stand by the *Audacious* during the night, but at 9 p. m. she suddenly blew up with great violence and sank. The cause of this explosion was never ascertained with certainty. The *Liverpool* was not far distant at the time, and a great deal of the debris fell on the deck of that ship, killing one petty officer.

"On the arrival of the S.S. *Olympic* at Lough Swilly, orders were given that no communication between the ship and the shore was to take place. I wired to the Admiralty suggesting that the loss of the *Audacious* should be kept secret as long as possible, so that the enemy should not learn of it, as the fact would afford him encouragement at a time when the military situation was extremely critical for the Allies, and also because, as a general policy, it was desirable to conceal from the enemy any serious losses of which he could otherwise have no immediate knowledge. This was necessary, as the

Olympic had on board a considerable number of American passengers, and it was known that they had taken photographs of the *Audacious* in a sinking condition."

Not until the close of the war did the British officially announce the loss and give out the facts concerning it.

In this war the submarine received its first thorough test. The submarine was, however, by no means a new invention. Probably the first ever constructed was invented in 1624 by a Hollander named Cornelius van Drebbel. It was built of wood and was propelled by hand with oars, but with it van Drebbel demonstrated in a small way the practicability of underwater navigation. In 1772 an ingenious Yankee named David Bushnell, who was then a student at Yale college, constructed a submarine called the *Turtle*, designed for use in warfare. It was moved by a screw propeller which was connected with a hand crank inside the boat. A torpedo was carried outside the craft and Bushnell's plan was to have his boat sneak under a man-of-war, screw the torpedo to the ship and then depart, leaving the torpedo to be fired by a time clock device. Early in the Revolution the *Turtle* was given an actual tryout against the British flagship *Eagle*, which lay off the coast of Staten Island. A bold American corporal named Ezra Lee succeeded in navigating the *Turtle* underneath the *Eagle's* stern but as the bottom was sheathed with copper he found it impossible to attach the torpedo. As daylight was approaching he was forced to leave the torpedo floating near the ship. The *Turtle* escaped undiscovered and in due time the torpedo exploded, but in the meantime it had drifted some distance away and the explosion did no harm other than to give the crew of the *Eagle* a great scare.

Subsequent experiments with submarines were made by Robert Fulton, both in Europe and America, by the Russians in the Crimean War, and by the Confederates in our own Civil War. One of the Confederate submarines was sunk in a canal near New Orleans when Farragut

captured that city, but after the war it was raised and was placed in one of the city parks, where it can still be seen. These early submarines proved far more dangerous to their crews than to their enemies and not one succeeded in making a successful attack under water. In Mobile Bay, however, one of them, while running on the surface, managed to ram, with a spar torpedo, the Federal ship *Housatonic*,

At the beginning of the war, the British had more submarines than did the Germans but the German craft were much superior. In the words of Admiral Jellicoe:

"The ideas held in pre-war days as to the capabilities of submarines were found after a short experience at war to need modification. In the first place it became quickly apparent that the German submarines possessed a radius of action and



GERMAN SUBMARINE HOLDING UP PASSENGER STEAMER

and the ensuing explosion sank both vessels.

Many later experiments were made in various countries, but the inventors chiefly responsible for perfecting this type of vessel were two Americans, John B. Holland and Simon Lake. It is said that Holland, who was an ardent sympathizer with the cause of Ireland, was actuated by a desire to strike a blow at British sea power, and he certainly succeeded.

sea-keeping qualities considerably greater than those of our own submarines. It had been, for instance, looked upon as a considerable achievement for our submarines to keep to sea for a period of five to seven days, and they had not operated at any great distance from the coast. Furthermore, it was known that the Germans possessed a considerable superiority in the number of submarines which were capable of operating overseas. The

frequent sighting of enemy submarines as far north as the Orkney and Shetland Islands early in the war, combined with the fact that the enemy appeared to have established a regular submarine patrol in the center of the North Sea, made it evident that the German submarines would constitute a very serious menace to our heavy ships."

The first German submarines were, however, comparatively small vessels and their cruising radius was only a few thou-



CAPTAIN-LIEUTENANT OTTO WEDDIGEN

sand miles. Soon, however, the German yards were constructing much larger U-boats capable of remaining at sea for many weeks. Some of the super-submarines of the later stages of the war were of several thousand tons burden, carried long-range cannon, and on the surface were so speedy that they could overhaul all except the swiftest boats.

One of the most remarkable submarine exploits of the whole war occurred on September 22, 1914, in the North Sea, and was the work of the German boat *U-9*. The commander of this boat was Captain-

Lieutenant Otto Weddigen, a young man of thirty-two years, who only a little more than a month before had wedded his "boyhood sweetheart." On the morning of the day in question, after having passed British torpedo boats and other small game, Lieutenant Weddigen, when eighteen sea miles northwest of the Hook of Holland, and while running partly submerged with about five feet of the periscope above the surface, caught sight of three enemy cruisers. He at once submerged completely and laid his course to bring him in the center of the trio, which were moving in triangular formation. He succeeded in getting another flash through his periscope without being observed, and presently reached a position within easy range.

"I then," says Lieutenant Weddigen, "loosed one of my torpedoes at the middle ship. I was then about twelve feet under water, and got the shot off in good shape, my men handling the boat as if she had been a skiff. I climbed to the surface to get a sight through my tube of the effect, and discovered that the shot had gone straight and true, striking the ship, which I later learned was the *Aboukir*, under one of her magazines, which exploding helped the torpedo's work of destruction.

"There was a fountain of water, a burst of smoke, a flash of fire, and part of the cruiser rose in the air. Then I heard a roar and felt reverberations sent through the water by the detonation. She had broken apart, and sank in a few minutes. The *Aboukir* had been stricken in a vital spot and by an unseen force; that made the blow all the greater."

The vessel thus destroyed was an armored cruiser of 12,000 tons, launched in 1898. Her consorts were her sister ships the *Cressy* and the *Hogue*. These two cruisers steamed up to rescue the crew of the sinking ship, and Weddigen quickly discharged another torpedo, which struck the *Hogue* and inflicted such a wound that presently she sank. The *Cressy*, now definitely aware of the nature of the attack, began to steer a zigzag course, firing her guns rather wildly at every suspicious

looking object. She, too, presently received a death wound, and joined her consorts at the bottom of the North Sea. Surmising that other British boats would quickly appear upon the scene, drawn thither by wireless messages, Lieutenant Weddigen turned homeward, leaving the drowning British crews struggling in the water. He was pursued by destroyers, but ultimately escaped.

By this day's disaster the British navy was diminished by 36,000 tons and 1,450 men. The loss of life was the most serious aspect of the matter, as the ships were old and not strictly up to date, and, being cruisers, had never been designed to take a place in the line of battle. The blow notwithstanding was a distressing one to the British, and brought home to them that even their enormous navy must act with circumspection.

It was realized that the disaster had been greater because two of the cruisers had gone to the assistance of the one that was first struck. And it was ordered that henceforth, when one vessel should be torpedoed, those about her must leave her to her fate and look to their own safety.

The exploit made Lieutenant Weddigen one of the heroes of Germany. The Iron Cross of the first and second classes was conferred upon him by the Kaiser, and that of the second class upon all of his crew, for the victory in this battle of David with the Giants. This was not Lieutenant Weddigen's last exploit, but a few months later he set out on a cruise from which he and his new vessel, the *U-29*, did not return. In June, 1915, the German Government reported that the *U-29* had been rammed and sunk by a British tank steamer flying the Swedish flag, but this the British denied. They issued a statement that the vessel had been sunk by "one of his Majesty's ships." The place and the circumstance long remained the secret of the British Admiralty and of the silent deep.

After the war it became publicly known that, in March, 1915, Weddigen, in the *U-29*, attacked the British Grand Fleet off Cromarty, Scotland. He dove under

the destroyer screen and fired a torpedo, which passed astern of the battleship *Neptune*. The alarm was given, and the battleship *Dreadnought*, having seen the periscope of the U-boat, promptly rammed her and sent her to the bottom. As the submarine sank her bow rose in the air, plainly disclosing the number "*U-29*." There was not a single survivor. Weddigen had failed in his bold attempt, and every other German submarine commander who made a similar attempt failed. Not a



SIR JOHN FISHER

single Allied dreadnought was sent to the bottom by a torpedo during the entire war.

Submarine warfare was, in fact, exceedingly hazardous and disagreeable work for the U-boat crews. The hardships of such service were thus summarized by Captain Persius, a leading German naval critic, in an article that appeared in the *Berliner Tageblatt*:

"A seaman's lot is never easy. Night and day he is separated from a watery grave only by a thin plank. And yet his

existence seems like paradise compared with that of the U-boat man. This man dispenses with what everyone regards as indispensable for life—light and air. When the road to hades gapes for the U-boat man it leads through darkness and torment. He knows that he is threatened most by a slow death through suffocation. Everybody else—with the exceptions of stokers, men in the magazines, and some

is more or less lost in the crowd. He is only one among the more than 1,100 men composing the crew of a modern ship of the line. On board the U-boat every one is an important personality. There are rarely more than thirty men in a high seas U-boat. So every one, be he sailor or oiler, has several duties to perform; so every one is fully acquainted with all the numerous mechanisms and expert in their



FRENCH TORPEDO BOAT

others—enjoys the fresh air and looks up and sees above him the broad canopy of heaven when in the roar of the battle he must enter the gates of the Great Beyond. Indeed, in every case, '*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*' But our sympathies will be more deeply moved when we think of the death of the U-boat man.

"Of course the U-boat man also sees some of the bright side of life, and it would be wrong to pass by without noting this. On board a big battleship the individual

use. The commander, watch officer, and chief engineer know every one of their men thoroughly. They stand in a comradely relationship to them; they share their sufferings and joys in every way. Their food is all cooked in the same kettle and gift cigarettes of the same brand are found between their lips when the boat bobs up for a brief rest and the weather permits. Below decks smoking is not allowed. To be sure, the commander has a tiny room of his own—in which to write his official reports, etc.

"But the lack of light and air, the absence of every comfort, the dangers that menace them every hour, yes, every minute, are the common lot of all U-boat men. There is, however, greater responsibility upon the officers and the chief engineers, although every single U-boat man, sailor and oiler alike, knows that oftentimes a slight oversight or a false move will seal the fate of himself and his comrades.

"The most careful selection among the volunteers, who are always offering themselves in great numbers for the U-boat service, is just as important as the long period of training in which U-boat aspirants are schooled in every branch of their difficult service. They must all be in superior health and be what they call '*fixe Kerle*'—i. e., quick in perception and decision, never timid or hesitating, skilled, and also infinitely serious in their conception of duty, dependable and steadfast. The sailor must be a 'thoroughbred seaman,' the oiler a perfect mechanic.

"The members of the crews are trained at the U-boat school. There they become acquainted with all the complicated apparatus, the expert use of which forms the basis for every success. The pupils are made familiar with the instruments that show the condition of the atmosphere, the trim of the boat and the height and depth, with the functions of the numerous valves, slides and levers, etc., and with the safety and life-saving apparatus, a thorough knowledge of which is indispensable for every U-boat man. In addition to these general points, the submarine sailor must have skill in navigation, in signaling, in serving and launching torpedoes and in handling the deck guns and their ammunition, while the oiler must understand the care of the engines that drive the U-boat above and below the water well enough to enable him, in case of necessity, to take the place of the engineers and, if possible, that of the chief engineer.

"Correspondingly greater demands are made upon the officers and the engineers. Every U-boat commander is almost a 'superman.' He must possess extraordin-

ary gifts of both an intellectual and physical kind if he wants to fill his post with success. To him belongs a quite special talent. The officers' corps of the German Navy includes a number of such 'supermen.' These commanders are reinforced by an excellent body of engineers."

Aside from the operations about the Dardanelles, described in another chapter, the losses of the Allies from mines and submarines were chiefly confined to scout vessels, such as small cruisers, gunboats, and destroyers. Among the most notable losses sustained by them were the British cruiser *Hawke*, sunk October 16, 1914, in the North Sea; the British dreadnought *Audacious*, sunk off the northeast coast of Ireland, October 27 of the same year; the British pre-dreadnought battleship *Formidable*, torpedoed off Plymouth with a loss of 600 lives, January 1, 1915; the British pre-dreadnought *King Edward VII.*, sunk by a mine on January 10, 1916; the British pre-dreadnought *Russel*, sunk by a mine in the Mediterranean late in April, 1916; the French cruiser *Leon Gambetta*, torpedoed April 26, 1915, in the Strait of Otranto with a loss of over 500 men; the Italian cruiser *Guisepe Garibaldi*, torpedoed in the Adriatic, July 18, 1915.

On November 29, 1914, the British pre-dreadnought battleship *Bulwark* was blown up in the Thames and practically all of her crew were instantly killed. The disaster may have been due to careless handling of ammunition, but there was much talk to the effect that perhaps an infernal machine had in some way been introduced into her magazine. Two or three similar happenings subsequently gave color to the theory that these explosions were the work of spies.

The ceaseless vigilance of the patrol boats of the Allies proved extraordinarily successful in guarding transports carrying troops, and it was not until the transportation of troops to the Balkan theaters of war in large numbers began that there were any losses. The first considerable loss of this sort was the transport *Royal Edward*, torpedoed in the Ægean in Au-

gust, 1915, with the drowning of about a thousand men. Still more disastrous was the sinking in February, 1916, of the French transport *La Provence*. This vessel was carrying about four thousand troops to Salonica, and less than one thousand were saved.

The Allies had more submarines than did their enemies, but so long as their enemies remained in their harbors the Allied submarine commanders had little opportunity to distinguish themselves. One of the first exploits of such a submarine



ADMIRAL SIR DAVID BEATTY

was that of the British *B-11*, which, in December, 1914, dived under five rows of mines in the Dardanelles and sunk the old Turkish battleship *Messudieh*. In June of the following year, the British *E-11* succeeded in penetrating to the Sea of Marmora and even appeared off Constantinople. All told, it sank twelve Turkish and German vessels and succeeded in making its escape.

Similar exploits were repeatedly performed in Turkish waters, and the transportation of supplies from Constantinople to Gallipoli was much hampered. Not all

of the submarines that attempted such feats escaped.

Of German commerce raiders the most famous were the *Karlsruhe* and the *Emden*. The *Karlsruhe*, a very swift light cruiser, with a speed of 28 knots, operated in the region of the West Indies and off the east coast of South America. She made many captures, but, after several lucky escapes, she disappeared from view, and, according to one account, was destroyed by an accidental explosion.

The *Emden*, however, attracted by far the greater attention throughout the world. She was a cruiser of 3,540 tons, with a speed of $24\frac{1}{2}$ knots, and she was commanded by Captain von Müller. In all she captured over twenty merchant ships, worth with their cargoes several millions of dollars, and besides performed some daring exploits. In September, 1914, she appeared off Madras and bombarded the great oil tanks of the city, inflicting considerable damage. Late in October, having been disguised by the addition of a dummy fourth smokestack, she ran into the harbor of Penang and sank a small Russian cruiser, the *Jemtchug*, and a French torpedo boat. Her destructive career and the success with which for a time she eluded her enemies reminded Americans of the exploits of the Confederate cruiser *Alabama*.

The career of the *Emden* was, however, much shorter than that of the *Alabama*, though their ends were similar. On November 9, 1914, she appeared at Keeling, on the Cocos Islands, southwest of Sumatra, in order to destroy the wireless station and perhaps to obtain supplies. Before the station could be destroyed, the operator sent out a general call for help, and, soon after, the fine, large Australian cruiser *Sydney* hove in sight. The *Emden* fled at once, without waiting to pick up the landing party; but the *Sydney* had the speed of her and also guns of longer range. Keeping practically out of reach of the German guns, the *Sydney* battered up the *Emden* so badly that she was run ashore on North Keeling Island, and her crew surrendered. Meanwhile, the landing party seized an old schooner, and weeks

later, after extraordinary adventures, managed to reach southern Arabia, whence, after still further adventures, they made their way to Constantinople.

The first considerable naval battle of the war took place on the 28th of August, 1914, in Heligoland Bight. Some light British cruisers and destroyers managed to entice some German vessels into a fight, and, at an opportune moment, Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty hove in sight with heavy battle cruisers. The Germans suffered a loss of three cruisers and two torpedo boats, while the British did not lose any vessels, and their casualties were not large.

Of the German naval vessels in the broad Pacific a few sought refuge in neutral ports; but the more powerful concentrated into a squadron under the command of Admiral von Spee. Early in October, von Spee bombarded Papeète, on the French island of Tahiti, and then made for the South American coast, where he captured and destroyed a number of Allied merchant vessels. Meanwhile British and Japanese vessels were searching for him, and, on the 1st of November, Vice-Admiral Sir Christopher Cradock, with three vessels, sighted the Germans off Coronel, Chili.

Cradock's ships were the armored cruisers *Good Hope*, of 14,100 tons, and the *Monmouth*, of 9,800 tons, and the lighter cruiser *Glasgow*, of 4,820 tons. With the exception of two 9.2-inch guns on the *Good Hope*, Cradock had no guns heavier than those of 6-inch calibre, of which he had 34. The German squadron consisted of the armored cruisers *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*, each of 11,420 tons, and the lighter cruisers *Dresden*, of 3,592 tons, the *Nürnberg*, of 3,396 tons, and the *Leipzig*, of 3,200 tons. Each of the armored cruisers mounted eight 8.2-inch guns and six 5.9-inch, and were newer boats than either the *Good Hope* or *Monmouth*.

The advantage in tonnage and heavy guns was, therefore, decidedly in favor of the Germans, and they were also favored by another circumstance. The battle began soon after sunset, and, as the British ships were to westward of the Germans,

they were shown in silhouette against the after-glow of the sun, while the Germans themselves were hardly distinguishable. The battle was fought at long range, and this enabled the Germans, with their much larger number of heavy guns, to sink both the *Good Hope* and the *Monmouth*, with comparatively little damage to themselves. The sea was running high, and not one of the crews was saved. The *Glasgow*, being a faster ship than any



ADMIRAL COUNT VON SPEE

of the German vessels, managed to escape. It and the old battleship *Canopus*, which was on its way to join Cradock, made for the south Atlantic.

News of the disaster to Cradock's two ships caused great depression in England. With the utmost secrecy a powerful squadron was fitted out and sent southward to retrieve the situation.

On December 7 the squadron dropped anchor at Port Stanley in the Falkland Islands, in order to coal. The squadron was commanded by Vice-Admiral Sir F. C. D. Sturdee, and included the great 17,250 ton battle cruisers *Invincible*

and *Inflexible*, the armored cruisers *Carnarvon* and *Kent*, the old battleship *Canopus*, and the lighter cruisers *Cornwall*, *Bristol*, *Macedonia*, and *Glasgow*, the last the survivor of Cradock's ill-fated squadron.

The British expected a long and tedious search for their enemy, but chance willed it that the Germans should walk right into their arms. Early the very next morning, December 8, the signal station on shore signaled: "A four-funnel



ADMIRAL SIR CHRISTOPHER CRADOCK

and two-funnel man-of-war in sight from Sapper Hill, steering northward." At once all was activity on board the British ships, and preparations were made to leap out upon the unsuspecting enemy, whose purpose it evidently was to raid the harbor, destroy the wireless station and whatever shipping could be found, and help themselves to British coal. The vessels sighted were the *Gneisenau* and *Nürnberg*, and they were followed by all the other German ships, including some colliers.

At 9.20 a. m. the *Gneisenau* and *Nürnberg*

rounded a headland and came in sight of the *Canopus*. As the *Canopus* was a slow boat, she was thus given her only chance to participate in the battle, and therefore opened fire across the lowland at a range of 11,000 yards. The warning was lost, however, on the Germans, who were as yet unable to see the main British fleet, and they maneuvered as though to close with the *Kent* near the entrance to the harbor. But presently they perceived the giant *Invincible* and *Inflexible*; the horrible truth as to the trap they had run into burst upon them, and they turned tail and ran as fast as the foul bottoms of their ships would permit.

The British vessels, with the exception of the *Bristol*, *Canopus*, and *Macedonia*, swarmed out after them, their crews and officers exulting over the opportunity that had been dropped into their laps. It was a fine morning for a fight. The air was unusually clear, the sea was calm, the sun was bright, and there was only a slight breeze; in fact, every condition was conducive to good marksmanship. As the Germans were able to keep ahead of some of the British ships, Admiral Sturdee presently decided to attack with his two battle cruisers and the *Glasgow*. At 16,500 yards fire was opened by the battle cruisers, and presently, when the shells began to drop near, the German light cruisers *Leipzig*, *Nürnberg*, and *Dresden* turned away from the big ships, and were followed by the *Kent*, *Glasgow*, and *Cornwall*. Meanwhile, the *Bristol* had reported from the harbor by wireless that three German colliers had appeared in sight, and Sturdee ordered the *Bristol* and *Macedonia* to go in pursuit of them. The battle thus developed into three separate encounters.

The most important fight, of course, was that between the *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* on the one side and the *Inflexible*, *Invincible*, and *Carnarvon* on the other. The advantage in this encounter was on the British side, for their boats were larger and speedier, and the 12-inch rifles of the two battle cruisers were decidedly more powerful than the 8.2-inch guns of the Germans. The British Admiral,

therefore, chose his distance, which was practically beyond the reach of the German guns, and proceeded methodically to batter the enemy's vessels into junk. Gradually the guns of the *Scharnhorst*, the German flagship, were silenced, her upper works were shot away, great fires broke out within her vitals, and every now and then a shell would open in her side a gaping hole through which the watchful British could see a dull red glow of flame. Shortly after 4 p. m., she suddenly listed heavily to port; and the list rapidly increased until she lay upon her beam ends, and soon she sank into the depths carrying all that remained of her crew and also Admiral von Spee. Meanwhile, the *Gneisenau* had suffered terribly from the relentless fire from the British ships, and at six o'clock she suddenly heeled over on her side, where she lay for a minute, with some of her crew walking about on her, and then she joined her consort at the bottom of the sea. About six hundred of her crew had already been killed or wounded, but by energetic efforts the British were able to save over ninety men.

Meanwhile, the *Bristol* and *Macedonia* had overhauled the German colliers, which were two in number instead of three as first reported, took off their crews, and then sunk them. A brisk battle took place between the light cruisers, and this lasted even longer than the main engagement. At 9 p. m., the *Leipsic* was finally sunk by the *Cornwall* and *Glasgow*. Meanwhile the *Kent* had been chasing the *Nürnberg* and sank her at 7.27 p. m. In the course of this last chase the coal supply of the *Kent* became exhausted, but the engine-room department tore down the cabins and, with the wood thus obtained, managed to get up enough speed to over-haul their enemy. Of all the German ships only one, the *Dresden*, managed to escape. She succeeded in returning to the Pacific, but some weeks later was caught and sunk near the Island of Juan Fernandez. To her fell the honor of being the last German warship at large on the high seas. A few transformed merchant-

men remained at large a little longer, but soon they were either all captured or else took refuge in neutral ports, two of them in Hampton Roads in the United States.

The destruction of von Spee's squadron had not been unexpected among well informed Germans, and yet the actual tidings caused much depression in that country. However much might be said about the glorious careers which the German cruisers had led, there could be no denying the fact that the German



ADMIRAL SIR F. C. D. STURDEE

navy had now been swept off the high seas. Partly, no doubt, to encourage the people, the German naval staff arranged a raid against the British coast. On the early morning of December 16, the inhabitants of the towns of Scarborough, Hartlepool, and Whitby, on the northeast coast of England, suddenly found themselves the target for a hail of shells from a number of large German cruisers off shore. As these places were not fortified and only a few destroyers

were in the neighborhood at the time, the Germans were able to batter down many buildings and kill more than a hundred men, women, and children, and then return whence they came unscathed.

News of the bombardment of these places aroused great enthusiasm in Germany. German papers characterized it by such phrases as "our fleet's heroic exploit," and editors pointed out with much detail that the boasted British fleet



ADMIRAL VON HINTZE

had not been able to protect their coasts and hinted that this was only the beginning of trouble for the enemy. The bombardment of undefended towns was, however, denounced as barbarous by the British, while Winston Churchill, head of the British navy department, dubbed the German sailors who had taken part in it "the Baby-Killers of Scarborough." The British denied that any military object had been served by the raid, and, it may well be doubted whether the Germans were the gainers by the bombard-

ment. It no doubt heartened their own people somewhat, but, on the other hand, it brought the horrors of war home to the British people, stiffened their determination, and gave a great impetus to recruiting.

The British declared that only an opportune fog had enabled the raiders to escape their vengeance, and their anxiety to come to blows with some such expedition amounted to a positive pain. It so happened that they did not have to wait long for the desired opportunity. On the night of January 23, a German fleet composed of the battle cruisers *Seidlitz*, *Derfflinger*, and *Von Moltke*, the big armored 15,550-ton cruiser *Blücher*, six light cruisers, and a number of destroyers, steamed westward across the North Sea for the purpose of attempting another raid. On the early morning of the 24th, when off the Dogger Banks, this fleet fell in with the British First Battle Cruiser squadron under Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty, the victor of the battle of Heligoland Bight. Besides light cruisers and destroyers, his squadron included the superb new battle cruisers *Lion*, *Tiger*, *New Zealand*, *Indomitable*, and the flagship, *Princess Royal*.

The Germans stood not on the order of their going, but fled homeward as fast as their ships could steam. The great British battle cruisers tore through the sea after them at 28.5 knots an hour, a rate which, in the case of the *New Zealand* and *Indomitable*, was considerably in excess of what these two vessels were supposed to be able to make. Gradually the gap between fugitives and pursuers narrowed, and, at 20,000 yards, or almost 12 miles, one of the 13.5-inch rifles of the *Lion* fired a shot which fell short. Single shots were fired thereafter at intervals to test the range, and presently a shell from the *Lion* landed on the *Blücher*, the last in line. At 18,000 yards and constantly decreasing ranges the British fired salvos from their guns, distributing their favors more or less impartially but landing oftenest upon the *Blücher*, which, though supposed to be able to make 25.8 knots, was slower than her consorts. The Germans returned the fire as best they might,

but in the whole battle only the *Lion* and *Tiger* suffered hits.

Gradually the *Blücher* fell behind her consorts in a crippled condition, and as the British ships passed her, they poured in salvos that rent great yawning holes in her sides. Unable to make any effective resistance but still unwilling to surrender, she was finally finished off by a torpedo from the light cruiser *Arethusa*. She turned over on her side, and presently

The men on deck watched them with a strange fascination. Soon one pitched close to the ship and a vast watery pillar, a hundred metres high, one of them affirmed, fell lashing on the deck. The range had been found. *Dann aber gings los!*

"Now the shells came thick and fast with a horrible droning hum. At once they did terrible execution. The electric plant was soon destroyed, and the ship plunged in darkness that could be felt.



BLÜCHER SINKING IN NORTH SEA

sank. Boats from the lighter British vessels put off to rescue the survivors, but a seaplane and a Zeppelin came up and endeavored to drop bombs upon the boats, and they were obliged to abandon their work, after rescuing about 250 men.

"Shots came slowly at first," wrote one of the *Blücher's* survivors. "They fell ahead and over, raising vast columns of water; now they fell astern and short. The British guns were ranging. Those deadly waterspouts crept nearer and nearer.

'You could not see your hand before your nose,' said one. Down below decks there was horror and confusion, mingled with gasping shouts and moans as the shells plunged through the decks. It was only later, when the range shortened, that their trajectory flattened and they tore holes in the ship's side and raked her decks. At first they came dropping from the skies. They penetrated the decks. They bored their way even to the stokehold. The coal in the bunkers was set on fire. Since

the bunkers were half empty the fire burned merrily. In the engine-room a shell licked up the oil and sprayed it around in flames of blue and green, scarring its victims and blazing where it fell. Men huddled together in dark compartments, but the shells sought them out, and there death had a rich harvest.

"The terrific air-pressure resulting from explosion in a confined space, left a deep impression on the minds of the men of the *Blücher*. The air, it would seem, roars through every opening and tears its way through every weak spot. All loose or insecure fittings are transformed into moving instruments of destruction. Open doors bang to, and jam—and closed iron doors bend outward like tin plates, and through it all the bodies of men are whirled about like dead leaves in a winter blast, to be battered to death against the iron walls....

"In one of the engine-rooms—it was the room where the high velocity engines for ventilation and forced draught were at work—men were picked up by that terrible *Luftdruck*, like the whirldrift at a street corner, and tossed to a horrible death amidst the machinery. There were other horrors too fearful to recount.

"If it was appalling below deck, it was more than appalling above. The *Blücher* was under the fire of so many ships. Even the little destroyers peppered her. 'It was one continuous explosion,' said a gunner. The ship heeled over as the broadsides struck her, then righted herself, rocking like a cradle. Gun crews were so destroyed that stokers had to be requisitioned to carry ammunition. Men lay flat for safety. The decks presented a tangled mass of scrap iron....

"The *Blücher* had run her course. She was lagging lame, and with the steering gear gone was beginning slowly to circle. It was seen that she was doomed. The bell that rang the men to church parade each Sunday was tolled, those who were able assembled on deck, helping as well as they could their wounded comrades. Some had to creep out through shot holes. They gathered in groups on deck awaiting

the end. Cheers were given for the *Blücher*, and three more for the Kaiser. '*Die Wacht am Rhein*' was sung, and permission given to leave the ship. But some of them had already gone. The British ships were now silent, but their torpedoes had done their deadly work. A cruiser and destroyers were at hand to rescue the survivors. The wounded *Blücher* settled down, turned wearily over, and disappeared in a swirl of water."

Meanwhile, the British battle cruisers had passed on after the surviving German ships. Some of these were badly battered, but the appearance of German submarines and a lucky shot which injured the feed tank of the *Lion*, combined with the danger of German mine fields, caused the British to discontinue the pursuit. The *Lion* was taken in tow by the *Indomitable*, and all the British vessels returned safely to port, where a few repairs put them in as good shape as ever. The victory aroused tremendous enthusiasm in Great Britain, and, though the Germans declared that the British had suffered more heavily than themselves, it was noticeable that for many months they made no more attempts to bombard the British coasts.

In fact, the Germans almost ceased trying to send their above-water warships out upon the high seas. They continued to conduct some operations against the Russians in the Baltic Sea, though these were circumscribed because of fear of Russian and British submarines. Early in 1916, a transformed freighter named the *Moewe* managed to slip through the blockade, and captured over a dozen prizes off the African coast. Most of these were sunk, but one of them, the *Appam*, was sent under a prize crew across the Atlantic to Hampton Roads. The raider herself somewhat later reached a home port. Such a raid was spectacular and destructive, but the effect upon the war was infinitesimal. And when another vessel attempted to repeat the exploit, she was caught in the North Sea and sunk. The great fleets of the Allies had performed their work of sweeping the seas more thoroughly than had ever been done in

any great war hitherto; and, outside European waters, the merchant ships of the Allies were virtually as safe as in times of peace. The task of the grand fleets had resolved itself into ceaseless waiting for an enemy that never appeared and into warfare upon the pestiferous submarines.

So far as the warships themselves were concerned the submarine menace soon greatly diminished in peril. Except in the Dardanelles, the number of large warships sunk by German submarines after the first five months of warfare was very

had made the reign of the above-water boats hazardous, but they had not supplanted them. And gradually devices for restraining the activities of the wasps and destroying them were developed.

The losses of all kinds suffered by the British fleet were considerable, though the sinking of the dreadnought *Audacious* was the only diminution of actual first-line fighting strength. In the meantime, British shipyards were busy, and additions were made to the navy so rapidly that by the end of 1915 it was decidedly stronger in every way, notwithstanding its losses,



AUSTRIAN CRUISER, "ERZHERZOG KARL"

small. This was due to a number of reasons. For one thing the big vessels remained safely in harbor much of the time, and when they did go on a cruise, they were usually accompanied by a screen of small craft and by hydroaeroplanes which made the task of attacking them a very precarious one. Subsequent to the opening of 1915 the main activities of the under-water boats were devoted to the more inglorious but safer work of sinking passenger ships and merchant vessels.

It had by this time become apparent that the capital ships, the big dreadnoughts and giant cruisers, still retained the dominion of the seas. The submarines

than it was at the outbreak of the war. The German policy of attrition—of "whittling"—had failed so completely that the relative strength of the two navies at the beginning of 1916 was much less favorable to the Germans than in August, 1914.

This was true notwithstanding the fact that the total tonnage in warships lost by the British was considerably in excess of that lost by the Germans. This was, of course, due to the fact that the British continued to keep their vessels upon the high seas, while the Germans, after the first few weeks of war, practically confined their efforts to a sort of guerilla warfare beneath the waves. It was the price

which the British were compelled to pay for safeguarding their own foreign trade and destroying that of their enemies.

What has been said regarding the British and the Germans applies in general to the French and Italians on the one side and the Austrians on the other. The Austrian navy was kept in port almost altogether, and its merchant marine did not appear on the seas. The French and Italians, however, kept both their navies and their merchant fleets upon the seas, with the result that they were able to continue their trade with the world, but lost some warships, though not many. Neither nation lost a ship of the first class, the losses being confined to cruisers or smaller vessels and to a few old battleships.

Naval operations in the Adriatic were, in fact, comparatively unimportant. Before Italy declared war, French and British ships bombarded Cattaro and Pola, but there were no big naval engagements. After Italy entered the conflict, she took over most of the task of confining the Austrians to their harbors. There were numerous conflicts between small craft, and the submarines of both Austria and Italy were active, but again there were no big battles.

The German navy controlled the greater part of the Baltic Sea, and there were numerous skirmishes between it and Russian ships, but no general battle. Fear of Russian and British submarines kept the Germans for the most part away from the Russian coasts. At the time the German army was endeavoring to capture Riga, the German navy tried to gain control of the Gulf of Riga, but suffered so severely from gunfire, mines, and submarines, that it gave over the attempt. The Allies claimed to have sunk one of the best of the German battle cruisers. The failure of the attempt to gain possession of the gulf undoubtedly saved Riga at this time from the Germans.

In the fall of 1915, British submarines began a campaign in the Baltic against German shipping, and for a time completely paralyzed traffic between Germany and the Scandinavian countries. In ten

days in October, they sank a score of ships with an aggregate tonnage of almost 40,000.

In the Black Sea there were repeated skirmishes between the Russian and Turkish fleets. The *Goeben* bore the brunt of the Russian attacks in some of these battles and was severely damaged. Ultimately the Turkish navy was so badly battered that the Russians remained in practically undisputed control of the sea, and were able to prevent the Turks from making use of it in carrying supplies and troops. In July, 1915, the Russians announced that since the war began they had captured or destroyed nearly nine hundred Turkish merchant vessels, but most of these were very small.

The violation of international law involved in the invasion of Belgium at the very outbreak of the war was symptomatic of a state of affairs that was to continue throughout the contest both on sea and land. We have already related how the *Koenigin Luise* in the first few days of the war began the promiscuous laying of mines, a clear violation of the laws of war as regulated by the Hague Convention, which provided that, except for defensive purposes, mines shall only be laid in the territorial waters of the power that lays them. The British protested, but themselves soon took up the practice. One violation followed another, until international law presented as riddled an appearance as the sinking hulks of von Spee's squadron. And unfortunately the suffering and loss of property resulting from such actions were not confined to the people of the belligerent countries but also fell heavily upon neutral peoples.

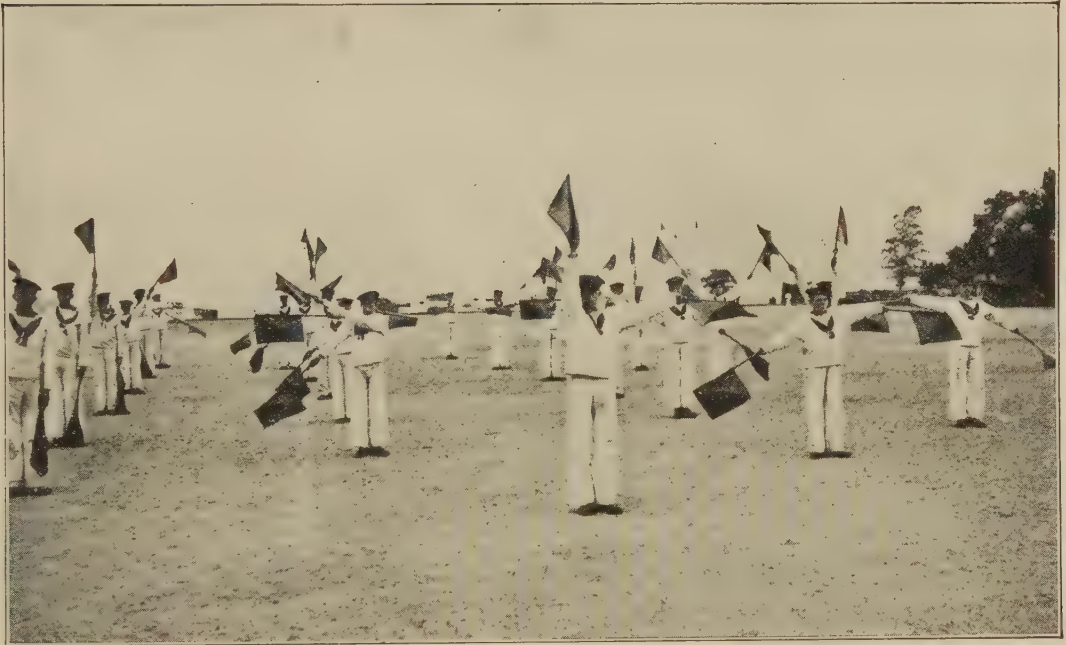
No law is self-enforcing, and this statement holds as true of international law as it does of the ordinary private law of an individual country. In the case of the laws of a country there are officials whose duty it is to see that the laws are enforced; but there existed no such authority to enforce the observance of international law. Unless neutral nations saw to it that such rules were observed, the belligerents could violate the rules with impunity. Unfortunately, also, interna-

tional law remained vague and undetermined upon many points, and in large measure was made up of precedents handed down from the past, many of them conflicting. Only a few great principles were generally recognized prior to the war, and even some of these were to be ruthlessly violated.

We have already said something about the outcry that arose over the violation of Belgium's neutrality and over the barbarous manner in which the civilian population were treated. The bombardment

real and not a "paper" blockade is maintained, has never been questioned. The Federal Government resorted to it in the case of the American Civil War, and forbade trade of any sort whatever, either outgoing or ingoing, whether in guns and ammunition, or combs, flax-hackles, coffee, flour, sugar, or medicinal supplies.

The Allied nations were naturally anxious to use their predominance in sea-power to cut off their enemies from commercial relations with the rest of the world, but many difficulties lay in the way of a com-



BRITISH NAVAL RECRUITS

of unfortified places, either from the sea or from the air, also shocked the neutral world, as did many other practices that were adopted on the land; but a controversy fully as violent as that over the German course in Belgium developed over the course of the belligerents upon the seas.

It was obvious, of course, that, following the custom that had always obtained in time of war, the Allies would endeavor to make use of their control of the sea to cut off German and Austrian trade with the rest of the world. The right of a nation to blockade another, provided a

plete realization of this desire. So long as the Germans retained control of the Baltic, it was, of course, impossible for the Allies to blockade the Baltic coast of Germany or prevent trade between Germany and the Scandinavian countries. Furthermore, both of the Central Powers touched states that had remained neutral; and four of these neutral states—Roumania, Italy, Holland, and Denmark—had outlets upon the sea. Even Switzerland, which touches both Germany and Austria, though landlocked, could receive goods from Italy and pass them on to the enemies of the Allies. The entrance of


Italy into the war on the Allied side, in the spring of 1915, diminished these difficulties but did not entirely remove them. Obviously, if goods coming to or going from Germany could pass through Dutch or Danish ports unhindered, the Allies could do little toward employing the economic pressure they desired to exercise.

An international conference held at London in 1909 had endeavored to formulate rules to apply to situations such as had now arisen. This conference formulated what was known as the Declaration of London, whereby objects of international exchange were in times of war to be divided into three classes: absolute

United States suggested that the belligerents accept the rules laid down in the unratified Declaration. The Central Powers naturally assented with great alacrity, but the Allies announced that they would do so only with considerable modifications.

To deal with all the details of the controversy that followed would require a separate volume, but it will be sufficient to set forth merely the larger aspects of the subject. Early in the war, the Allies began to extend the list of absolute contraband, and under some circumstances to seize conditional contraband even when consigned to a neutral port. They also brought pressure to bear upon such states

as Holland and Denmark to prevent the transshipment through their ports of goods designed for the Central Powers. In the case of Holland, for example, the Dutch Government laid an embargo upon the British list of contraband and conditional contraband, and all such goods, with a few exceptions, had to be consigned to the Netherlands Overseas Trust, composed of Dutch business men organized under Government auspices for that purpose. The exceptions were grain, flour, petroleum, and copper, which must be consigned to the Government itself. In this campaign the Allies were greatly assisted by the fact that they controlled

25 für Brot 1 Woche	25 für Butter 1 Woche	250 für Wein 1 Woche	250 für Öl 1 Woche	50 für Zucker 1 Woche	50 für Honig 1 Woche
25 für Brot 1 Woche	25 für Butter 1 Woche	 Nicht übertragbar Nicht übertragbar Berlin und Reichsregierung		50 für Zucker 1 Woche	50 für Honig 1 Woche
25 für Brot 1 Woche	25 für Butter 1 Woche	Ausweis für die Entnahme von Brot und Getreideauschl. (000000)		50 für Zucker 1 Woche	50 für Honig 1 Woche
25 für Brot 1 Woche	25 für Butter 1 Woche	Gültig nur für die 1. Woche vom 22. bis 28. Dezember 1915 Ausweise beachten 1 (000000)		50 für Zucker 1 Woche	50 für Honig 1 Woche
100 für Brot 1 Woche	100 für Butter 1 Woche	250 für Wein 1 Woche	250 für Öl 1 Woche	100 für Zucker 1 Woche	100 für Honig 1 Woche

GERMAN FOOD TICKET

contraband of war, conditional contraband, and free goods. Absolute contraband was restricted to the actual tools and equipment for fighting, and could be captured by a belligerent even though consigned to a neutral port. Conditional contraband included such things as food, clothing, horse-shoes, and barbed wire, and was to be subject to capture only if destined for the enemies' forces and then only when proceeding by a direct route. Free goods were not to be subject to capture under any conditions except those of an actual blockade. This Declaration of London had not, however, been ratified by several nations, including Great Britain, and hence could not be said to be binding. At the outbreak of the war, the Secretary of State of the

most of the merchant ships of the world, while the ships of neutral countries soon found it expedient, in order to avoid delay or seizure, to avoid carrying anything for the Central Powers. The Allies justified their course in such matters not only by appealing to past precedents but also by pointing to the "departure by those against whom we are fighting from hitherto accepted rules of civilization and humanity." At the same time, they showed some respect for the opinions of neutrals, particularly for those of the United States, and were not so ruthless as many of their own people desired.

The Allied purpose was, of course, often thwarted by evasions, but in general it was so successful that soon the Central

Powers realized that their foreign commerce was rapidly shriveling up. As they were primarily manufacturing and commercial countries, such a state of affairs spelled ruin in the event of a long war. Furthermore, there were certain articles, such as rubber, copper, cotton (for use in the manufacture of powder), and gasoline, that were needed for the actual conduct of the war and of which their supply was inadequate. Even the supply of food for

absolute contraband. The British, who usually spoke for the Allies in such matters, announced that it now became obviously impossible to distinguish food destined for the armies from food destined for the civil population, and that therefore it might become necessary to seize all food.

By connivance between the Germans and an American firm, a vessel called the *Wilhelmina*, of American register, was loaded with food at Brooklyn and sailed



FRENCH MARINES HUNTING GERMAN SUBMARINES

the two countries was not sufficient for the needs of the people, and the prospect of scarcity in this respect rose like a specter before them.

Up to the beginning of 1915, the Allies did not consider foodstuffs contraband unless destined for the Government or armed forces of the enemy; but, on January 25 of that year, the German Government, by confiscating all supplies of grain and flour in the Empire, gave their enemies an excuse for declaring all food

for Hamburg, and it was asserted that the food would be used only by the German civil population. The British announced that they would seize her cargo, and did so when the vessel put into Falmouth to take refuge from a storm. The food was not confiscated but was requisitioned under a new Order in Council, which gave the Crown the right so to treat any cargo brought before a prize court. Payment was made at Hamburg prices, and the vessel herself was released. Hence-

forth all cargoes of food destined for Germany were stopped.

The case created a great outcry on the part of the Germans and their supporters. It is instructive, however, to consider what treatment the Germans themselves accorded an American ship and cargo under practically identical conditions. Late in 1914, the *William P. Frye*, the finest sailing vessel in the American merchant marine, sailed from Portland, Oregon, with a cargo of wheat consigned "to order" at Queenstown, Falmouth, or Portsmouth, England. There was no proof that the wheat was for any other use than for the civil population, nor was any such proof ever brought forward. In the course of her long voyage the vessel reached the Atlantic Ocean, and there was stopped on January 28, 1915, by a German raider, the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*. After inspecting the cargo and papers, the Germans, against the protests of the American captain, proceeded to dump the wheat into the sea; but, finding this too long and hard a task, finally took off the crew and sent both cargo and vessel to the bottom of the sea. When these facts became known several weeks later, British partisans were not slow to make a comparison of the German treatment of the *Frye* with British treatment of the *Wilhelmina* and contended that, if Germany possessed the control of the sea which the British did, neutrals would find the little finger of the Germans thicker than the loins of Great Britain. Whatever the merits of the two cases in international law, the Germans undoubtedly violated an old treaty between the United States and Prussia, and, upon protest from the United States, were compelled to promise an indemnity.

On the 4th of February, five days before the seizure of the *Wilhelmina*, but seven days after the sinking of the *Frye*, Germany announced a retaliatory decree to the effect that from February 18 they would treat all waters about Great Britain as within the "zone of war" and that "all enemy merchant vessels encountered in these waters will be destroyed, even if it

will not always be possible to save their crews and passengers." Neutral vessels were also warned that they, also, would be in great danger if they entered the zone, even though they might be engaged upon the most harmless of errands. What the announcement amounted to was that henceforth any vessel found in British waters would be liable to be blown up without any warning whatsoever, and its crews and passengers killed or drowned.

Neutral nations, particularly the United States, protested against this order as contrary to well-established international law, but the Germans persisted in their purpose, and the course of events as concerns the United States has already been described. It will be sufficient to add here that scores of vessels were blown up about which Americans heard little, for the reason that no Americans were lost upon them.

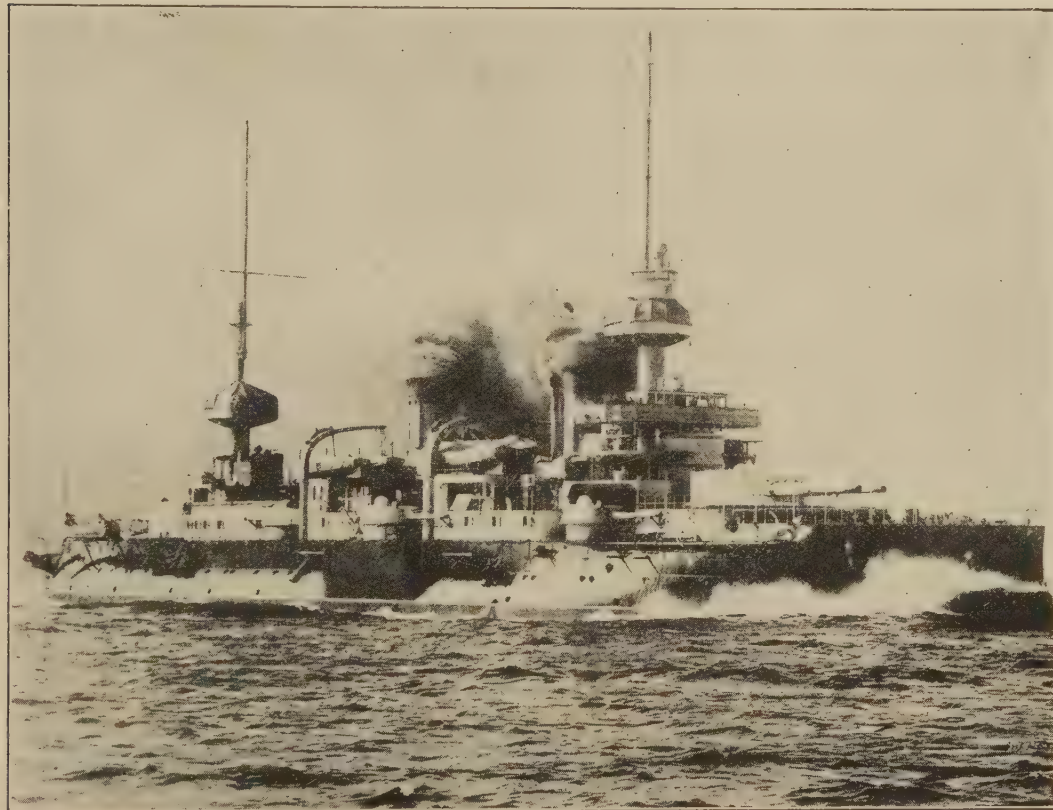
On the 11th of March, in retaliation, the British issued a new Order in Council establishing a virtual blockade, although the word blockade was not used, and neutral goods on their way to Germany, if not contraband, were, when seized, to be purchased instead of confiscated. Henceforth nothing was to go into or out of Germany, either through her own ports or the ports of neutrals, though an exception was made in the case of goods purchased and paid for in Germany by March 1. The full pressure of sea-power had closed on Germany's throat.

Some neutral nations protested against various features of the "blockade" but secured no important modifications. Enforcement as regards goods originating in the Central Powers was even more efficacious than as regards goods destined for those countries, for considerable quantities of goods managed in one way or another to leak through neutral states into Germany and Austria, but very little was able to leak out. The United States, for example, suffered considerably from a shortage of dyestuffs, more particularly because Germany refused to permit the exportation of some cargoes of dyes which, having been purchased before March 1,

the British were willing to let go through. Germany refused to permit this, partly because she thought some of the dyestuff might be re-exported to Great Britain, partly because she wished by starving American industry to produce a demand for the removal of the blockade.

The actual effects of the blockade upon Teutonic industry cannot be accurately described. No exact figures of exports

be not otherwise than in a most abnormal and unhealthy state; that multitudes of people had already been bankrupted; that both nations were on the high road to economic ruin. Not only were many raw materials excluded, but the foreign trade of the two nations was reduced to petty exchanges with a few small neutral neighbors and to trade with each other. The opening of a road to Turkey in the



FRENCH BATTLESHIP "SUFFREN"

and imports can be obtained which can be compared with figures for periods before the war. The Germans and Austrians endeavored to minimize its effect, and roseate descriptions were sent out to the world which led the gullible to believe that Germany and Austria-Hungary prospered as never before in their history. Such statements were, of course, designed to mislead, and it required but little knowledge of economics for an observer to realize that industry in the Central Powers could

fall of 1915 was hailed not only as a military triumph but as providing new markets. Undoubtedly Turkey was able to supply the Central Powers with some articles of which they were badly in need and took some articles in exchange, but Turkey, impoverished by war, was a sorry substitute for the great world that lay without the Allied lines on land and sea. It is safe to say that each day that went by the Central Powers and their allies lost in the way of foreign trade more than

the price of a *Lusitania* with all her cargo.

The blockade of the Central Powers not only weakened them financially but deprived them of many needed articles. Necessity being the mother of invention, the Teutons set their wits to work to evolve makeshifts and Germany soon became "a land of substitutes."

Even before the war it was common for the poor in Germany to substitute malt coffee for the real article, while the mixing of roasted acorns with coffee was so common on the part of some families in the lower middle class that the children of families were given special permits by the police "to gather acorns for the purpose on the sacred grass of the public parks." As the war progressed the substitution of these and other articles for coffee was resorted to by other classes. Imitation tea was made out of dried plum and other leaves; sometimes, before drying, the leaves would be boiled in genuine tea.

War bread soon came to be universal. Various combinations were used in making it but the chief constituents were likely to be rye and potato flour mixed with a little wheat. In Hungary maize was often substituted for the rye.

Before the war, horse flesh was eaten in Germany, as in Belgium and France, but its sale was strictly regulated. Its use now became much more common, as did the eating of diseased meat, which in most countries would be regarded as unfit for human food. Such meat had been used to a certain extent in Germany before the war, being sold under strict regulations. Tainted meat or the flesh of animals locally affected by disease was specially treated by processes which freed it from danger to health. Such meat was the reverse of appetizing nor did it have the nutritive value of ordinary fresh meat, but the poorer population would come long distances and line up in long queues in order to purchase it.

Sausage, one of the main German standbys, came to be adulterated very heavily with bread crumbs and other substances.

Before the war, the base used for the manufacture of propulsive powder was cotton. After considerable delay, the British placed cotton on the proscribed list, and the supply available in the Teutonic countries soon became practically exhausted. The Germans were fairly successful, however, in making use of wood pulp as a substitute.

The blockade also resulted in a shortage of gasoline and petroleum. The government sought to restrict the use of such articles to the lowest possible limit. Candles were used to a certain extent in place of petroleum, while benzol was substituted for gasoline in some engines.

One of the most serious shortages was that of fats and oils. The supply of fats and oils was greatly reduced by the blockade, while the demand for these articles was increased by the war. Many kinds of oils and fats will, if properly treated, yield glycerine, and nitro-glycerine was necessary for the German army. Every effort was made to conserve the supply of fats and oils. The inhabitants were urged to save all fruit pits and send them to special depots for collection in order that the oil in the pits could be extracted and saved.

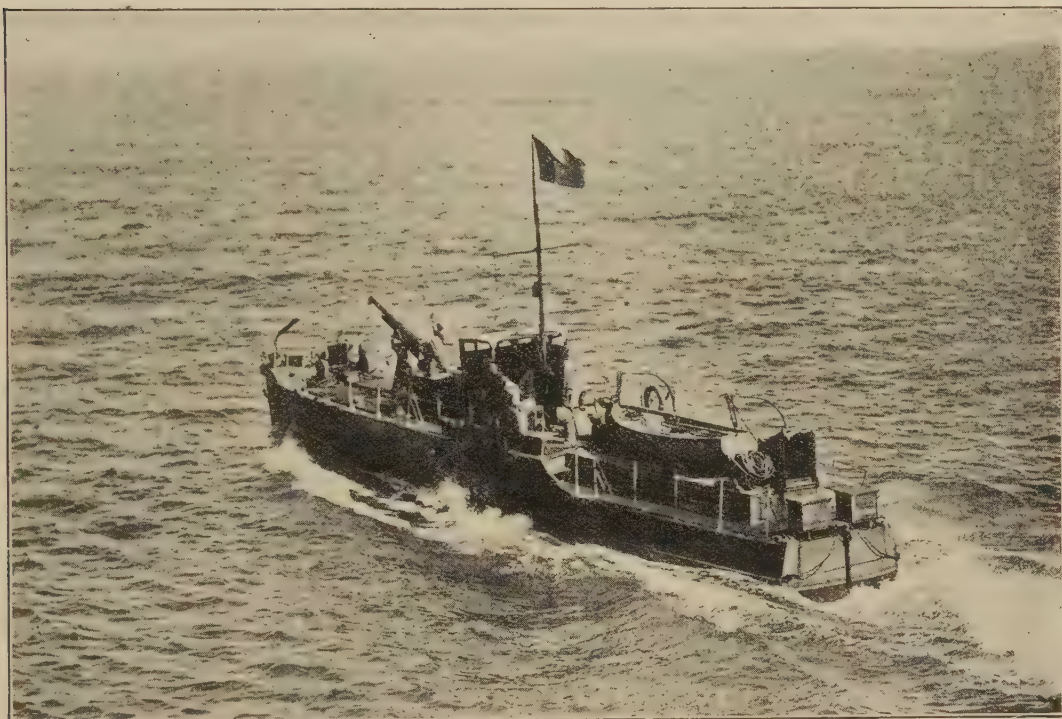
Another essential article in the manufacture of explosives is nitrate. The main source of nitrates is Chile. The Germans had stored away 200,000 tons of nitrates, and, when they captured Antwerp in October, 1914, they managed to seize a great deal more. Their supply, however, was inadequate for the demands of so long a war and they resorted to the use of artificial methods of extracting nitrogen from the air by electrical methods. This system had been developed to a certain extent before the war, especially in Sweden and Norway, and the Germans now bought much of the output of these factories and also expended vast sums in Germany in setting up such plants.

Another article in which there soon came to be a shortage was rubber. The Government commandeered the whole rubber supply very early and prohibited its use except under restrictions.

Every effort was made to stimulate the smuggling of rubber past the blockade, and many neutral vessels sought to fool the British blockaders. False compartments and even false articles of various kinds containing a rubber core were resorted to. All sorts of substitutes for rubber were evolved, but, of course, none was wholly satisfactory. Many automobiles came to have solid tires; on others the wheels contained an ingenious system of coiled springs which would reduce the shock.

fragments from exploded enemy shells. The quest for copper became so great that the copper roofs of many historic buildings were torn off. Certain iron industries made large profits through supplying iron stove doors, chandeliers, pots and pans, and other articles to take the place of brass articles commandeered by the Government. In course of time the cartridge cases came to be made in large measure of soft iron instead of copper and brass.

Not only did the Germans experience



FRENCH SUBMARINE CHASER

Copper, nickel, vanadium, chromium, and anchromium were among the other articles of which there was a shortage. The available supply of such articles was bought up in the neighboring neutral countries, and every effort was made to gather these articles at home. Copper, bronze, and brass door knobs, bedsteads, chandeliers, pots and pans, and even church bells were carefully gathered from all over Germany. The soldiers were instructed to save the empty cartridge cases and even to gather up the copper

shortage of food but they were greatly embarrassed by lack of clothing and foot wear. The Central Powers did not produce sufficient wool for their own needs, and the Allied blockade ultimately cut off practically the whole of the cotton imports. Efforts were made to stimulate the production of cotton in Turkey but without important results. Resort had to be made more and more on the part of the civilian population to wooden shoes, and, in summer, many of the adult population went barefooted; in fact, they were exhorted

to do so as a patriotic duty. As the woolen and cotton cloth wore out, resort was had to clothes made of paper. Suits of paper were worn by millions. Like all substitutes such cloth had its drawbacks. Naturally, of course, it could not be washed and soon became torn and worn out. A statement in the *Kieler Zeitung* ran:

"The custom of burying the dead in their valuable clothes is the means of great loss of much good cloth. The loss of such cloth is now irreparable because of the war. For the public good, before which the individual must bow, it is necessary to break this old custom. It should be taken under consideration that the dead should be clothed in burial shrouds made of paper, and should be covered with a sheet of similar material. Pillow-slips could likewise be made of paper. In view of existing conditions, it seems unsuitable to clothe the dead with shoes and stockings."

Prayers constantly ascended to heaven from individuals and ministers for good harvests. These prayers were not always answered by the power that the Kaiser was fond of calling "the good old German God." All sorts of food substitutes were evolved. A South Jutland newspaper reported in 1917 that two new war dishes had proved to be rare delicacies, namely, boiled nettle leaves and tea brewed from cow-slip blossoms.

The Germans had always been noted as a nation of heavy eaters, and the shortage of food bore heavily upon them. A great part of their conversation now concerned things to eat, and a part of the hatred which the Germans felt toward England was due to the fact that the British blockade condemned them to short commons. Food tickets were the rule, and everything possible was done by the authorities to conserve the food supply. Yet there were many irregularities, and the rich invariably succeeded in obtaining more food than the poor. Maximum prices were fixed upon certain staple commodities, and it was provided that no one should obtain more than a certain quantity. The sale of other articles, especially luxuries,

was left unregulated, and people with money could buy these things provided the supply held out. Public kitchens were also established for the poor. Despite every effort to stimulate production and conserve food, most Germans were constantly hungry, and, by the end of 1916, a neutral observer reported that there was not a big girth to be found any longer in all Germany, formerly the land of big girths.

Economy and the use of substitutes did something to ease the economic pressure, but could not remove it. For example, benzol was substituted for gasoline, aluminum was made to do duty in place of copper for some purposes; by a chemical process the excess supply of sugar was transformed into albumen by being combined with ammonium sulphate and was used to feed stock. On the other hand, millions of cattle and hogs were slaughtered because of lack of food to feed them, the supply of bread was reduced to a fraction of the normal consumption, the supply of meat was inadequate, the people subsisted mainly upon vegetables, particularly potatoes, and the problem of where to obtain clothing became a pressing one. The Germans and Austrians were not actually starving, at least so far as most of the people were concerned; but they were subjected to hardships, they were hampered in innumerable ways, and they were experiencing slow economic strangulation.

In the spring of 1916, it was the opinion of many neutral observers that if the Allies should continue to hold the Teutons in reasonable bounds and should themselves continue willing to pay the price of victory, they would be certain to win the war, even though they should not win any overwhelming military successes. Men, money, munitions, and sea-power were all on their side. The only doubtful factor, barring the possibility of some invention that would enable the Central Powers to gain control of the sea, seemed to be Allied determination.

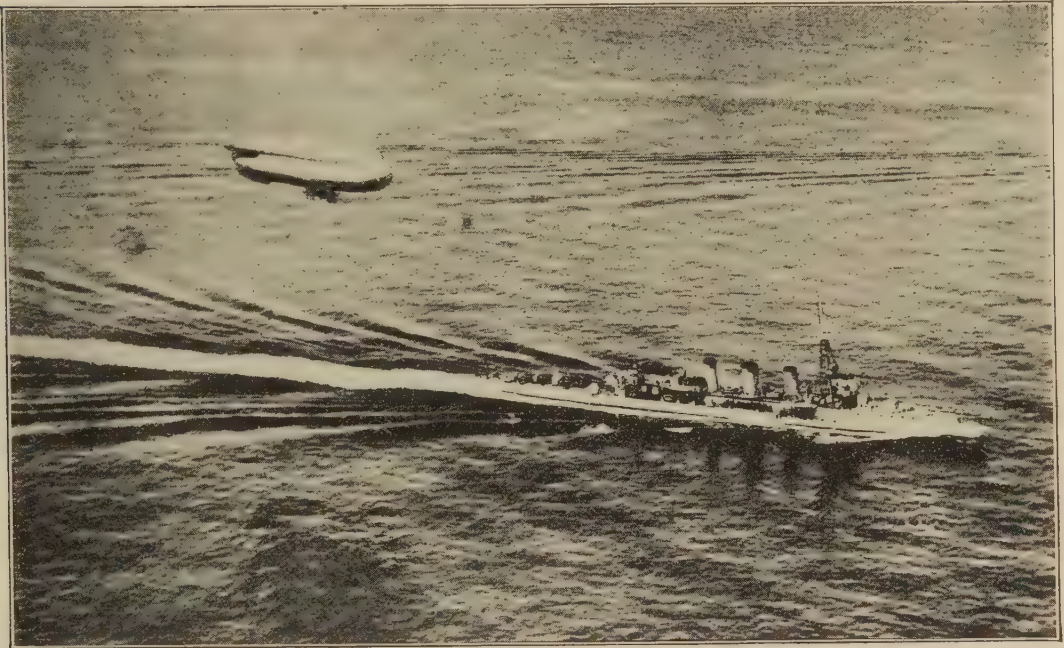
The German submarine campaign against Allied warships and merchant ships

seemed already to have failed as a decisive factor.

As we have seen, the relative strength of the opposing navies was now more unequal than that at the outbreak of the war. It was true that the attacks upon merchant ships had been enormously destructive. In the first twenty months of war, the Germans claimed to have sunk or captured more than 800 merchant ships with a total tonnage of over 1,400,000. In so doing they had destroyed the lives of three or four thousand non-combatants.

The money losses inflicted on ships and cargoes were, of course, enormous, but they were made up by insurance; and the owners were able to pay the high insurance rates out of their enormous profits in the carrying trade. Still it must not be inferred that there had been no loss; the loss had fallen upon the Allied peoples and upon the peoples for whom their ships carried goods.

In the waters about the British Isles the first submarine campaign was defeated by the capture or destruction of many



BRITISH DIRIGIBLE ACTING AS LOOKOUT FOR A BATTLESHIP

Yet these losses made comparatively little impression on the vast merchant fleets of the Allies. Great Britain alone had many thousands of merchant vessels, and in more than a year's time had lost only a few hundred. Even the Germans claimed to have destroyed only five per cent of the total tonnage, while the British asserted that they had more than made the loss good. According to Chancellor of the Exchequer Reginald McKenna, the net British mercantile tonnage at the end of 1915 was 12,416,408, against 12,119,891 at the end of 1913.

of the submarines. The methods by which this result was accomplished took various forms. A large part of the British Channel, including the sea lanes to France, was rendered reasonably safe from submarines by the planting of mines and by the use of enormous floating nets of wire, and the same was true of the Irish Sea. Mines and nets had been established in other places, and had accounted for some of the German wasps. Others were sunk by being rammed by merchant ships. Yet others were run down by destroyers or by small swift motor boats,

and it had been found that seaplanes were of great assistance in locating the undersea rovers.

One peculiarity of the submarine situation was that the British for months sedulously refrained from announcing the capture or destruction of the enemy's submarines. The submarines would leave their home ports for cruises from which they did not return. The relatives and friends of the crew and the German naval authorities remained in ignorance as to whether they had met with some accident or had fallen a prey to the wiles of their enemies. The number captured or destroyed was undoubtedly considerable, while some were doubtless lost as a result of mishaps with which the enemy were in no way connected.

The success of the Allies in dealing with the submarine menace was a strong factor in causing the Germans grudgingly to agree to American demands in the matter of visit and search. As we have seen in the account of American affairs, the promise was never strictly kept; and when, early in 1916, the Germans had succeeded in producing a number of new and more powerful vessels, they began to pay little heed to it. Not only did they announce that, after March 1, they would sink without warning any merchant vessel that was armed but they proceeded to torpedo many unarmed vessels, causing much loss of life. Such nations as Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden suffered from the new campaign even more than did America.

For some weeks the submarines were able to sink vessels almost as rapidly as was done the year before, and it remained to be seen whether the Allies would be able to deal effectively with this new peril.

Their control of the sea enabled the Allies to proceed leisurely to the task of conquering the German overseas dominion. An expedition from Australia quickly occupied German New Guinea and other islands in that part of the world, while another from Australia and New Zealand seized German Samoa. Further north Australians captured the Marshall Islands,

while the Japanese seized the Caroline Islands and other German possessions in Oceanica. In none of these places were the Germans able to make any effective resistance.

The task of conquering Kiao-Chau in China proved somewhat more serious. The Germans had spent millions in fortifying the port of Tsing-tau, and it was defended by several thousand men, many of them German reservists who had been engaged in business in the Far East. In addition, there were one Austrian warship and some small German naval craft in the port. The Japanese, assisted by a few British troops, went about their work methodically, their object being to reduce the place with the least possible loss of life to themselves. Landing at strategic points on the Chinese coast, they moved forward into Kiao-Chau, easily sweeping the Germans before them into the fortifications. A formal siege was then undertaken, the place was heavily bombarded, some of the works were stormed, and, on November 6, the Germans surrendered. The Japanese announced that they would hold the place until the end of the war, and then return it to China, the original owner.

In Africa the French and British quickly overran Togoland, and presently began the invasion of Kamerun. This last mentioned colony is, however, so immense in size and the natural difficulties encountered were so great that it was not until February, 1916, that the main German force gave up the fight and, fifteen thousand strong, took refuge in Spanish Guinea, where they were interned.

In southern Africa the British reaped the harvest the Liberal party had sown when it adopted the magnanimous policy toward the Boers that we have already described in an earlier chapter. The Germans had great hopes of an uprising against the British in South Africa and took what steps they could to bring such an uprising to pass. There were undoubtedly many Boers in whom the old rancor toward the British still lingered, and among these the outbreak of the war aroused hopes that they might be able to

haul down the Union Jack. But at the head of the South African Union, as its Premier, stood General Louis Botha, former commander-in-chief of the Boer forces. General Botha had solemnly sworn that the British would never regret their generous course toward him and his compatriots, and, it cannot be doubted, he also remembered that of the British Cabinet then in power many had openly denounced the course of the Conservative Government in the Boer War and had openly sympathized with the burghers in their struggle.

on the border of German Southwest Africa, went over to the enemy with a handful of his men; while General Christian De Wet, General Beyers, and some others of the old Boer leaders raised the standard of revolt in the northern Free State and the western Transvaal. General Botha acted, however, with great firmness and energy, and the movement was soon suppressed with but little bloodshed. General De Wet, who was captured on December 1, and some of his compatriots were kept in easy confinement for almost a



GERMAN SUPER-DREADNOUGHT FRIEDRICH DER GROSSE

To those who came with suggestions that now was an opportune time to throw off British rule he replied that the Boers already had all that they wanted, that they controlled the Government, which was virtually independent, and he expressed strong doubts whether, if Germany won the war and overthrew the British Empire, the lot of the people of South Africa would be as enviable as it was under the British flag.

There was, however, an incipient revolt. Lieutenant-Colonel Maritz, commander of a force that had been gathered

year, but when conditions became opportune, General Botha released his old friends, being no doubt inclined to condone their actions, the motives for which were easily understandable to him.

Meantime, General Botha proceeded to attempt the conquest of German Southwest Africa. The forces for this purpose were raised almost wholly in South Africa, and they were commanded by General Botha in person, with General Smuts second in command. The Germans had considerable forces in the colony, and were aided by the great size of the country,

which is half again as large as Germany, and by its natural features, particularly the absence of water in many districts. The South African forces were, however, admirably fitted for such campaigning, and despite the fact that the Germans offered bitter resistance, even poisoning wells with arsenic, the invaders managed in the course of a few months to capture the railroads and all the principal places. In July, 1915, Governor Seitz surrendered all his remaining forces, and resistance ceased.

This successful campaign aroused great enthusiasm among the British. On July

the friends of the British connection retained control of the Parliament by large majorities.

By May, 1916, there remained of all the German overseas dominions, amounting to over a million square miles, only a part of the colony of East Africa. Fighting along the borders of this province began very early in the war, the Germans making raids into British East Africa in vain endeavors to capture Mombasa and to cut the railroad from thence to Nairobi and Victoria Nyanza. They also attacked British posts about Lake Nyassa



ITALIAN SUBMARINE

13, the House of Commons passed by acclamation a resolution of thanks to Generals Botha and Smuts and their forces. In moving the resolution, Premier Asquith asked the House "to testify to the admiration of the whole Empire for its gratitude to the illustrious General who has rendered such an inestimable service to the Empire which he entered by adoption and of which he has become one of the most honored and cherished sons." In South Africa there continued to be some opposition to Botha's Government, but in the elections, later in the year,

and elsewhere in Rhodesia. The British retaliated at various points, particularly by an attack on Tanga, north of the Island of Zanzibar, where they met with a repulse. In July, 1915, the British destroyed the German cruiser *Königsberg*, which had taken refuge several months before in the Rufiji River, the main work being done by a couple of light draft monitors sent out for the purpose from home. Steps were also taken to obtain command of Lakes Nyassa, Tanganyika, and Victoria, and, after some miniature naval engagements, this was accomplished.

Fighting in East Africa was attended by many interesting incidents, owing to the character of the country and its inhabitants, both human and animal. Most of the people, of course, are negroes, many of them naked savages; and, in the matter of animals, the region is a vast zoo. Soldiers on campaigns saw thousands of antelopes of many species, besides zebras, giraffes, ostriches, rhinoceroses, hippopotami, elephants, buffaloes, and lions. A British officer wounded in one of the petty engagements awoke from the swoon into which the bullet had thrown him to find a hyena industriously engaged in chewing his leg. The heat, lack of water in places, diseases of many kinds, the ravages of the tsetse fly, the bite of which is fatal to horses, mules, and donkeys, combined to make the task of campaigning unusually great. In many districts the only feasible method of transporting ammunition and supplies was to have them carried on the backs of men—porters such as made up the safaris of Colonel Roosevelt and other African hunters and explorers.

For more than a year the British depended for the most part upon African and Indian troops, commanded by British officers; but, toward the end of 1915, they began to make serious preparations for the conquest of the last of the German colonies. A large force was gathered, chiefly composed of Boers and other South Africans, and the command was given to General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, one of the British corps commanders in the retreat from Mons. In February, 1916, General Smith-Dorrien resigned on account of ill health and was succeeded by General Smuts, one of the conquerors of German Southwest Africa. General Smuts was soon able to announce a number of victories, and the over-running of the country continued rapidly.

Fifteen months after the war began, the work of the British fleet was thus set forth by an Englishman, the Right Hon. C. F. G. Masterman:

"A map of the world to-day exhibits a world at war. Four continents would be colored black as supplying combatants or in jeopardy. In Europe—*Cette vieille*

Europe, as Napoleon called it—the conflict is so desperate, and along so many lines of furious violence, that, listening, you can almost hear from anywhere the boom of the guns, the tramp of armed men, the cries of the wounded, the answering silence of the dead. Millions of men have gone down into darkness. Millions more may be destined to follow them. The lines sway, now backwards, now forwards, and he would be a bold man who would definitely declare what would be the ultimate result of this world battle. 'Somewhere in the British Islands,' or its surrounding seas, there is a place which in the largest scale map of the arena of war would not occupy more than a minute fraction of a pin's head. A few thousand men—less in total numbers than the casualties of a normal land attack—there rest quietly on strange machines wrought of steel and iron, all of which could be packed into a few square miles. But these men and machines are the Grand Fleet of the British Empire. And the contents of this fraction of a pin's head will decide the war, with the end coming perhaps to-day, perhaps to-morrow; but with the end assured.

"If our enemies could only obtain, as a gift of the gods they worship, some earthquake or volcanic or frightful natural upheaval, how inevitable would be their choice. Not London, the heart of Empire; not the millions who hold the line from East to West; but just this tiny spot in the ocean where a commander, always watchful, controls machines the fear of which keeps the German fleet in hiding behind booms and protective mines, and whose existence gives the freedom of the ocean, not only to the armed forces of ourselves and our Allies, but to the peaceful plying of the commerce of all the merchantmen of the world—except those of our enemies. The German flag flies nowhere in the seven seas. The German merchantmen and great liners have been banished from them like a dream when one awaketh. The whole gigantic oversea trade which Germany has built up with so much care and pride—trade which is

vital to the welfare of her people, destruction of which means gigantic misery and ruin—has fallen like a great house to the ground. The few German warships which existed outside Germany when war began have been hunted down, and lie, for the most part, deeper than ever plummet's sounding in the abysses of alien oceans. The great German ports, once the scenes of busy life, repose like cities of the dead. The great German mercantile sea lords proclaim their bankruptcy. A few merchants and *commis voyageurs*,

pounds spent in its construction had been thrown carelessly into the German Ocean. And slowly but surely, without ostentation or boasting, like the slaying of a man in the darkness by an unseen hand, it has laid its grip on the throat of Germany, never henceforth to be relaxed until the end comes. The victim may struggle, lash out with hands and feet, writhe in agony, and in its struggles damage all surrounding things; but despite the struggles the grip will remain secure, the pressure continued and intensified. And it



TURKISH TORPEDO BOATS

stranded at Montevideo or Yokohama, wait vainly for the ship that will never come, and the order that will never be executed. The British Navy is the one instrument, on either side of the conflict, which has performed its work with complete and unchangeable success. It has broken, as by a sudden hammer-blow, the whole of Germany that lived upon and trafficked in deep waters. It has rendered the German High Sea Fleet as innocuous in its hiding-place as if it had never existed—as if the three hundred million

is all dependent on some tiny aggregate of ships and men 'somewhere in the British Isles.'"

Would the final outcome of the Great War justify this view? Was Sir Walter Raleigh right when more than three centuries before he declared: "Whosoever commands the sea commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and, consequently, the world itself?" These were some of the vital questions which only time could answer.

CHAPTER CLXXVII.—TURKEY ENTERS THE WAR.



IN an earlier chapter we stated that German influence had long been active in the Ottoman Empire. Germans not only viewed the domains of the Sultan as a suitable region for commercial exploitation and possibly for colonization but they cultivated the Turkish Government in the hope of enlisting it alongside the Triple Alliance in case of the outbreak of a general war. Despite occasional setbacks, they secured concessions for railroads and managed to impress some of the most forceful of the Turkish leaders with the idea that Turkey would do well to lean upon the strong arm of the Kaiser.

The Turkish people viewed the outbreak of the war with mixed feelings. The country had not yet recovered from the effects of two disastrous wars, and the more cautious shrunk from plunging into a third. On the other hand, past history, aside from German intrigues, rendered the Turks generally more sympathetic toward the Central Powers than toward the Allies. The Balkan War in which Turkey had lost most of her European possessions was still recent, and it was natural that the Turks should rejoice over the troubles of her despoilers, Servia and Montenegro. The shadow of the Russian Bear had long hung over the land, and Russia was one of the Allies. Against France the Turks had no considerable grudges of recent date, but some had not forgotten that she held Tunis and Algeria, once a part of the Ottoman dominions. England had long been the "Sick Man's" chief supporter against Muscovite aggressions, but England held Egypt, contrary to Turkish views of the fitness of things, had refused to permit Turkish troops to pass through the country to Tripoli at the time of the war with Italy, was now

allied with Russia, and, at the outbreak of the present war, had taken over two Turkish warships that were building in British shipyards.

Under international law England's right to do this was beyond question, and, of course, she undertook to reimburse Turkey; nevertheless, the act aroused much feeling among the Turks. The money with which to pay for the ships had partly been raised by public subscription, and the Turks had looked forward to obtaining the vessels in order to wreak vengeance upon Greece, which had recently strengthened her navy by purchasing two American pre-dreadnoughts, the *Idaho* and the *Mississippi*. German agents made the most of the opportunity, and violent attacks on the British, "all emanating from the German Embassy, began to fill the Turkish press." Furthermore, Baron von Wangenheim, the German Ambassador, urged the Turkish Government to buy the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, whose escape from Messina to the Dardanelles has already been described, and incorporate them in the Turkish navy in place of the ships taken over by England. On the very day that the two cruisers entered the Dardanelles, a Turkish newspaper announced the "sale." According to Henry Morgenthau, the American Ambassador to Turkey, "Wangenheim's maneuver accomplished two purposes: it placed Germany before the populace as Turkey's friend, and it also provided a subterfuge for getting the ships through the Dardanelles, and enabling them to remain in Turkish waters. All this beguiled the more ignorant of the Turkish people, and gave the Cabinet a plausible ground for meeting the objection of Entente diplomats, but it did not deceive any intelligent person."

Against one member of the Triple Alliance, namely Italy, the Turks entertained feelings as bitter as those that were

felt toward any of the Allies; but, as we have seen, Italy stood aside, and, from the point of view of Teutonic relations with Turkey, rendered her old partners a service by doing so.

The Turkish Government was divided as to what course to pursue. It appears that the Sultan, the Heir Apparent, the Grand Vizier, and some other ministers were for continued neutrality; but the real power, at this time, was in the hands of a

murder. In January, 1913, they had gained control by murdering Nazim Pasha, the Minister of War. They dominated even the Sultan, who was a mere figurehead. On one occasion, the Sultan had attempted to assert his independence, but was brought to terms by intimidation. Thirteen "conspirators" and other criminals, some real ones, others merely political offenders, were sentenced to be hanged.

"Among them," says Ambassador Morgenthau, "was an imperial son-in-law. Before the execution could take place the Sultan had to sign the death warrants. He begged that he be permitted to pardon the imperial son-in-law, though he raised no objection to visiting the hangings of the other twelve. The nominal ruler of twenty million people figuratively went down upon his knees before Talaat, but all his pleadings did not affect this determined man. Here, Talaat reasoned, was a chance to decide, once for all, who was master, the Sultan or themselves. A few days afterward the melancholy figure of the imperial son-in-law, dangling at the end of a rope in full view of the Turkish populace, visibly reminded the empire that Talaat and the Committee were the masters of Turkey. After this tragical test of strength, the Sultan never attempted again to interfere in affairs of state."

The leaders of the Committee were Talaat, above referred to, Enver, and Djemal. Talaat was the leading man in this band of usurpers. According to one account, he was a Pomak, that is,

a man of Bulgarian blood whose ancestors had embraced Mohammedanism. He had at one time been a letter carrier and later a telegraph operator at Adrianople. Though he sprang from poverty and in his early life had not been accustomed to use a knife and fork, he had acquired some education and a certain amount of European culture. Physically he was large and very powerful, with a huge back and perfectly enormous wrists. Though often fierce and forbidding, he was sometimes



SULTAN OF TURKEY

sort of political machine composed of forty members, known as the Committee of Union and Progress, which had sub-committees in the provinces taking its orders and carrying out its policies. This Committee was a survival of the "Young Turk movement," which had, at one time, seemed to be trying to establish liberal institutions in Turkey. But the movement had degenerated, and the Committee was now nothing but a gang of thugs, who had won power by assassination and judicial

good humored and would laugh uproariously over a good story. He had been prominent in the Young Turk movement from an early date. He told Morgenthau that he had worked hard for its success, but, seeing that the Turks were not ready for democratic institutions, had determined to seize control.

Enver, like Talaat, also sprang from the people. When only twenty-six, he had taken a prominent part in the Young Turk movement, and was sometimes called the "Hero of the Revolution." He had fought in Tripoli against the Italians, was the main factor in the recapture of Adrianople from the Bulgarians, and had recently married a daughter of the Sultan. He considered himself a sort of combination of Napoleon and Frederick the Great, and was athirst for fame and military glory.

He had spent some time in Germany, a part of it as military attaché, and had become highly enthusiastic over things German. "He had learned to speak German fluently, he was even wearing a mustache slightly curled up at the ends; indeed, he had been completely captivated by Prussianism."

Djemal was a less striking personality than either Talaat or Enver, but he was Minister of Marine and also head of the Constantinople police force, a position that gave him much power. Enver was Minister of War, and Talaat was Minister of the Interior and leader of the Committee of Union and Progress.

It seems almost certain that, even before the war broke out, the Germans had a secret understanding with Enver and probably with others of the Ring. In December, 1913, General Liman von Sanders had arrived in Turkey at the head of a military mission to reorganize the Turkish army. This fact had not aroused much comment at the time, for such missions were not uncommon, and an English naval mission was even then in Turkey engaged in the difficult task of reorganizing the Turkish navy. Von Sanders and his assistants worked energetically, and, in a few months, "what

in January had been an undisciplined, ragged rabble was now parading with the goose step; the men were clad in German field gray, and they even wore a casque-shaped head covering, which slightly suggested the German *pickelhaube*." In the words of Ambassador Morgenthau, "By January, 1914, seven months before the Great War began, Germany held this position in the Turkish army: a German general was Chief of Staff; another was Inspector General; scores of German officers held commands of first importance,



ENVER PASHA

and a Turkish politician who was even then an outspoken champion of Germany, Enver Pasha, was Minister of War."

The Germans managed to win the favor of the political ring which controlled Turkey, and they also worked with great energy to create a public sentiment favorable to Turkey's entering the war, in case the War Lords should deem it desirable. Millions of dollars were sent into the country and expended in purchasing influential men and subsidizing the press. The news of Teutonic victories was exploited, while reports of Teutonic

defeats were either suppressed or minimized. Every possible course was taken to arouse hostility toward the Allies and to convince the Turks that the Teutons were the true friends of Islam. Emissaries of the Germans and of Enver Pasha began to arm and organize the Bedouins on the Egyptian frontier, and rifles and ammunition were sent southward. The Khedive, who was not then in Egypt, was a party to the effort to involve Turkey in the war,

vessels to take the places of the *Sultan Osman* and the *Reshadie*, which had been requisitioned by the British. The German officers and crews continued on the vessels, however, in spite of repeated protests from the Allied representatives. Furthermore, other German officers and men, both army and naval, were constantly arriving in Constantinople. Supreme in both the army and the navy, the pro-Germans were able to control the action



GOLDEN HORN, CONSTANTINOPLE

and secret agents were dispatched to Egypt to stir up revolt.

The Allied representatives at Constantinople did what they could to counteract these influences, and received assistance from some of the members of the ministry, particularly from Djavid Bey, the Jewish Minister of Finance. The Allies at once demanded that the German warships, the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, should be interned in accordance with international law in such cases; this the Turks refused to do, and announced that they had bought the

of their Government; and those members of the Ministry who favored neutrality found themselves powerless and in personal danger if they insisted upon their views.

Unofficially neither the Turks nor the Germans made much effort to conceal the fact that the sale of the German cruisers was fictitious. A few Turkish sailors were placed on board, but the German officers and German crews remained in active charge. The name of the *Goeben* was changed to the *Sultan Selim* and that

of the *Breslau* to the *Medilli*, and some of the German sailors wore Turkish fezzes, but these things deceived no intelligent persons. Talaat confessed to Morgenthau that the cruisers did not belong to Turkey, and von Wangenheim, in talks with Morgenthau, always called them "our" ships.

"The German officers and crews," says Morgenthau, "greatly enjoyed this farcical pretence that the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* were Turkish ships. They took delight

German songs, the German sailors singing loudly to the accompaniment. When they had spent an hour or more serenading the Russian Ambassador, the officers and crews removed their German caps and again put on their Turkish fezzes. The *Goeben* then picked up her anchor and started southward for her station, leaving in the ears of the Russian diplomat the gradually dying strains of the German war songs as the cruiser disappeared down the stream.



TURKISH CAVALRY LEAVING CONSTANTINOPLE

in putting on Turkish fezzes, thereby presenting to the world conclusive evidence that these loyal sailors of the Kaiser were now parts of the Sultan's navy. One day the *Goeben* sailed up the Bosphorus, halted in front of the Russian Embassy, and dropped anchor. Then the officers and men lined the deck in full view of the enemy embassy. All solemnly removed their Turkish fezzes and put on German caps. The band played '*Deutschland über Alles*,' the '*Watch on the Rhine*,' and other

"I have often speculated on what would have happened if the English battle cruisers, which pursued the *Breslau* and the *Goeben* up to the mouth of the Dardanelles, had not been too gentlemanly to violate international law. Suppose they had entered the strait, attacked the German cruisers in the Marmora, and sunk them. They could have done this, and, knowing all that we know now, such an action would have been justified. Not improbably the destruction would have

kept Turkey out of the war. For the arrival of these cruisers made it inevitable that Turkey, when the proper moment came, should join her forces with Germany. With them the Turkish navy became (for a time) stronger than the Russian Black Sea Fleet and thus made it certain that Russia could make no attack on Constantinople. The *Goeben* and *Breslau*, therefore, practically gave the Ottoman and German naval forces control of the Black Sea. Moreover, these two ships could



HENRY MORGENTHAU

easily dominate Constantinople, and thus they furnished the means by which the German navy, if the occasion should arise, could terrorize the Turks. I am convinced that, when the judicious historian reviews this war and its consequences, he will say that the passage of the strait by these German ships made it inevitable that Turkey should join Germany at the moment Germany desired her assistance, and that it likewise sealed the doom of the Turkish Empire. There were men in the Turkish Cabinet who perceived this, even then. The story

was told in Constantinople—though I do not vouch for it as authentic history—that the Cabinet meeting at which this momentous decision had been made had not been altogether harmonious. The Grand Vizier and Djemal, it was said, objected to the ‘sale,’ and demanded that it should not be completed. When the discussion had reached its height Enver, who was playing Germany’s game, announced that he had practically completed the transaction. In the silence that followed this statement this young Napoleon pulled out his pistol and laid it on the table.

“‘If any one here wishes to question this purchase,’ he said quietly and icily, ‘I am ready to meet him.’”

On the 9th of September, the Turks took advantage of the international situation to abolish the Capitulations, the nature of which has already been described in an earlier chapter. The representatives of various powers protested against this step, but the Capitulations were viewed by the Turks as a sign of national inferiority—which indeed they were—and they persisted in their decision.

Meanwhile, the British naval mission was recalled from the country. Germans continued to pour in; arms and ammunition were constantly arriving, also gold in large quantities; and German reservists who had been unable to reach their homes were ordered to report for enrolment with Turkish troops. The Dardanelles were closed to commerce and were mined; hostile Arabs crossed the Egyptian frontier late in September; while a little later the half-wild Kurds began to attack Russia. These matters did not escape the knowledge of the Allies, but they were anxious to maintain peace with Turkey, and, at the worst, to postpone a rupture as long as possible. Their representatives protested, but did not go beyond protests.

At the beginning of the war, the Germans hoped that it would be unnecessary to call upon Turkey for assistance. They expected to win a speedy victory, and felt that if Turkey took part she might

make demands for compensation. But the defeat at the Marne wrecked the German dream, and from Berlin the word went out that Turkey must be brought in. A large section of the Turkish Government hung back from taking the inevitable step, while popular opinion was by no means decidedly in favor of entering the war. Enver Pasha and his associates, both Turkish and German, realized that something must be done to precipitate the situation. On the early morning of October 29, without a declaration of war, the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, which were still in German hands, with two or three Turkish torpedo boats, executed a raid on Odessa and other places on the Black Sea, bombarded them, and sank or damaged several Russian vessels. Formal declarations of war quickly followed.

"One final picture I have of these exciting days," writes Ambassador Morgenthau. "On the evening of the 30th I called at the British Embassy. British residents were already streaming in large numbers to my office for protection, and fears of ill treatment, even the massacre of foreigners, filled everybody's mind. Amid all this tension I found one imperishable figure. Sir Louis was sitting in the chancery, before a huge fireplace, with large piles of documents heaped about him in a semi-circle. Secretaries and clerks were constantly entering, their arms full of papers, which they added to the accumulations already surrounding the Ambassador. Sir Louis would take up document after document, glance through it and almost invariably drop it into the fire. These papers contained the embassy records for probably a hundred years. In them were written the great achievements of a long line of distinguished ambassadors. They contained the story of all the diplomatic triumphs in Turkey of Stratford de Redcliffe, the 'Great Elchi,' as the Turks called him, who, for the greater part of almost fifty years, from 1810 to 1858, practically ruled the Turkish Empire in the interest of England. The records of other great British ambassadors at the Sublime Porte

now went, one by one, into Sir Louis Mallet's fire. The long story of British ascendancy in Turkey had reached its close. The twenty years' campaign of the Kaiser to destroy England's influence and to become England's successor had finally triumphed, and the blaze in Sir Louis' chancery was really the funeral pyre of England's vanished power in Turkey. As I looked upon this dignified and yet somewhat pensive diplomat, sitting there amid all the splendors of the British Embassy, I naturally thought of how once the sultans had bowed with fear and awe before the majesty of England, in the days when Prussia and Germany were little more than names. Yet the British Ambassador, as is usually the case with British diplomatic and military figures, was quiet and self-possessed. We sat there before his fire and discussed the details of his departure. He gave me a list of the English residents who were to leave and those who were to stay, and I made final arrangements with Sir Louis for taking over British interests. Distressing in many ways as was this collapse of British influence in Turkey, the honor of Great Britain and that of her ambassador was still secure. Sir Louis had not purchased Turkish officials with money, as had Wangenheim; he had not corrupted the Turkish press, trampled on every remaining vestige of international law, fraternized with a gang of political desperadoes, and conducted a ceaseless campaign of misrepresentations and lies against his enemy. The diplomatic game that had ended in England's defeat was one which English statesmen were not qualified to play. It called for talents such as only a Wangenheim possessed—it needed that German statecraft which, in accordance with Bismarck's maxim, was ready to sacrifice for the Fatherland 'not only life but honor.'"

It was the German hope that the entrance of Turkey into the war would be the signal for uprisings of millions of the Mohammedan subjects of Great Britain, France, and Russia. The prospect of establishing a great Mussulman Empire

which should include the three hundred millions of Mohammedans in Africa and Asia was dangled before the eyes of the Faithful. A jihad, or Holy War, was soon proclaimed with many formalities at Constantinople, and all Mussulmans capable of bearing arms—and even Mussulman women—were exhorted to rise up and defend the faith. Unlike in the Holy Wars of the past, however, the Faithful were not to wage war against

Allies. Her navy, it is true, was small, and her treasury was bankrupt; but the Germans could be depended upon for the sinews of war, and the Turkish army, when properly equipped and led, had always shown itself to be a formidable fighting force. Furthermore, the geographical position of Turkey was such as to be very embarrassing to the Allies. By land she could threaten both the British in Egypt and the Russians in Transcau-



TURKISH CAMEL TRANSPORT

all Christians, but only against those of the Allied nations. But the Mohammedan world was not so fanatical as of yore. A Holy War declared against the Balkan League two years before had provoked little response, and such proved to be the case with this "made in Germany" Holy War. Neither in India, Egypt, Algeria, nor in the dominions of the Czar were there any uprisings of importance.

The entrance of Turkey into the war was, however, a serious matter to the

casia, as well as the interests of both these peoples in Persia. She also controlled the outlet to the Black Sea. This was of vital importance to Russia, for, with the Baltic in German hands and the Arctic Ocean frozen during part of the year, it left her without any satisfactory outlet for her exports of wheat and other grain, or inlet for needed munitions of war. The closing of the Dardanelles meant higher prices for the wheat growers of Kansas and Alberta and Argentina, but it also

meant higher cost of living to the Allied and neutral nations of western Europe and serious derangement of economic conditions in Russia. Had the straits remained open, the great German and Austrian drive in 1915 which conquered Poland and freed Galicia might never have occurred. All things considered, therefore, the entrance of Turkey into the conflict meant far more than was at first apprehended by the world at large.

The outbreak of war was quickly followed by Great Britain's formally annexing the Island of Cyprus, which had been under her administration since 1878. As the reigning Khedive of Egypt was outside the country and was known to be engaged in the Turkish plot, he was dethroned, and Hussein Kemal, son of a former Khedive, was raised to the throne with the title of Sultan. The shadowy suzerainty of Turkey over Egypt was formally disavowed, and the country was declared a British protectorate.

These events in Turkey and Egypt had their counterpart in diplomatic contests to secure the assistance of the other Balkan states in the great struggle. On the part of the Allies great efforts were made to revive the Balkan Alliance and turn its forces against the Turks, while the Central Powers sought to frustrate all such efforts and to secure assistance from the Balkan states or at worst their continued neutrality. Allied hopes of at least securing the assistance of Greece were encouraged by reason of the fact that at the moment the relations of Greece and the Sublime Porte were seriously strained. How these hopes were frustrated and how Bulgaria, under its wily ruler, the "Fox of the Balkans," ultimately threw in its lot with the Central Powers will be described in another place.

The Allies established so close a blockade of the Dardanelles that the Turkish ships dared not venture out into the Ægean, but they frequently passed out of the Bosphorus into the Black Sea and engaged in skirmishes with the Russian fleet. In such fighting the brunt was borne by the big battle cruiser *Goeben*, which had been

renamed the *Sultan Selim*, though she still retained her German crew. To a large extent the whole Turkish navy was now under German direction, and it managed to make a much better showing than would otherwise have been the case. The Russians, however, soon had the better fleet, and besides had some English officers and gunners, and they ultimately gained practically undisturbed control of the Black Sea. The Turkish and German ships were for the most part sunk or else so badly battered as to need large repairs.

In December, 1914, the British submarine *B-11*, commanded by Lieutenant Holbrooke, succeeded in penetrating the Dardanelles, diving under five rows of mines, and torpedoed and sunk the Turkish battleship *Messudieh*. The vessel thus lost was an old ship, but the exploit was nevertheless a most remarkable one, fully equal to anything done by either side in the course of the war.

Among the Turks and their allies a strong desire existed to capture the Suez Canal. By doing this they would cut the Allied short route to India and the Far East, and would force them to take the much longer and more expensive one by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The capture of the canal would not only strike a great material blow at British interests but would also immensely lower British prestige throughout the world, and particularly throughout the Oriental world. Furthermore, it was believed that if Turkish troops could get into Egypt, the people would rise up and welcome them and help to expel their British overlords.

Great difficulties, however, stood in the way of the realization of the Turkish purpose. Both the Red and Mediterranean Seas were completely commanded by the ships of the Allies, and the only possible road for the invaders lay through Arabia and Palestine and across the Isthmus of Suez. The transportation of large bodies of men through this country was little less than impossible, for the nearest railway, that from Damascus southward toward Mecca, lay two hundred miles to the eastward of the canal, and the inter-

vening country was a barren desert waste, almost destitute of water. It was through this region, according to the Biblical account, that the Israelites wandered for forty years; but the Turks had among their leaders no Moses who could smite the rocks and cause to leap forth springs of life-giving water, nor could they depend upon miraculous dispensations of manna and quails.

During the latter part of January, there were frequent skirmishes between reconnoitering parties in the desert to the east of the canal, and, on February 2, the Turks began their attack. As the canal is almost a hundred miles in length, they approached it in several places. That night one of their parties reached the canal near the Ismailia Ferry with some boats and a raft or two made of empty kerosene tins in



TURKISH DRAGOONS

Nevertheless, the Turks gathered an army in Syria under Djemal Pasha, and determined to make the attempt. Camels were collected by the thousands, galvanized iron pontoon boats were provided, and material was also taken along with which to make rafts.

Meanwhile the British gathered a considerable number of men, largely colonial and Indian troops, along the canal, erected fortifications and wire entanglements, and patrolled the great waterway with warships.

a wooden frame. The boats were quickly riddled by rifle, machine gun, and artillery fire, and the Turks were either killed, captured, or driven back. At El Kantara another attack came to grief on the British wire entanglements. Next day there was fighting at various points along the canal, in which the British warships played an active part. By and by the British took the offensive, and the survivors of the Turkish forces were thrown back. The British losses in these engagements were only a little over a hundred in killed

and wounded, while those of the Turks were several times this number, and included several hundred prisoners. Some of these prisoners were paraded through the streets of Cairo, and their plight had a sobering influence upon any Egyptians who may have been contemplating an uprising in the Turkish interests.

The Turkish Government was soon given something more serious to think about nearer home, and the Suez campaign was allowed to languish. The advantages to the Allies and most of all to Russia of the opening up of the waterway that connected the Black Sea with the *Ægean* had been apparent ever since Turkey had entered the war. If the Dardanelles could be forced by the Allied warships, the Sea of Marmora could be occupied, and Constantinople, which lies open to attack from this sea, could easily be captured. The opening of the Bosphorus would naturally follow. Turkey would be cut into two unequal parts. The small European portion would hardly be able to hold out long; while the Asiatic region, deprived of all communication with the Teutonic powers, would either be conquered or forced to accept peace. Furthermore, the agricultural products of the great Russian plain could be carried to western markets, and munitions of war could be sent to Russia, which, because she was mainly a farming country, was unable to manufacture munitions in the enormous quantities which the war was demanding.

In a word, the Dardanelles enterprise was a magnificent conception. Those who advocated it were right in believing that, if it were carried through, it would go far toward putting a period to the war. The Turks would be rendered harmless, and the other Balkan powers would either throw in their lot with the Allies or would at least give up any thought of assisting Germany and Austria. It is easy to see, in the light of after events, that if the Allies had opened the straits they would have saved the loss of millions of lives and billions of money. But unfortunately for them, their plans and their execution of them were in a different class from the idea.

The strait called the Dardanelles, as a glance at the map will show, forms the outlet to the Sea of Marmora and lies between northwestern Asia Minor and the long narrow projection of southeastern Europe that is known as the Gallipoli Peninsula. Upon the European side rise bold hills, but the Asiatic coast, the region of ancient Troy, is lower and less broken. At the entrance, which was defended by two forts, Sedd-el-Bahr and Kum Kale, the strait is four or five miles wide. Inside it broadens out somewhat, but about a dozen miles up there is a constriction known as the Narrows, and here were located the main Turkish defenses. The Narrows is about ten miles long, and in places less than a mile wide. It was here that Xerxes built his bridge of boats over which his hosts marched on their way to Greece. Beyond, the strait gradually grows wider and finally merges into the Sea of Marmora.

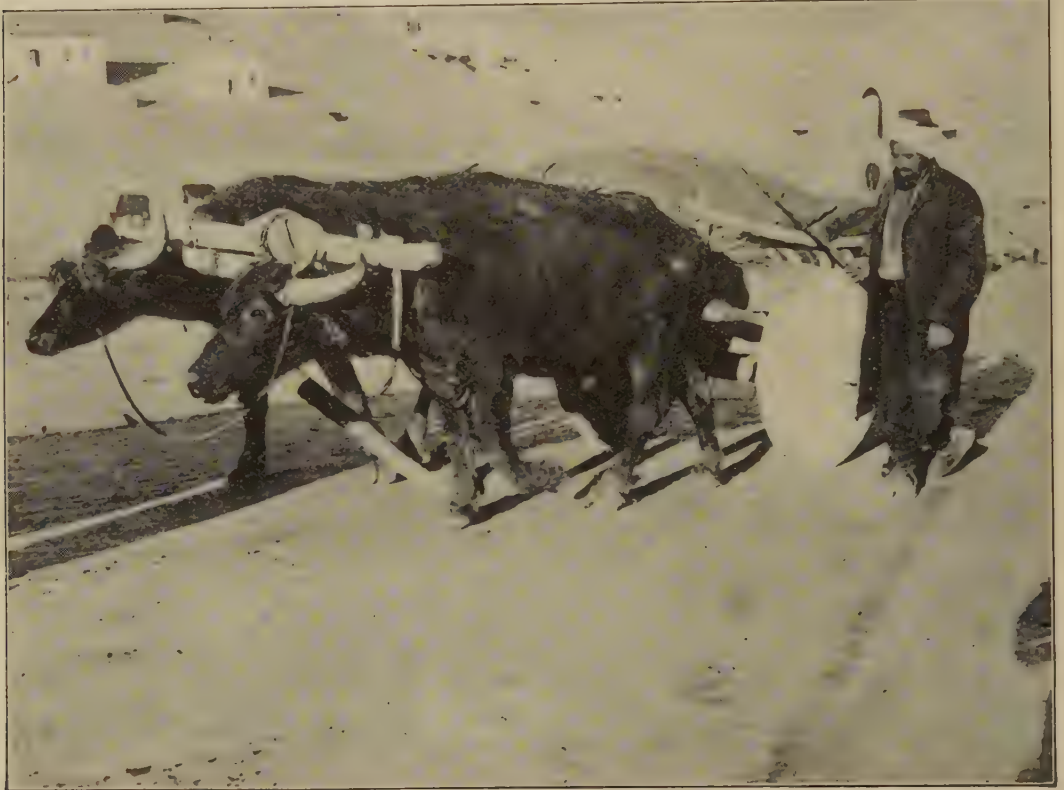
The first proposal for an expedition to the Dardanelles was made to the War Cabinet by Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, on November 25, 1914. But, with the procrastination characteristic of the British authorities at that time, the matter was allowed to drag. On January 2, 1915, a communication from Russia asked that some such operation should be attempted. This brought the matter to an issue, but even then there was much indecision and delay. Obviously the sort of expedition most likely to succeed would be a joint military and naval force, but Secretary of War Kitchener declared that there were no troops immediately available for operations in the east, and his opinion was accepted by the War Council. A commission which subsequently investigated the undertaking expressed the opinion that, in reality, troops could have been available at an earlier date than Kitchener supposed. In fact, a few thousand well trained troops, coöperating with the navy in the first attack, would almost certainly have transformed failure into success.

The truth is that in this Dardanelles expedition, as in some other matters,

Earl Kitchener notably failed to measure up to his task. He was lacking in strategical insight, and, furthermore, was not inclined to welcome advice. He did not sufficiently avail himself of the services of his General Staff, "with the result that more work was undertaken by him than it was possible for one man to do, and confusion and want of efficiency resulted." Kitchener's reputation was, however, so great and he was so "all powerful, imper-

and, in consequence of misunderstandings resulting, the dispatch of any troops was delayed three weeks. This delay compromised the probability of success of the original attack by land forces and materially increased the difficulties encountered in the final attack some months later.

There were yet other unfortunate circumstances. There can be little question that some Englishmen hesitated to capture Constantinople lest they should be com-



TRANSPORTING PROVISIONS FOR TURKISH ARMY

turbable, and reserved" that, in the words of Churchill, "he dominated absolutely our councils at this time. The belief that he had plans deeper and wider than any we could see silenced misgivings."

On February 16, the War Council decided to mass troops near the Dardanelles, but, four days later, Kitchener decided that the Twenty-Ninth Division, which was to constitute the main part of this force, should not be sent. He did not inform the First Lord of this decision,

pelled to hand it over to Russia, for the shadow of "the Bear that walks like a man" still created apprehension in some circles. Lord Fisher opposed the expedition, partly because he thought the ships ought to be used elsewhere, partly because he doubted whether a purely naval expedition could succeed. In the end, the attempt was first made entirely with ships.

The first operations were promising. On the 19th of February, the Anglo-French fleet began a bombardment of Sedd-el-Bahr

and Kum-Kale, and in the course of a few days reduced them to a heap of ruins. Preceded by mine sweepers, some of the ships then entered the strait, while others lying in the Gulf of Saros bombarded the Turkish forts at the Narrows by indirect fire over the Gallipoli Peninsula. The vessels engaged in these attacks were, for the most part, battleships of the older type; but the British sent one superb

aries before making the main attack upon the Narrows, and in the interval they gave the Turks time to make greater preparations, notably to secure the aid of more German gunners. In the second place, the attack was made by too small a fleet. The French and British could have spared fifty of their older battleships without endangering their command of the sea, but they made their grand attempt



TURKISH SOLDIERS LOADING AMMUNITION

super-dreadnought, the *Queen Elizabeth*, which had been completed since the war began. She was probably the most powerful battleship afloat, and her monster 15-inch guns outranged any artillery the Turks possessed.

These initial successes aroused great enthusiasm in the Allied countries, but in the Allied management, then and later, it is easy to pick flaws. For one thing, the French and British were too deliberate. They took a full month for the prelimin-

aries before making the main attack upon the Narrows, and in the interval they gave the Turks time to make greater preparations, notably to secure the aid of more German gunners. In the second place, the attack was made by too small a fleet. The French and British could have spared fifty of their older battleships without endangering their command of the sea, but they made their grand attempt

with less than a third of that number, assisted by some cruisers and destroyers. As in many other operations of this war, procrastination and indecision, a lack of realization of the vital value of time, and a failure to push through an undertaking, once begun, with the utmost energy and dispatch, were features of the Dardanelles attack. We may conjecture what a Nelson or a Farragut would have done under such circumstances. Without giving the Turks weeks of warning, either would

have sailed resolutely up the straits at the head of all the ships he could muster, preceded perhaps by mine sweepers and some old hulks upon which the torpedoes could expend their force; and he would have gone through. Probably he would have lost six or eight battleships in the process, but six or eight old battleships, practically ready for the junk heap, would have been a bagatelle compared to the price which the Allies were ultimately to pay for—defeat. But neither Vice Admiral Carden nor Vice Admiral de Robeck, to whom owing to illness Carden relinquished the command on the eve of the main attempt, had any of the mettle of Nelson or Farragut in them; or, if they had, they were so tied down by orders from home that they could accomplish nothing.

The main attack began a little before noon of March 18. The day was clear, and many of the operations could be seen from the top of Mount St. Elias on the Island of Tenedos, fifteen or more miles away. The attack was begun by the *Queen Elizabeth*, *Inflexible*, *Agamemnon*, *Lord Nelson*, *Triumph*, and *Prince George*, and as they steamed up the strait they were received by a warm fire from heavy guns, howitzers, and even field pieces. Soon the French squadron, consisting of the *Suffren*, *Gaulois*, *Charlemagne*, and *Bouvet*, likewise steamed up the strait; and the ten ships were able to pour in so hot a fire that for the time being the batteries seemed silenced. Six other British ships, the *Vengeance*, *Irresistible*, *Albion*, *Ocean*, *Swiftsure*, and *Monmouth* then advanced to relieve some of the other ships. The *Bouvet*, which had been badly battered, struck a drifting mine or else received a shot in her magazine, and sank in less than three minutes. Later in the day the *Irresistible* and the *Ocean* also sank, either as a result of gunfire or of striking mines. The *Gaulois* was severely damaged, and the *Inflexible* had her forward control position struck by a heavy shell. As night came on, the ships that remained afloat withdrew. Most of the crew of the *Bouvet* had been lost with the

ship, but the casualties on the other vessels had not been large.

Allied bulletins made light of the losses, and announced that other ships had been sent to assist in further attacks; but time was to show that these attacks were mostly confined to long distance bombardments. The attempt to force the Dardanelles by a naval attack had failed, and with the failure disappeared the possibility of realizing the Allied boast that they would take Constantinople by Easter. Baron von der Goltz, the German military adviser to the Turks, announced that the strait was impregnable; and the news of the British and French repulse greatly weakened Allied prestige throughout the Balkan region. It was the first of many blundering failures.

In reality the Allies had been much nearer success than they supposed. Morgenthau, the American Ambassador at Constantinople, says that practically everyone in the Turkish capital, except Enver, fully expected that the fleet would force the Dardanelles and capture the city. The Government was panic stricken, and the leaders prepared to flee from Constantinople and to establish a new capital in Asia Minor. Even von Wangenheim, the German Ambassador, expected the attempt to succeed and asked Morgenthau to store several cases of his valuables in the American embassy. General von der Goltz, who probably knew as much about the defenses of the Dardanelles as any one, for he had been Turkey's military instructor for years, told Morgenthau that if the British were willing to sacrifice ten ships they could force the entrance and do it very quickly and could be in the Sea of Marmora ten hours later. At this time, in fact, the fortifications were comparatively weak and mounted comparatively few modern guns. Morgenthau, who visited the forts between bombardments, says in regard to this matter:

"There is a general belief that the Germans had completely modernized the Dardanelles defenses, but this was not true at that time. The guns defending Fort Anadolu Hamidië were more than

thirty years old, all being the Krupp model of 1885, and the rusted exteriors of some of them gave evidences of their age. Their extreme range was only about nine miles, while the range of the battleships opposing them was about ten miles, and that of the *Queen Elizabeth* was not far from eleven. The figures which I have given for Anadolu Hamidië apply also to practically all the guns at the other

danelles. As the French and British were well equipped with mine sweepers, however, this mine field was not an insurmountable obstacle.

Had the Allied fleet reduced the forts, its problem would have been a simple one. The mine sweepers could easily have opened a channel through the mine field. Between the Narrows and Constantinople there were no fortifications



FRENCH FLEET IN BATTLE ARRAY

effective fortifications. So far as the advantage of range was concerned, therefore, the Allied fleet had a decided superiority, the *Queen Elizabeth* alone having them all practically at her mercy."

There was, to be sure, a mine field. Strangely enough, many of the mines were of Russian origin and had been set adrift by the Russians in the Bosphorus in the hope that they would do damage to Turkish vessels. The Turks had fished them out and had placed them in the Dar-

of consequence. North of Chanak there were a few guns but they were of the 1878 model, and their projectiles could not penetrate modern armor plate. North of Point Nagara there were two batteries, and both dated from 1835. Having passed through the Dardanelles, the Allied fleet could have entered the Sea of Marmora and could quickly have appeared before Constantinople. The Turks and Germans had only one ship of the first class, namely, the *Goeben*, but even she was no match for

the *Queen Elizabeth*. Morgenthau declares that most of the people of the capital would have welcomed the Allies and says that the collapse of Turkey would speedily have followed.

According to Morgenthau, the Allies needed to have continued the attack only a little longer on the 18th of March or to have renewed it soon after. At the end of that attack, Fort Hamidië, the most powerful defense on the Asiatic side, had just 17 armor-piercing shells left, while at Kilid-el-Bahr, the main defense on the European side, there were exactly ten. The troops at the fortifications had been ordered to man the guns until the last shell was fired and then to abandon the forts.

What fateful events flowed from the failure of the Allied commanders to be more persistent! Had they renewed their attack, they would have captured Constantinople, would have opened the Bosphorus, and, in all probability, would speedily have put Turkey out of the war. Russian wheat could then have flowed to Italy, France, and England, while munitions of war could have been carried to Odessa and other Black Sea ports in return. Instead of collapsing, as she did in 1917, Russia could have been so strengthened that she would have stayed in the war until the end. Bulgaria, instead of entering the conflict on the side of the Central Powers, would probably have enlisted against them, as would also Roumania and Greece, at an earlier date than they actually did. The whole war would doubtless have been shortened by at least two years, and millions of men and many billions of treasure would have been saved. Such is one of the most unhappy "ifs" of history!

After the failure of March 18, it was decided that a land force should be sent out to coöperate with the fleet—a decision that should have been reached at the beginning, when a comparatively small force would have sufficed. The French and British attempt on the Dardanelles was to have a counterpart in a combined attack by Russian ships and

troops upon the Bosphorus. It was also hoped that Greece, under the leadership of her energetic Premier, Venizelos, who was strongly pro-Ally in sympathy, would enter the war and furnish an army for an advance through Thrace. Again the world was told that the dominions of the "Sick Man" were about to be divided.

The task of gathering a land force was one that required some time for its execution. Nor did the French and British authorities display much acumen in the makeup of these forces, which amounted at first to about 45,000 men. For the most part they were composed of French colonial troops and of New Zealanders and Australians. Now these men, more especially the Australasians, were good, even splendid, raw material; but they were poorly trained, and the army as a whole was weak in artillery. The job to be accomplished was a task for experts, with every appliance that war had evolved. But the idea still lingered that anybody could whip the Turks. The shells that were shot away with but small results at Neuve Chapelle would have brought a grand victory at the Dardanelles.

It was not until April that the Allies were ready to attempt a landing. Two months had passed since the first naval attack at the strait, and the Turks had had time to gather large forces of men, to construct new forts on the rugged Gallipoli hills, to dig trenches, and to string barbed wire entanglements along the beaches where landings were thought to be practicable. At the time that the Allied warships had battered down Sedd-el-Bahr it would have been possible for landing parties to land on the tip of the peninsula almost without resistance, but conditions were different now.

The Allied plan was for the French contingent to land on the Asiatic side of the strait; a portion of the British forces were to seize the tip of the peninsula, while another detachment was to land at Gaba Tepe further up the peninsula and some distance below Cape Suvla. The Gaba Tepe landing party, made up of Australians and New Zealanders, was

carried on warships and transports to a position off Gaba Tepe on the night of April 24. Early next morning, boat loads of men were sent in toward the beaches. As the boats neared the shore, a party of Turks from an intrenched position opened fire with rifles and a machine gun, doing great execution in the crowded boats. Says a British war correspondent:

"It was a trying moment, but the Australian volunteers rose as a man to the occasion. They waited neither for orders

The British troubles were, however, by no means over. Just back of the beach rose an almost perpendicular cliff of loose sandstone, covered with thick shrubbery, and part of the way up the enemy had a second trench from which they poured a terrible fire upon the troops below and upon the boats pulling back and forth for new landing parties. This trench was presently carried by assault, but snipers hidden in the cliffs and shrubbery continued their galling fire. Gradually



ALLIED FLEET OPERATING AGAINST DARDANELLES

nor for the boats to reach the beach, but, springing out into the sea, they waded ashore and, forming some sort of a rough line, rushed straight at the flashes of the enemy's rifles. Their magazines were not even charged. So they just went in with cold steel, and I believe I am right in saying that the first Ottoman Turk since the last Crusade received an Anglo-Saxon bayonet in him at five minutes after 5 a. m. on April 25. It was over in a minute. The Turks in the first trench were bayoneted or ran away, and a Maxim gun was captured."

the Australians and New Zealanders, aided by a heavy fire from the warships, cleared the ground in front of them, while guns and munitions were being landed on the beach. There was more or less fighting during the following night, and next morning the watchers on the warships saw a great force of Turks come creeping over the hills for an attempt to drive the invaders into the sea. The warships at once opened a tremendous fire from their smallest guns up to the monster 15-inch rifles of the *Queen Elizabeth*, each shrapnel shell from which threw out a hail of 20,000

bullets. The Turks came on gallantly, but were unable to face the terrific fire from the warships and from the troops on shore, and had to retreat. Meanwhile, the Australasians had been digging themselves in, and by the close of the day were reasonably safe from attack in this section, which came to be known as "Anzac," from the initials of "Australian-New Zealand Army Corps."

bullets, and on one gangway nearly all of the 200 men upon it were shot down. The attempt was then given up at this place, and the vessel lay all day under rifle and artillery fire, but when night came the surviving troops, assisted by other landing parties, got ashore. Aided by the fire from the ships, the British managed during the next few days to clear the entire tip of the peninsula, but were presently held up by



TURRET AND GUNS OF FRENCH BATTLESHIP

Simultaneously with the landing at Anzac, British troops were endeavoring to get ashore at five of the beaches near the tip of the peninsula. These troops had great difficulties with barbed wire entanglements, and hundreds were shot down. At one beach an attempt was made to run a liner carrying two thousand men close to the shore and throw them ashore on great gangways extending from doors that had been cut in the vessel's side. But when the gangways were lowered, they were enfiladed by a perfect tornado of

strong works on the great hill of Achi Baba, and were unable to gain contact with the Anzac force or to continue their way toward the forts along the Narrows—the objective of all these movements. Meanwhile, the French troops had landed on the Asiatic shore, had been unable to hold their position, and were withdrawn and were landed on the tip of the peninsula.

The losses of the Allies in these efforts were large, but were probably exceeded by those of the Turks, who had been mercilessly pounded by the great guns

of the fleet. It was not long before Constantinople and all the towns in that part of the Turkish Empire were full of wounded.

If the Allies could have carried out at this time the new landing which they made in August, they would probably soon have swept their way through to Constantinople. The Turks were in great alarm, and every day the people of the capital half expected to see the enemy's fleet approaching. As it was, the landing parties were not able to do much more than hold their own against the constantly increasing swarms of Turks, and the warfare became one of trenches, of bombs, and slow approaches. Progress, like that on the Western Front, was measured by yards. The Allies were, at this time, however, not far from victory, and Winston Churchill, the First Lord of the Admiralty, correctly portrayed the situation and the prize at stake, when he said:

"In looking at your losses squarely and soberly you must not forget at the same time the prize for which you are contending. The army of Sir Ian Hamilton and the fleet of Admiral de Robeck are separated only by a few miles from a victory such as this war has not seen. When I speak of victory I am not referring to those victories that crowd the daily placards of any newspaper. I am speaking of victory in the sense of a brilliant and formidable fact shaping the destinies of nations and shortening the duration of the war. Beyond those few miles of ridge and scrub on which our soldiers, our French comrades, our gallant Australian and New Zealand fellow subjects are now battling, lie the downfall of a hostile empire, the destruction of an enemy's fleet and army, the fall of a world-famous capital, and probably the accession of powerful allies. The struggle will be heavy, the risks numerous, the losses cruel, but victory when it comes will make amend for all....Through the Narrows of the Dardanelles and across the ridges of the Gallipoli Peninsula lie some of the shortest paths to a triumphant peace."

Already, however, circumstances were rapidly developing that were unfavorable to the Allied venture. In May, the Teutonic forces had begun their great drive through Galicia; and Russia, hard pressed at home, had no troops to spare for an attack upon the Bosphorus. In the Balkans, Allied attempts to reconstitute the Balkan League in their interest had failed, at least for the time being. Venizelos, the great Cretan statesman who had piloted Greece through two victorious wars, was eager to lend assistance to the attack on the Turks, but King Constantine, influenced by his wife, who was a sister of Kaiser Wilhelm, was opposed to the venture—at least on the terms the Allies offered. Finding his efforts blocked, Venizelos resigned, and, though a general election was soon ordered, it did not take place for many weeks.

On May 26, a German submarine suddenly appeared in the Dardanelles, and in two days' time sank the British battleships *Triumph* and *Majestic*. Opinions differed as to whence the wasp had come; some supposed that she had been sent overland to the Adriatic and from thence had made her way to Turkish waters; but the German commander asserted that she had come by way of the Atlantic and Gibraltar. At any rate, the wasp was there, and thenceforth the Allied warships were unable to lend so much assistance as they had hitherto done.

The Germans, however, were not alone in carrying out such under-water enterprises. British submarines repeatedly succeeded in passing through the maze of mines in the strait and entering the Sea of Marmora, where they sank scores of Turkish vessels thereby greatly complicating the problem of supplying the defenders of the Dardanelles and spreading apprehension and terror even in Constantinople.

On June 4, the Allies attempted a grand assault on the Turkish trenches in the southern area of Gallipoli, and managed to carry two lines of Turkish trenches along a three mile front, but were again held up. Ahead loomed formidable heights, defended by thousands of

Turks and Germans, skillfully entrenched and well supplied with artillery, barbed wire entanglements, and deadly machine guns. The Allies now held about ten square miles of the peninsula, but practically every foot of it was exposed to the fire of the Turkish artillery, and the task of landing supplies and munitions was a dangerous one. To an Associated Press correspondent who was allowed to visit the Turkish lines, Weber Pasha, the German general commanding the southern group, said: "The failure of the

because the inability of the Russians to attack the Bosphorus had released great numbers of Turks who had been held in readiness to meet that danger, and who were now available for use about the Dardanelles. The Allied forces were too weak both in men, guns, and shells to attempt much, and were forced to watch their enemies digging fresh trenches and covering the hills with barbed wire. General Ian Hamilton had urgently asked for reinforcements, but though some detachments



TURKISH MINE EXPLODING NEAR STERN OF BRITISH DESTROYER IN THE DARDANELLES

Allies to consummate their plan of forcing the Dardanelles is too obvious for discussion."

In the next few weeks, there was much sanguinary fighting, with slight gains to the Allies. The smallness of the area on which the combats took place added to the horrors of the situation. It was trench and mine warfare, and in their excavations the Allies dug up ruins of long buried Greek towns and also stone tombs containing the moldering bones of men who had died long before the Christian era. The Allied position was the more serious

had reached him, they were not large enough to make good the heavy losses and greatly increase the size of the army. During June, however, the British Government decided to make a more determined effort to win through, and five divisions were promised. During July and early August, transport after transport arrived from England or Egypt packed with troops, many of whom were landed upon the Islands of Imbros, Lemnos, and Mitylene. A large part of these troops had never been in battle, and a large proportion of their officers were equally unseasoned.

Various plans for a fresh attempt were considered, but the one finally decided upon was for a new landing at Suvla Bay, north of the Anzac position. The Australasians at Anzac were to be reinforced, and a combined attempt was to be made to carry the ridges ahead, overlooking the Turkish forts at the Narrows. Meanwhile, the forces on the tip of the peninsula were to attack by way of diversion, and the whole movement was to be supported by the fire of the fleet. The Suvla landing force was commanded by Lieutenant General Stopford, and it consisted of an entire army corps, with the exception of one brigade. The Anzac troops, now numbering not quite forty thousand men, with about seventy guns, were commanded by Lieutenant General Birdwood.

The night of the 6th of August was selected for the great venture, mainly because it was the last moonless night of the month. The landing at Suvla Bay was carried out only after enormous losses, for the Turks had placed wire entanglements even in the water, and hundreds of men were shot down before these could be got through. Insufficient drinking water had been provided, and during the next two days many of the men went mad with thirst, while the generals proved unequal to the situation, and discipline in large measure broke down. These troops failed to carry the hills ahead of them as had been planned, and the brunt of the fighting fell upon the Australasians, Gurkhas, and other troops in the Anzac sector. For this state of affairs, General Hamilton subsequently blamed General Stopford, but Stopford in defense asserted that clear orders had not been given him.

Notwithstanding the virtual failure of the Suvla forces, the gallant troops at Anzac came near snatching a glorious success from the muddle. Again and again they pushed onward against almost impregnable positions. Australasians and part of a Gloucestershire regiment, at dawn on the 9th, carried a part of Chanak Bahr, but were overwhelmed by numbers and almost annihilated. A gallant regi-

ment of Gurkhas from India actually reached the top of Chanak Bahr, a ridge from which they could look down upon the Dardanelles and the forts at the Narrows. If this position could have been retained, the fate of the Turkish army and capital would have been sealed, for artillery from thence would have dominated the Turkish defenses of the strait, and it would have been only a question of time before the Cross would have supplanted the Crescent upon St. Sophia. It was one of those moments when the scales of history swing in the balance, hesitating which way to incline. But it was not to be. A supporting brigade commanded by General Baldwin became lost in a ravine and came up just too late to support the Gurkhas, who had been driven from the ridge. In the fighting that followed, General Baldwin partially atoned for his blunder by dying among his men.

On the 10th, the Turks made a desperate effort to follow up their success and sweep the invaders into the sea. Wave after wave of troops dashed forward, only to come in range of the great guns of the ships and of the machine guns of the infantry. As the huge shells exploded, they threw human bodies high into the air, while shrapnel and rifle and machine gun bullets swept the Turks down by thousands. Those in front tried to retreat, while others pressed on from the rear, and the confused mass formed a splendid target. Ultimately the Turks retired, but they had made good their hold upon the vital ridge.

The battle had been one of the most desperate and bloody of the war. Some British units had been annihilated, and the total losses of the Allies in killed, wounded, and missing was probably upwards of fifty thousand, or about a third of all the troops engaged. Nor were the losses of the Turks much less.

Another attempt was made on August 21st, but it likewise failed, and from that time forward the Allies marked time. There still remained the hope that reinforcements would be sent or that the Turkish supply of shells and ammunition, already badly depleted, might give out;

but all such hopes were doomed to disappointment when, in October, Bulgaria, encouraged by the failure of the Allies at the Dardanelles, threw in her lot with Turkey and the Central Powers, and joined in a campaign that quickly resulted in the overrunning of Serbia and the linking up of Turkey with her northern allies. It now became clearly apparent that with the munitions and other assistance that Turkey could receive from Germany, the task of opening the strait was hopeless, and it was equally apparent



GENERAL SIR IAN HAMILTON

that, even if opened, it could not be kept so. General Hamilton was relieved of his command by General Sir Charles Monro, and, with the help of the navy, the Suvla Bay and Anzac positions were evacuated in December and that at the tip of the peninsula in January. The withdrawal was made with skill and with trifling loss.

The losses that had gone before, however, had been enormous. The British losses alone, including 96,000 invalided home on account of illness, amounted to about

198,000 men, of whom over 25,000 had been killed and about 12,000 captured. The French losses, including sick, were about 35,000.

The causes of the great failure were numerous. For one thing, the Turks and their German advisers had displayed remarkable skill in defense, and the Turkish soldier had once more shown that, when properly trained and led, he was the equal of any in the world. Teutonic victories in Galicia and Poland had prevented the sending of Russian aid, while Teutonic diplomatists in the Balkans had ultimately been able to create a situation that rendered Allied failure inevitable. For the rest, the Allied Governments and the Allied generals and admirals had been guilty of fatal indecision and procrastination. The vital importance of time in warfare was one which the Allies had not yet learned. Furthermore, though their troops had fought with a gallantry unsurpassed in the annals of warfare, they were for the most part men fresh from civil life, and in large measure were led by officers who were new to their work. The failure was another example added to the long list which proves to any man who has wit enough to read the truth that raw troops led by raw officers, no matter how brave they all may be individually, are unequal to serious warfare. Only when they have been seasoned by actual campaigning, as General Jackson's frontiersmen at New Orleans had been seasoned in the war against the Creeks, can volunteers hope to meet trained soldiers on anything approaching equal terms.

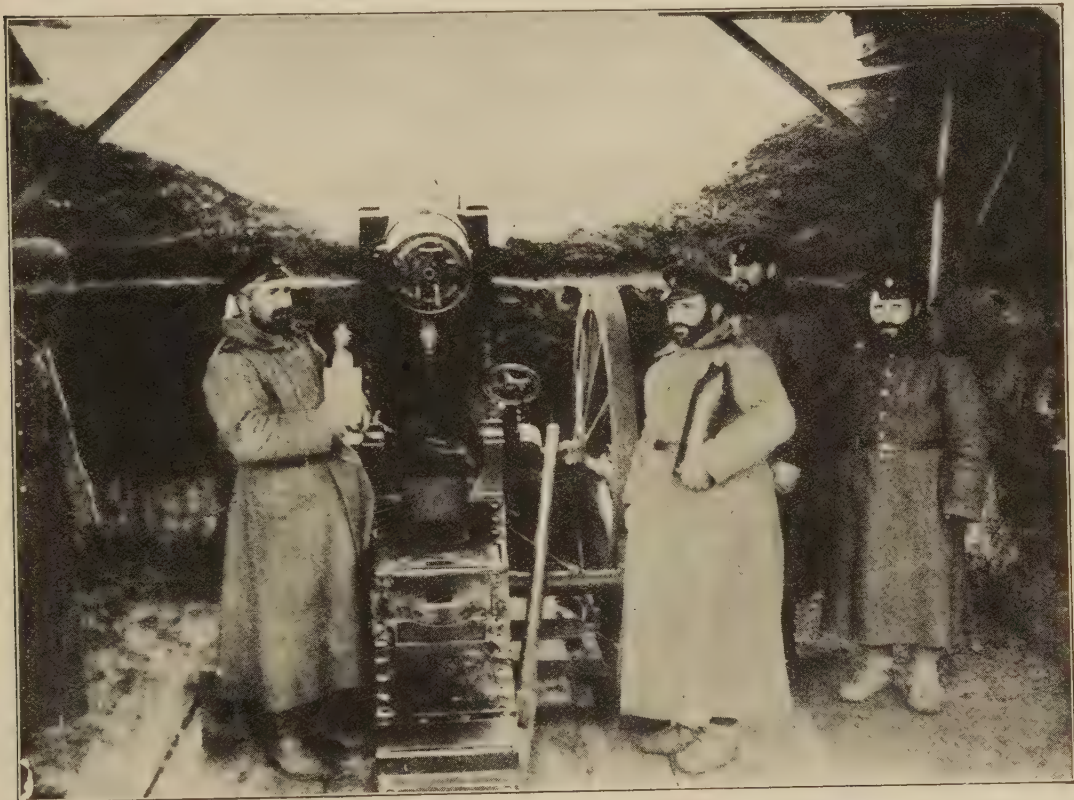
The effects of the Dardanelles fiasco were enormous. It discouraged the Allies, and it decided the wavering Ferdinand of Bulgaria to cast in his lot with the Central Powers. The conquest of Serbia and Montenegro was the direct result of that failure, while the length of the war was undoubtedly increased by many months.

Nevertheless the enterprise had some compensating advantages. The losses of the Turks were probably as great, if not greater, than those of the Allies. The

necessity of defending the strait rendered it impossible for them to continue their attempts upon the Suez Canal, and, what was far more important, it relieved Russia from the pressure of hundreds of thousands of troops at a time when her fate hung in the balance. Notwithstanding, it will go down as one of the most stupendous failures in all history.

Soon after Turkey entered the war, the British decided to undertake an ex-

toward Mesopotamia, the seat of the ancient empires of Assyria and Babylonia, as a scene for exploitation. It was believed that by irrigation the region might be brought back to its legendary fertility and be made capable of supporting tens of millions of people; while petroleum was known to exist in portions of the territory. The conquest of the country would be regarded throughout the world as a serious blow to German aspirations.



BULGARIAN ARTILLERISTS

pedition to the head of the Persian Gulf and occupy lower Mesopotamia, perhaps ultimately to push onward far into the interior. Several considerations influenced them in making this decision. Such an expedition would not only embarrass the Turks and necessitate their sending large forces to oppose it, but it would lessen the danger of Turkish and German aggressions in Persia and diminish the chances of a movement against India. Furthermore, German eyes had long been turned

As the Bagdad railway, about which the world had heard a great deal in recent years, was far from being completed, it would be difficult for the Turks to transport and feed large armies in Mesopotamia; while the British could transport their troops by sea to the Shatt-el-Arab (the combined Euphrates and Tigris), and make use of this great waterway for their operations.

A force of between fifteen and twenty thousand men, mostly Indian troops, the

whole under command of Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Barrett, was sent by sea to the head of the Persian Gulf in November, 1914. The advanced brigade reached the mouth of the Shatt-el-Arab on the 7th, and after a skirmish occupied Fao, a town a few miles up the river. On the 9th, a force from Basra made a night attack on the British but were driven off, and, by the 16th, the whole army had been disembarked above Fao.

Meanwhile, a force of about 5,000 Turks had been gathered at Sahilo, about nine

gunners to distinguish realities from atmospheric illusions.

Subr Bey retreated on Basra and from thence to Kurna, a large village encircled by palm groves, in the marshy angle formed by the junction of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Here he was surrounded, early in December, and was forced to surrender.

By these victories the British gained control of all of lower Mesopotamia, and steps were taken to secure it against Turkish attempts at recovery. In the following May, the expeditionary force,



FORTRESS OF SEDD-EL-BAHR AFTER ITS DESTRUCTION BY THE ALLIES

miles distant, under Subr Bey, the Governor of Basra. On the 17th, the British set out to attack him. The weather was wretched, and heavy rains had converted the vast alluvial flats into seas of mud. The men were drenched to the skins, and were covered with slimy mud, which penetrated even into the working parts of the rifles; while it was almost impossible for the horses to drag forward the artillery. However, the army pushed on, carried the Turkish position, and killed, captured, or scattered the defenders. The retreat of the survivors was aided by a mirage which rendered it impossible for the British

somewhat enlarged, began a further advance up the Tigris River toward Bagdad.

The capture of this city of the "Arabian Nights" was the immediate objective, but it is not improbable that the British expected ultimately to form a junction with Russian forces pushing southward from the region of Lake Van. The consummation of this last aim would cut the Turks and their allies entirely off from Persia, in which they were now actively engaged in trying to provoke warfare against the Russians and British.

The Tigris and Euphrates region, once the seat of mighty empires, is now thinly

inhabited, and a large proportion of the population consists of wandering Arabs. The people for the most part displayed little hostility toward the invaders, and in fact, frequently received them as friends. The great heat, the unhealthiness of the climate, and particularly the uncertain navigation of the Tigris, made progress slow, however, and it was months before the expedition, after several minor fights, reached Ctesiphon, twenty miles from Bagdad.

The danger that menaced this famous city caused the Turks to send large rein-

surrounded and overwhelmed was so great that the British retired down the Tigris to Kut-el-Amara, a position that had many advantages in the way of defense. The Turks followed, and besieged the British forces.

The progress of the Mesopotamia expedition up to this time had been watched with much satisfaction by the British, and, now that it was in danger, a strong demand arose that it should be saved. A relieving force was hurried to the head of the Persian Gulf. This force fought



TURKS RETREATING BEFORE THE BRITISH

forcements for its defense. At Ctesiphon, towards the end of November, a terrific battle took place. The British, who were now commanded by Major General Charles V. F. Townshend, were outnumbered but they fought with great address and courage, and managed to beat off all the Turkish attacks. At critical moments General Townshend showed himself a cool and resourceful tactician, and several times rallied his men and personally led them in charges. It was evident, however, that Bagdad could not be taken with the forces at hand, while the danger of being

its way up the Tigris River, and, in January, managed to get within about twenty-three miles of the beleaguered town. Here it was held up by the Turks and also by heavy rains, which raised the river over the lowlands and turned the ground over which fighting must be done into a quagmire.

In April, the relieving force managed to make considerable progress, and, by the capture of Turkish trenches, reached a point somewhat nearer the beleaguered force, but here its advance was stopped. At the end of April, after a resistance of

143 days, starvation forced General Townshend and his little army, then reduced to about ten thousand men, to surrender. Another disaster had been added to a long list caused by British blundering and procrastination.

On land the Turkish and Russian empires have a common frontier south of the Caucasus Mountains. It was, of course, to be expected that this frontier would be the scene of heavy fighting, and it was also to be expected that the Turks would endeavor to strike at Russian and British influence in Persia. The region of the common frontier is a rugged, mountainous one, inhabited in part by the long persecuted Christian Armenians and by their bitter enemies the cruel Kurds. The chief towns of the region are Kars and Batum in Russian territory, the last named the center of important petroleum fields, of which the Turks and Teutons were anxious to gain possession; and, in Turkey, Trebizond, on the Black Sea, Erzerum, and Van, the last of which is situated on the lake of the same name. All of this region had been fought over in previous wars between the Turks and Russians.

The first important battle took place early in January, 1915. Three Turkish corps commanded by Enver Pasha were badly defeated, and the Russians followed up this victory by practically destroying the Turkish Eleventh Corps at Kara Urgan on January 16. The winter season made campaigning difficult and operations then languished, but, in May, the Russians crossed the mountain passes and drove the Turks out of the town of Van.

The Teutonic irruption on the west, however, prevented the Russians from following up these successes, and they were even forced to fall back, though the Allied attacks on the Dardanelles prevented the Turks from attempting a vigorous offensive. For many months the conflict was largely one of raids and counter-raids and of intrigues and small combats in northwestern Persia.

The noise of war came as the sound of doom to the long persecuted Armenians. These ill-fated people belong to the white

race, and they have been Christians for 1600 years. Their chief home is the tangle of high mountains between the Mediterranean, the Black, and the Caspian Seas. Some of them resided in Asiatic Russia but about 1,200,000 were under Turkish rule. Rather more than half of those in Turkey lived in the original Armenia, north of the Tigris and east of the Euphrates. The rest were scattered through all the towns between the Euphrates and Constantinople. They were especially numerous in the Adana district of Cilicia, the rich plain which borders on the north-east corner of the Mediterranean, while in the mountain fortresses above the plain the hill towns of Hadjin and Zeitoun were flourishing centers of their life.

The lot of the Armenians in Turkey had for centuries been a hard one. They were treated as a subject race and were at the mercy of their Moslem neighbors. But they are an intelligent race, being shrewd merchants and thrifty. There is a saying to the effect that one Jew can get the better of three Christians in a business deal and that one Armenian can get the better of three Jews. "Among a rather stupid, conservatively inclined Turkish population, their commercial genius gave them a virtual monopoly of trade, and a correspondingly large share in the wealth of the country. Hard-earned gains might often in individual cases be reft away by local tyranny; but the Armenian's gifts were really indispensable to his masters, and their general recognition of this fact was shown by the general toleration he received from them. In fact, the subject, Christian, intellectual Armenian and the dominant, Moslem, agrarian Turk had settled down into an effective, if rough and ready, equilibrium."

Some of the Armenian women are very beautiful. A considerable number of the Armenians were well educated, not a few of them having studied in schools and colleges established by American and European missionaries.

For many centuries the Armenians suffered from oppression, and repeated massacres by the Turks, and especially

by the nomadic race known as the Kurds, had taken place in our own times. The Kurds are a half civilized race who long ago embraced Mohammedanism and inhabit some of the regions in which the Armenians live. Unlike the Armenians they prefer to lead a pastoral life, raising sheep and goats, and they had long looked upon the Armenians as their proper prey. Time after time massacres of Armenians had drawn protests from Christian powers

power completely to obliterate the Christian populations and had neglected to do so. This policy in their opinion was a fatal error of statesmanship and explained all the woes from which Turkey has suffered in modern times. Had these old Moslem chieftains, when they conquered Bulgaria, put all the Bulgarians to the sword, and peopled the Bulgarian country with Moslem Turks, there would never have been any modern Bulgarian problem



ARMENIANS FLEEING FROM ADVANCING TURKS

but nothing really effective had been done to protect this unfortunate race of Christian people.

The Armenians had aided in the "Young Turk" movement, but this did not suffice to save them now. Soon after Turkey entered the war, those in authority determined practically to exterminate the Armenian race. Ambassador Morgenthau says that the men who ruled Turkey believed that their ancestors "had made one fatal mistake, for they had had it in their

and Turkey would never have lost this part of her empire. Similarly, had they destroyed all the Roumanians, Servians, and Greeks, the provinces which are now occupied by these races would still have remained integral parts of the Sultan's domain. They felt that the mistake had been a terrible one, but that something might be saved from the ruin. They would destroy all Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, and other Christians, move Moslem families into their homes and into their

farms, and so make sure that these territories would not similarly be taken away from Turkey. In order to accomplish this great reform, it would not be necessary to murder every living Christian. The most beautiful and healthy Armenian girls could be taken, converted forcibly to Mohammedanism, and made the wives or concubines of devout followers of the Prophet. Their children would then automatically become Moslems and so strength-

however, that could make any valuable contributions to the new Turkey which was now being planned. Since all precautions must be taken against the development of a new generation of Armenians, it would be necessary to kill outright all men who were in their prime and thus capable of propagating the accursed species. Old men and women formed no great danger to the future of Turkey, for they had already fulfilled their natural function



TURKISH CAVALRY LEAVING FOR THE FRONT

en the empire, as the Janissaries had strengthened it formerly. These Armenian girls represent a high type of womanhood and the Young Turks, in their crude, intuitive way, recognized that the mingling of their blood with the Turkish population would exert a eugenic influence upon the whole. Armenian boys of tender years could be taken into Turkish families and be brought up in ignorance of the fact that they were anything but Moslems. These were about the only elements,

of leaving descendants; still they were nuisances and therefore should be disposed of." The preparations were carefully made and were carried out with a ruthless efficiency hitherto unknown among the Turks.

Those who had possession of the Turkish Government seem to have contemplated the massacres for some time but they hesitated to carry out the policy until a favorable moment arrived. This moment came in the month of April, 1915. The war

had released the Turkish Government from the control, slight as it was, which the concert of European powers had hitherto exerted. On one side the belligerents were Turkey's allies, and the men who planned the massacre relied upon their victory to shield themselves "from the vengeance of the Western powers and Russia, which had always stood between the malignant hostility of the Ottoman Government and the helplessness of its Christian subjects. The denunciation of the 'Capitulations' broke down the legal barrier of foreign protection, behind which many Ottoman Christians had found more or less effective shelter. Nothing remained but to use the opportunity and strike a stroke that would never need repetition. 'After this,' said Talaat Bey, when he gave the final signal, 'there will be no Armenian question for fifty years.'"

From Constantinople orders were sent to begin the horrid work, and the local officials were obliged to carry out the work whether or not they wished to do so.

"The procedure was exceedingly systematic," says Lord Bryce, who investigated the atrocities. "The whole Armenian population of each town and village was cleared out by a house-to-house search. Every inmate was driven into the street. Some of the men were thrown into prison, where they were put to death, sometimes with torture; the rest of the men, with the women and children, were marched out of the town. When they had got some little distance they were separated, the men being taken to some place among the hills where the soldiers, or the Kurdish tribes who were called in to help in the work of slaughter, despatched them by shooting or bayoneting. The women and children and old men were sent off under convoy of the lowest kind of soldiers—many of them just drawn from gaols—to their distant destination, which was sometimes one of the unhealthy districts in the center of Asia Minor, but more frequently the large desert in the province of Der el Zor, which lies east of Aleppo, in the direction of the Euphrates. They were driven along by the soldiers day after

day, all on foot, beaten or left behind to perish if they could not keep up with the caravan; many fell by the way, and many died of hunger. No provisions were given them by the Turkish Government and they had already been robbed of everything they possessed. Not a few of the women were stripped naked and made to travel in that condition beneath a burning sun. Some of the mothers went mad and threw away their children, being unable to carry them further. The caravan route was marked by a line of corpses, and comparatively few seem to have arrived at the destinations which had been prescribed for them—chosen, no doubt, because return was impossible and because there was little prospect that any would survive their hardships.

"When the Armenian population was driven from its homes, many of the women were not killed, but reserved for a more humiliating fate. They were mostly seized by Turkish officers or civilian officials, and consigned to their harems. Others were sold in the market, but only to a Moslem purchaser, for they were to be made Moslems by force. Never again would they see parents or husbands—these Christian women condemned at one stroke to slavery, shame, and apostasy. The boys and girls were also very largely sold into slavery, at prices sometimes of only ten to twelve shillings, while other boys of tender age were delivered to dervishes, to be carried off to a sort of dervish monastery, and there forced to become Mussulmans.

"To give one instance of the thorough and remorseless way in which the massacres were carried out, it may suffice to refer to the case of Trebizond, a case vouched for by the Italian Consul who was present when the slaughter was carried out, his country not having then declared war against Turkey. Orders came from Constantinople that all the Armenian Christians in Trebizond were to be killed. Many of the Moslems tried to save their Christian neighbors, and offered them shelter in their houses, but the Turkish authorities were implacable. Obeying the

orders which they had received, they hunted out all the Christians, gathered them together, and drove a great crowd of them down the streets of Trebizond, past the fortress, to the edge of the sea. There they were all put on board sailing boats, carried out some distance on the Black Sea, and there thrown overboard and drowned. Nearly the whole Armenian population of from 8,000 to 10,000 were destroyed—some in this way, some by slaughter, some

ert—where they have no sustenance, and where they are the victims of the wild Arab tribes around them. It would seem that three-fourths or four-fifths of the whole nation had been wiped out, and there is no case in history, certainly not since the time of Tamerlane, in which any crime so hideous and upon so large a scale has been recorded."

To some of the Armenian women a loophole of escape was offered, namely, that of apostasy from their faith. "The condition laid down was their immediate entrance into the harem of a Turk. Life at the price of honor—most of them seem to have rejected it; and yet, if they had known all that lay before them, they might have judged it the better part. As it was, they clutched at the desperate chance of immunity, and presented themselves for the march—playing too unsuspectingly into their conductors' hands. For the gaol-bred gendarmes had no intention of conducting the caravan intact to its destination."

Some of the women and girls were sold into shame before the marches began. The rest were at the mercy of their captors on the journey, and some were sold along the way. The captives were so numerous that the price for even a young and handsome girl was low. One Moslem stated that a gendarme offered to sell him two girls for a medjidieh, a coin worth about eighty cents. Many were carried to Constantinople and other large cities, and were sold into harems or public resorts of vice. And these were

Christian girls and women, of the white race, condemned to be the slaves and toys of brutal Turks.

The Turks exercised all their ingenuity in devising forms of torture for their victims. "A common practice was to place the prisoner in a room, with two Turks stationed at each end and each side. The examination would then begin with the bastinado. This is a form of torture not uncommon in the Orient; it consists of beating the soles of the feet with a thin rod. At first the pain is not



ARMENIAN GIRL HIDEOUSLY TATTOOED BY TURKS

by being sent to death elsewhere. After that, any other story becomes credible; and I am sorry to say that all the stories that I have received contain similar elements of horror, intensified in some cases by stories of shocking torture. But the most pitiable case is not that of those whose misery was ended by swift death, but of those unfortunate women who, after their husbands had been killed and their daughters violated, were driven out with their young children to perish in the des-

marked; but as the process goes slowly on, it develops into the most terrible agony, the feet swell and burst, and not infrequently, after being submitted to this treatment, they have to be amputated. The gendarmes would bastinado their Armenian victim until he fainted; they would then revive him by sprinkling water on his face and begin again. If this did not succeed in bringing their victim to terms, they

One Turkish official, namely Djevdet Bey, Vali of Van and brother-in-law of Enver, won great fame for a new torment which he originated. The connoisseur in torture nailed horseshoes to the feet of his victims and became widely known as "the horseshoer of Bashkale."

In the pages of ancient history we used to read of the Babylonians or Assyrians carrying into captivity such and such



RUSSIAN TROOPS ADVANCING

had numerous other methods of persuasion. They would pull out his eyebrows and beard almost hair by hair; they would extract his finger nails and toe nails; they would apply red-hot irons to his breast, tear off his flesh with red-hot pincers, and then pour boiling butter into the wounds. In some cases the gendarmes would nail hands and feet to pieces of wood—evidently in imitation of the Crucifixion, and then while the sufferer writhed in his agony, they would cry: 'Now let your Christ come and help you!'

a people or tribe, but we could hardly grasp the meaning of such statements. Even when we saw the process portrayed with grim realism on the conqueror's bas-reliefs, our imagination failed to give us a true idea of the horrors of such an event. "But now we know. It has happened in our world, and the Assyrian's work was not so fiendish as the Turks."

In some places the Armenians resisted with the courage of despair, and here and there, despite lack of proper weapons,

they temporarily beat off their enemies. In northern Armenia some were rescued by Russian armies. But the best evidence goes to show that the great majority of the Armenians in Turkey were exterminated. Probably seven or eight hundred thousand people perished.



GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS AND THE CZAR

A large part of the civilized world protested to Turkey against such barbarities and called upon Germany to induce her ally to put a stop to the horrors. It was all in vain. To the American protest Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador at Washington, first replied that "the alleged

atrocities committed in the Ottoman Empire appear to be pure inventions." Later he admitted that massacres had taken place but sought to excuse them on the ground that the Armenians were disloyal to the Turkish Government and were secretly aiding and abetting Russia. Ambassador Morgenthau, himself of German birth, repeatedly appealed to the German Ambassador, von Wangenheim, to intervene in behalf of the Armenians, but von Wangenheim invariably refused to do so. In Germany the people generally took the ground that it was not for them to criticise or interfere with the internal affairs of an ally. Said the *Frankfurter Zeitung*: "If the Porte considers it necessary that Armenian insurrections and other goings on should be crushed by every means available, so as to exclude all possibility of their repetition, then that is no 'murder' and no 'atrocities,' but simply measures of a 'justifiable and necessary' kind."

Probably some Armenians sympathized with Russia in the war, and some may have aided her, but these things do not justify the Turkish barbarities and the extermination of a whole people. Though Germany may have had no hand in instigating the massacres, she at least did nothing to check them, though a protest from her would have done much to have put an end to the horrors. But that she should do so was not to be expected from the nation responsible for the deeds done in Belgium and northern France. Nor should it be forgotten that many of these deeds antedated the beginning of the massacres in Turkey. Why should Germany care for the murder of Armenians and the violating of Armenian women

when her own soldiers were guilty of similar crimes close at home?

Whatever their sympathies as regards the European phase of the war, few people in neutral countries could refrain from hoping that one outcome of the conflict would be to wrest forever from the

"Unspeakable Turk" the Armenia that had been stained for centuries by the blood of a helpless Christian people and that the remnant of the Armenians would either be given their freedom or placed under the protection of a civilized power. Toward the end of 1915, a series of events began which seemed likely to result in the latter.

After his removal from the chief command, Grand Duke Nicholas was sent to the Caucasus region, and with his coming operations took on a more active aspect. In December, 1915, and the period following, he won repeated victories over the Turkish forces. In February, 1916, he captured the great mountain fortress and

town of Erzerum, with hundreds of cannon and thousands of prisoners, and followed up this success, the greatest Russian victory since the fall of Przemysl, by taking Bitlis west of Lake Van. The Turkish forces were driven westward all along the line; Trebizond was captured, northwestern Persia was redeemed, and the Russian left wing marched south-westward toward the region of Bagdad. It was believed that the British troops in Mesopotamia and the Russians further north would ultimately attempt to join hands, exclude the Turks and Germans from Persia, and try to capture Bagdad and all of the region round about it.

CHAPTER CLXXVIII.—ITALY JOINS THE ALLIES.



THE Allied view of their advantage in case of a long war was rendered more plausible by reason of the fact that, in the spring of 1915, they won a great diplomatic triumph which resulted in Italy's throwing her army and navy into the conflict on their side.

Italy, as is well known, had been a member of the Triple Alliance since 1882. This alliance was the work of Bismarck, who took advantage of Italian indignation at France over the seizure of Tunis to secure the Italian signature to the compact. The Italians did not know then, nor did they know for many years, that Bismarck himself was the real instigator of the French action.

In many respects the alliance was an unnatural one. Austria was more bitterly hated by Italians than any other power, for it was against Austria that the Italians had fought for independence and national unity; and in the Dual Monarchy there still remained large numbers of people of Italian blood who remained "unliberated." And there were Pan-Italians, usually known as "Irredentists," just as there were Pan-Slavs and Pan-Germans.

The alliance endured for thirty-two years, but the Italians had an uneasy feeling that they derived no benefits from it. They felt that when their interests clashed with those of Austria, it was the Austrian interests that received most consideration from the senior members of the firm. Furthermore, a large portion of the Italians were democratic in their aspirations; but neither Austrians nor Germans spoke much about "Democracy and Freedom." Italians also complained of "the arrogance of the Teutons," and there can be no doubt that Italian susceptibilities were often ruffled by German methods. For several years the conflicting interests of Austria and Italy had tended to weaken the bond, and Italy's seizure of Tripoli was little short of a declaration of independence from Teutonic influence. Even as early as 1911, the German Bernhardi had written: "Modern French writers are already reckoning so confidently on the withdrawal of Italy from the Triple Alliance that they no longer think it necessary to put an army in the field against Italy, but consider that the entire forces of France are available against Germany."

When the Great War broke out, the world was not surprised that Italy stood

aside and announced her neutrality. Her reasons for doing so were thus summarized by a semi-official newspaper, the *Corriere della Sera*, of Milan:

"1. The terms of the Triple Alliance call for Italy's participation in war only if Germany or Austria-Hungary is attacked by another power. The present war is not a defensive war, but brought on by Austria-Hungary and Germany.

in precisely the same manner now toward Austria-Hungary."

As already set forth, ex-Premier Giolitti later disclosed that in 1913 Austria had wished to assist Bulgaria to crush Serbia, but was held back by Italy's refusal to engage in such a war. Furthermore, the Italians contrasted the attitude of Austria in the war with Turkey with that of England, who had refused to permit



DETACHMENT OF ITALIAN BICYCLE PATROL

"2. The spirit of the alliance demands that no warlike action be taken involving the three countries without full mutual discussion and agreement. Italy was not even consulted by Austria-Hungary, and the course of events was brought to her knowledge only by news agency reports.

"3. When Italy went to war with Turkey, Austria prevented her from acting with a free hand in the Adriatic and the Ægean, thereby prolonging the war at an enormous cost in men and money to Italy. Italy would be justified in acting

Turkish troops to cross Egypt in order to strike the Italians in Tripoli.

The Central Powers were, of course, displeased by Italy's action, and not least of all because she persisted in asserting that they were responsible for the war. They at once began a campaign to influence public opinion in their behalf. The Allies began a counter campaign, and thus for months Italy was a battleground of conflicting ideas. The people themselves were not agreed; some were for continued neutrality, some wished to assist the

Germans, some favored entering the war on the side of the Allies. In the main the clericals were pro-German. On September 3, the *Secolo* of Milan, a pro-Ally paper, thus set forth its views:

"The first German victories have made Italians waver, and Germany is taking advantage of the popular nervousness, and is working on public opinion in countless ways. Italy is invaded by Germans, who assert that Germany will issue victorious, and that her commercial and industrial activity will not be arrested. We are inundated with German letters, telegrams, newspapers, and private communications from German commercial houses, all asserting that Germany will win, and that Italy should keep neutral, to be on the winning side. We are not of that opinion. We cannot lose sight of England. Germany knows that England represents her great final danger, hence the bitterness with which she speaks of England in all the above communications. England is not playing a game of bluff. She is not impotent by land, as Germany says, and may give Germany a mortal blow by sea. The war may possibly end in a titanic duel between England and Germany. In this case England will go through with the struggle, smiling at difficulties and disregarding losses."

Among the advocates of intervention on the side of the Allies, the cry was: "Free our brother Italians who still languish under Austrian rule." Prominent on this side was the celebrated poet Gabriele d'Annunzio and members of the Garibaldi family. In Italy the name of Garibaldi, the "hero of the red shirt," the Liberator, is as sacred as that of Washington and Lincoln in America; and when several of his grandsons joined the French foreign legion and particularly when two of them were slain, it served to awaken some of the old time fervor and to revive hatred of Austria, against whom the great Garibaldi had waged war. It was recalled that Frenchmen had once stood shoulder to shoulder with Italians at Magenta and Solferino and that it was against the Austrians that they had fought.

The funeral of Bruno Garibaldi at Rome was to the last degree dramatic. Behind the body, through streets lined by multitudes, followed a few of the old "Red Shirts," and, on foot, the ambassadors of France, Great Britain, Russia, and representatives of the other nations at war with the Central Powers. The Italian people could not resist such an appeal. The story was thus simply told subsequently by lame old General Ricciotti Garibaldi, son of the "Lion of Caprera:"

"When the war broke out in Europe, I cabled my sons who were in America to come home, and when they arrived I said to them: 'We must make a bloody sacrifice for the Cause; go and start a great fire.' And so it came to pass that two of my boys died for France. But when Bruno's body was brought to Rome and the people saw it, they understood. And it lit a spark which set all of Italy ablaze."

Nor, in any consideration of the causes that led to the final outcome, must sight be lost of dynastic influences. In Greece, at this time and later, the Queen, who was a sister of the Kaiser, was playing an active part in preventing Greece from entering the lists against her august brother. In Italy another Queen, being a daughter of the King of Montenegro, was naturally heartily in sympathy with the Allied cause. A woman of great beauty and rare qualities, Queen Helena not only possessed strong influence over King Victor Emmanuel III. but also over the Italian people.

Furthermore, some of the expressions that escaped from German and Austrian lips were calculated to ruffle Italian susceptibilities. Outwardly the German and Austrian Governments preserved a studied show of friendship, but it was only natural that many individuals should give way to their real feelings. At home and in other countries, citizens of the Central Powers sneered at "Italian honor, implied that scuttling off was all that could be expected of a decadent Italian people; and they hinted that, after the Kaiser had

disposed of France, Belgium, England, and Russia, he would punish Italy for her 'flight.' Such sayings came, of course, to Italian ears, and did not tend to increase Teutonic popularity.

The Teutons were fully alive to the importance of keeping Italy from entering the war against them, and alternately used threats and blandishments to that end. In December, 1915, former German Imperial Chancellor Prince von Bülow arrived

summoned to the colors, and great numbers of horses and large quantities of military supplies were bought in America and elsewhere; while the Italian factories were kept busy turning out weapons, ammunition, and shells. Exactly what these preparations would lead to was not known by anyone outside the Government, probably not by the Government itself; but meanwhile, the Allied diplomatic agents were busy.



ITALIAN GUN CREW IN THE ALPS

at Rome, as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Quirinal, for the purpose of guarding Teutonic interests. As his wife was an Italian and he lived much of the time in Italy, it was hoped that he would be able to wield great influence.

On December 3, Premier Salandra had announced that the policy for the present would be one of "armed, alert neutrality." The army was put upon a war footing. Thousands of Italians living abroad were

Prince von Bülow endeavored to turn Italian thoughts from the region of Trent and Trieste to Nice, Savoy, Corsica, Tunis, Algeria, and other French possessions. But much of this territory lay beyond the sea, and the Italians could not but wonder how they were to overcome the formidable barrier interposed by the French and British navies. Besides the dream of reclaiming "Italia Irredenta," with its people of Italian blood and aspirations,

was a very real one to Italy; much more appealing than the thought of conquering alien peoples.

Ultimately it became apparent that Italy would probably join the Allies unless Austria made her territorial concessions sufficient to persuade her to stay out. Austria was much averse to such a course, but German influence was brought to bear upon her to this end, and for many weeks negotiations proceeded. The excuse for

As the price of her continued neutrality, Italy demanded the cession of certain islands in the Adriatic and districts about Trent and Trieste, these last not only because they were inhabited mostly by people of Italian blood but also because they were needed to round out her strategic frontiers on the north and northeast. They also demanded recognition of the Italian possession of islands in the Ægean seized during the war with Turkey, the abandon-



ITALIAN SIEGE GUN

this extraordinary state of affairs was a special provision of the Triple Alliance Treaty. According to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of March 3, 1915: "Article VII. of the Austro-German-Italian Treaty, the terms of which have never before been made public, not only provides for the right of compensation in case one party to the compact enriches itself territorially in the Balkans, but also forbids either Austria or Italy to undertake anything in the Balkans without the consent of the other."

ment of Austrian aspirations in Albania, and recognition of the Italian possession of Avlona, occupied some months before.

Austria procrastinated, and seems to have hoped that the influence of Italians opposed to war, particularly of Signor Giolitti, would suffice to prevent any radical step. Meanwhile, the Irredentist and pro-Ally party grew more and more urgent in their demands and chafed under the delay. In the middle of May, affairs were brought to a crisis by the resignation of the Salandra ministry, which favored

an aggressive policy. Instantly all Italy was in an uproar. Pro-intervention demonstrations were held all over the country, and the King, taking this as a sign that the people favored a firm stand, refused to receive the resignation of Salandra and his colleagues. Giolitti ceased his opposition and went into retirement. The overwhelming sentiment of the people was made fully manifest.

Realizing the gravity of the situation, the Austrian Government grudgingly con-



H. R. H. THE DUKE OF THE ABRUZZI

sented to make certain concessions, but these fell far short of satisfying the Italians. Many of the concessions were hedged about with conditions, and the cessions of territory were not only limited in extent but the transfer was not to be made until after the war was over. The Italians had set their hearts upon "Italia Irredenta," and besides they pointed out that in case of defeat Austria might not be in position to make good her promises. Doubtless, also, they had an uneasy feeling that the

Teutonic Powers, if victorious, might be slow to fulfill conditions wrung from them in an hour of danger. Furthermore, the Allies were promising far greater advantages, as well as financial support, if Italy would enter the war.

That the Austrian reply was not more favorable is by no means strange. Only the pressure of bitter need could have caused them so far to swallow their sense of honor as to proffer any concessions at all. In Austrian and also in German eyes the Italians in refusing to enter the war had already been guilty of the deepest perfidy, and now to make such demands upon a former ally was regarded as adding insult to injury. Besides Austrian frontage upon the Adriatic was already slight, and both Austrians and Hungarians regarded the diminution of that outlet upon the open sea as in the last degree undesirable. We may well believe that many were the bitter imprecations secretly bestowed upon Italy by Teutonic statesmen while openly they were still endeavoring to preserve a suave appearance of friendliness.

The Austrian proposals were not acceptable to Italy, and, on May 3, she denounced the Triple Alliance Treaty. On May 20, a historic meeting of the Chamber of Deputies occurred. The atmosphere was surcharged with excitement and patriotic fervor, and as the representatives of the Entente Powers appeared in the galleries, they were greeted with wild cheering. A few moments before the session began, the poet champion of intervention, Gabriele d'Annunzio, appeared in the rear of the public tribune, and was carried forward on the shoulders of men, while the entire Chamber and all the spectators rose to their feet, crying, "Viva d'Annunzio!" Signor Marcora, President of the Chamber, one of Garibaldi's old Red Shirts, also was received with wild acclaim; likewise Premier Salandra. By a vote of 407 to 74 the Chamber of Deputies conferred upon the Government full power to make war. War was, in fact, actually declared three days later, to take effect on the 24th.

Emperor Francis Joseph characterized Italy's act as "perfidy whose like history

does not know," while in Germany the Italians for the time being took the place of the English as the most hated of enemies. In a speech before the Reichstag the German Chancellor declared that "Italy has now inscribed in the book of the world's history, in letters of blood which will never fade, her violation of faith." Both Austria and Germany, however, declared their undaunted determination to fight on. Said the German Chancellor:

"The more wildly the storm rages around us the more firmly must we build our own house.... In the mutual confidence that we are all united we will conquer, despite a world of enemies."

If the Italians had any compunctions about the course they took, they silenced them by the reflections that the Central Powers had shown themselves barbarous peoples and that their policy of "frightfulness" had put them beyond the pale, so that any attack upon them was a praiseworthy act. Undoubtedly the German course in Belgium and the *Lusitania* horror, which occurred sixteen days before Italy entered the war, tended greatly to weaken the opposition to entering the war among the Italian people. As it was, the Italians assured themselves that they were not only fighting in their own interests but in those of humanity generally.

Italy brought to the Allies a fleet that was considerably stronger than that of Austria. The army consisted of about twelve hundred thousand fully trained men and about eight hundred thousand partly trained men, with perhaps a million more untrained men available for service. The artillery was numerous and of excellent quality. Both fleet and army had seen more or less active service in the recent war with Turkey. The commander of the fleet was the Duke of the Abruzzi, the Arctic explorer, and of the army, General Cadorna.

If the whole Italian army could at once have been thrown into action against the enemy, it is not improbable that it could quickly have decided the war; but, fortunately for the Central Powers, this was impossible. The frontier between Italy

and Austria was not only comparatively short—about 140 miles—but it was also one which, from the Austrian side, was easy of defense. Either right at the frontier or not far back from it, in all regions except just north of the head of the Adriatic, rise towering mountain ranges, some of the peaks of which reach up to regions of perpetual snow, while all are of the most rugged character. Few passes run through these mountains, and these few



LIEUTENANT GENERAL COUNT CADORNA

are capable of easy defense. Toward the Adriatic, however, the Alps fall away gradually, breaking up into separate ridges, and beyond Udine there is a comparatively flat gap about fifty miles wide, beyond which lies the important seaport of Trieste, a rich town, with a fine harbor, and inhabited predominantly by people of Italian blood. Even here, however, the Isonzo River and the Carso Plateau furnished many opportunities for defense.

It was certain that the Italians would make their chief attacks in two places:

they would endeavor to fight their way up the Adige and Brenta valleys toward Trent and Botzen, and they would also try to force the passage of the Isonzo and capture Trieste and Pola, the Austrian naval base south of Trieste. To throw all their forces against Trieste alone would be to the last degree unwise, for the region about Trent, as will be seen from the map, projects deep into northern Italy, and from it the enemy would be able to fall like a thunderbolt upon the Italian flank and perhaps cut the army off from Italy. To guard against this danger, the Italians

objects of art in northern Italy, and the Italians took steps to safeguard these things as far as possible.

On land the Austrians contented themselves with a defensive rôle. The Italian armies at once crossed the border at many places, uprooting the yellow and black posts bearing the Austrian eagle, as a sign that the frontier was to be erased. The opposition was at first comparatively slight, but presently the Italian forces reached positions which the Austrians had prepared in places that were naturally fitted for easy defense, and thenceforward



ITALIAN ALPINE TROOPS

must conquer this salient and hold the roads leading out of it.

On the day that war began, Austrian aviators dropped bombs upon the city of Venice and five other towns along the Adriatic coast, while Austrian war vessels shelled towns from the sea. For the most part, however, the larger Austrian ships remained closely in port, and only the submarines and other small craft sallied out at intervals to annoy the Italian navy and merchant shipping. Throughout the civilized world anxiety existed lest Austrian aerial bombs should destroy some of the priceless buildings and other

the Italian advance was a slow and costly process.

As a matter of precaution, the Italians delayed their serious movement eastward against Trieste until they could occupy the Trentino, or at least seize the main highways and "cover" the defenses, thereby eliminating the danger of a sudden irruption against their left flank and rear. The fighting in this region was both extremely difficult and extremely romantic. It was in large part a warfare of peaks and passes, of Austrian Tyrolese troops against Italian Bersaglieri. The jagged peaks of lofty mountains towered high

toward the heavens, and the way of the troops was often barred by precipitous cliffs rising sheer for thousands of feet. Such a country called for skill in mountaineering as well as ordinary military training, and not infrequently one method of defense was the rolling of great rocks down upon the attacking columns. By June 12, the Italians were advancing on Rovereto in the Tyrol thirteen miles from Trent, and upon Mori nearby.

The Italians fought under the immediate eye of their King, for Victor Emmanuel had gone to the front with his men, to share the dangers and hardships. More than once he himself aimed and fired the cannons, and he learned what it was to have shells bursting around him.

In a month's time, the Italians were satisfied that they had made sufficient progress in the Trentino to secure their rear against attack, and they began a determined advance along the Isonzo front from Tarvis to the Adriatic. They no doubt hoped to break through the Austrian defenses, capture Trieste, and push on toward Klagenfurt, beyond which lay an open road to Vienna, only about 170 miles away, or about as far as New York is from Cape Cod. Their advance in the first few days of the war had brought them in most places to the Isonzo River, and in the region of Monfalcone beyond that stream. Monfalcone was taken in the second week of June, and here the Italians gained possession of the electric light works that supplied Trieste, only a little more than a dozen miles away.

The Isonzo line proved to be a tough nut to crack. The Austrians had made large preparations, and the campaign was to be a prolonged siege over a front of more than a hundred miles of natural fortress, consisting of a chain of precipitous mountains. For months before the war began the Austrians had been actively engaged in making preparations. In commanding places they had established hundreds of guns, many of them of heavy calibre. Some of these were

mounted on rails and protected by armor plates, and, in case the enemy succeeded in locating them, they would be shifted to another locality.

When the Italian forces crossed the Isonzo, they came against an intricate network of Austrian trenches, many of them laid in cement, and defended by every possible protective device, including machine guns and barbed wire entanglements through which ran an elec-



ITALIAN SOLDIERS MOUNTING A HOWITZER

tric current. In places these trenches ran in parallel lines along the slopes of mountains, from foot to summit, forming a sort of staircase which must be conquered step by step with great sacrifice of life. Warfare in this region was, therefore, not unlike the trench warfare on the Western Front, but with the added disadvantage to the attacking party of being obliged to overcome great natural difficulties.

Considerable Italian successes were reported in the middle of July, with the

taking of several thousand Austrian prisoners, but presently the Italian offensive was brought to a standstill before the powerful Austrian positions, and in places the assailants were repulsed with heavy losses. The key to the Austrian position in this region was the immensely strong fortified position about Gorizia, and desperate fighting took place for the bridgehead across the Isonzo and for the mountain

situation stood as much at a deadlock as it did in Flanders and France. So far as accomplishing any spectacular results was concerned, the Italians had failed, yet their entrance into the war had nevertheless been of great advantage to the Allies. The Italian navy had taken over the task of keeping the Austrian navy blockaded and had released French and British ships for use elsewhere. To meet



ITALIAN TRANSPORTATION TRUCK IN TYROLEAN MOUNTAINS

heights around the town; while further south the Italians were striving to push across the Carso Plateau against Trieste. The ground gained by months of fighting in these regions was comparatively small, nor was there much advance further north toward the region of Tolmino, while in the Tyrolese region Trent still remained in Austrian hands.

At the beginning of 1916, the Italians had managed to carry some Austrian positions, but, for the present at least, the

the Italian attack on land, the Austrians had been forced to detach some hundreds of thousands of troops that could have been used to great advantage elsewhere. Furthermore, Italy's participation had cut off all possibility of the Central Powers engaging in trade of any sort on the south-east, except what little could be carried on with Switzerland, and, as Switzerland depended upon the good will of the Allies for her communications with the outside world, it was clear that she would not be

able to supply Germany with much of which she stood in need.

Meanwhile, the Italian army had been gaining valuable experience in the hard school of war, and, as its losses had not been large, comparatively speaking, it stood ready to play an important part when the Allies at last attempted their great advance.

Italy's own position was not, however, entirely safe. There existed a possibility that the Germans and Austrians might concentrate vast forces, burst forth from the Alpine passes, and overflow Lombardy

as many an invading army from the north had done in the past. Up to the spring of 1916, however, Germany and Italy still remained nominally at peace, nor was there any outward indications that the Central Powers had such a stroke in contemplation. Such an invasion would require larger forces than they had yet been able to muster, for, unlike in the case of Serbia, they would be compelled to defeat a powerful army that was already on the ground, while British and French troops could be easily transferred by rail from France to aid in stemming such an onrush.

CHAPTER CLXXIX.—THE DEADLOCK IN THE WEST.



JUST as the great battle of Flanders was dying away, the celebrated Field Marshal Earl Roberts, then over eighty years of age, paid a visit of inspection, encourage-

ment, and farewell to the British forces at the front, particularly to the Indian troops, with whom he had long been associated. For more than a decade the old man had been urging his countrymen adequately to prepare for the great war that he foresaw. His warnings had fallen upon heedless ears, yet when the deluge had come, he had not paused to say, "I told you so," but, with splendid devotion, had set about helping to extemporize preparations that ought to have been made long before. The hero of the march to Candahar, the "Bobs" of Kipling's poem, was received with wild acclaim by the troops. But the effort and exposure proved too much for the old General's scanty remnant of strength, and he died on November 14 after a very short illness. England's uncrowned Poet Laureate wrote:

"He passed in the very battle smoke
Of the war he had descried.

Three hundred miles of cannon spoke
When the master gunner died."

Lord Roberts' death made a deep impression upon Great Britain and the world. It was an end which any soldier might have envied. And one of the most effective of the posters used in securing enlistments consisted of a draped portrait of the old hero, with the simple words, "He did his duty. Will you do yours?"

For some months relative quiet settled down over the long line of trenches stretching from Switzerland to the North Sea. Every day saw bombardments; every day saw lives snuffed out by hundreds or by thousands, but there were no great attempts by either side to break the deadlock. In Alsace the French conducted a local campaign which gained them considerable territory, while the Germans retaliated by capturing some French trenches near Soissons with several thousand prisoners. In the main it was a war of trenches, of bombardments, of sniping by sharpshooters, of fighting with hand grenades, of standing in cold and muddy trenches exposed to the pitiless severity of the winter as well as to the bullets of the enemy.

Back of the battle lines all the nations were making preparations for the future. The French Government had returned to Paris soon after the failure of the German drive in Flanders, and the whole French peo-

ple, irrespective of parties, set to work to win with a unanimity of determination that fully equaled, if it did not surpass, that of their hated enemies. In Great Britain a grand recruiting campaign was under way, while contingents were drilling in all the self-governing colonies and in India. From every corner of the vast Russian domain men were flocking to the several fronts. Servia, though terribly affected by a deadly epidemic of typhus fever, was reorganizing her shattered forces with

turn out shells and cannon in quantities surpassing anything the world had ever seen. Austria-Hungary lagged far behind her ally in such matters, but, with German assistance and direction, presently began to display qualities that surprised and disappointed her enemies. The Turks, too, under the energetic leadership of Enver Bey and with the assistance of thousands of German officers, engineers, and business men, showed capacities that gave promise of making Turkey more



FRENCH SOLDIERS NEAR THE SWISS FRONTIER

the aid of French and British money, while even the little Belgian army was being transformed into a thoroughly equipped fighting force.

Nor were the Central Powers idle. In Germany particularly every activity in life was made subordinate to the one great object of putting the whole strength of the Empire in the field. Owing to the centralized industrial system of the country and to previous preparations in the way of machinery for producing munitions, the Germans were able to work more efficiently than any other nation and to

potent in the conflict than had generally been anticipated. The blockade of the Central Powers brought financial ruin to millions and sorely hampered industry in some lines. The cutting off of supplies of rubber, copper, and petroleum was particularly embarrassing to the producers of munitions of war, but by economy, smuggling, and the use of substitutes, copper roofs, household utensils, etc., the military authorities were able in a measure to overcome these difficulties and entered the campaign in the spring of 1915 much better equipped than were their opponents.

The war had now become largely a matter of money. All the great parties to the conflict lavished great appropriations, not by millions, tens of millions, or even hundreds of millions, but by billions. In all the countries the people displayed eagerness to subscribe to the war loans, and at the outset neither side lacked money. Great Britain, the richest of all the belligerents, not only appro-

an hour. At the end of 1915, Great Britain's war loans amounted to almost seven billion dollars; those of Germany to over six billion; and those of France to over four billion. Such vast sums meant national indebtedness for generations to come, if not bankruptcy and repudiation. An eminent financial expert contended "that if the interest charges upon the colossal debts now existing and



AUSTRIAN DRAGOONS ON THE MARCH

riated immense sums for her own use in the war but loaned large sums to Belgium, Servia, Russia, and ultimately to Italy.

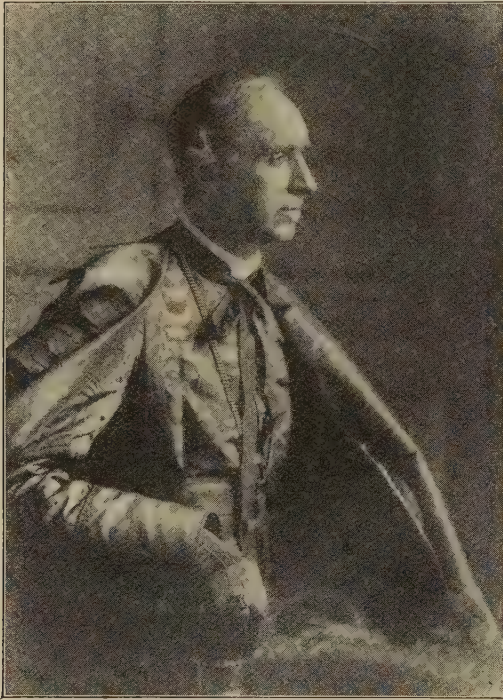
At the end of 1915, Great Britain was spending twenty-five million dollars a day. The expenses of Germany were not much less, and those of France were almost equal to those of Germany. By the spring of 1916 it was estimated that all the belligerents were pouring out money at the rate of about four million dollars

the gigantic additions yet to be created are to be paid, this can only be done by so large a charge upon the income from capital as to amount to partial confiscation."

Yet the amount of money expended was only a fraction of the total cost of the Great War. To that amount must be added the value of property destroyed, the losses resulting from the derangement of industry and trade, and the capitalized value of human lives destroyed. An English expert, Edgar Crammond, esti-

mated the direct expenditures by governments during the first year at £3,746,400,000, the destruction of property at £610,000,000; the capitalized value of human life at £2,541,000,000, and the loss of production and other losses at £3,015,000,000, making a total of £9,912,400,000, or approximately \$50,000,000,000. And the end was not yet.

The human mind is scarcely capable of grasping such sums, and yet it must be said that this war, though vaster than



CARDINAL MERCIER

any the world had yet seen, was relatively no more gigantic than several that had gone before. No country, not even Belgium or Servia, had suffered the privations and destructions of life and property that were inflicted upon Germany by the Thirty Years' War; while, to come down much later, the Seven Years' War, the Napoleonic Wars, and our own Civil War were relatively more destructive in lives than the Great War had yet been. At the rate she was spending money Great Britain could fight on till 1919, or possibly still longer, and not expend any larger

share of her national wealth than was spent by the North and the South in 1861-65.

One important respect in which the Great War differed from most previous struggles was that it was not so much a conflict between armies as between nations in arms. In most conflicts in the past only a small proportion of the male population actually took the field; the rest remained at home engaged in peaceful pursuits in a more or less normal manner. In this war every able-bodied man in some of the nations was called to arms, and even England ultimately resorted to conscription. To fill the places of the men thus called to war, millions of women entered unwonted occupations, and the work at home and in the fields and factories largely fell upon the shoulders of women and boys and of the aged and infirm men. With the flower of the manhood of the nations in arms, it was obvious that if the war continued to a real decision a very large percentage of the young and vigorous men would be killed or maimed. The ultimate consequences of such a result are infinite. Biologists contend, for example, that one such consequence will be a decided physical degeneracy of the human stock in those countries that suffer most.

While the various belligerents were making these stupendous preparations for the future, all of Belgium, save a little strip on the southwest, continued to lie helpless under the heel of the invader. The drastic policy of the conquerors had broken the will of the people to rise in arms, but their hostility toward the Germans persisted. To all overtures they remained cold, and with eyes turned to the southward they longed for the day that the Allies, with King Albert at their head, would redeem the land and ride in triumph through the capital.

In December, the courageous and scholarly Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Malines, issued a Christmas pastoral letter to his people in which he set forth the wrongs that Belgium had endured and, in glowing words, asked for "patriotism

and endurance." In the ardor of his faith he declared: "God will save Belgium, my brethren, you cannot doubt it. Nay, rather, he is saving her." In spite of the calamities that had been endured, he would not have had the story otherwise. "Is there a patriot among us," he asked, "who does not know that Belgium has grown great? Now, which of us does not exult in the brightness of the glory of this shattered nation? When in her

supply was seized by the German forces. The bringing in of more was interfered with by war conditions and by the British blockade.

Belgium had long been a country chiefly dependent for food upon the outside world. It is a country of 11,400 square miles, less than a quarter as big as the state of Pennsylvania, and it had a population of $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Its average population per square mile, therefore, was 664, more than



RUINS OF LOUVAIN

throes she brings forth heroes, our mother country gives her own energy to the blood of these sons of hers."

So far as possible the Germans suppressed the Cardinal's letter, but, in spite of their efforts, they could not keep the appeal from Belgium or from the world, nor could they keep the brave shepherd from speaking his thoughts.

The German invasion of Belgium and northern France created a dangerous food situation for the inhabitants of the occupied districts. A great deal of the food

double that of Germany and three times that of France. The livelihood of the people was mostly obtained industrially. It must have wheat and other food constantly coming in and money and manufactured goods constantly going out to pay for the food. Any interference with this traffic was certain to create a situation that would result in great suffering. In the words of Vernon Kellogg, who labored in the work of Belgium relief:

"The invasion resulted in an immediate severance in a surprisingly complete degree

of Belgium's commercial relations to all the world outside—except that part of it called Germany. And this single exception to the complete isolation of Belgium was one of abnormal character and of no benefit to the people. For although through this break in the enclosing ring of steel that shut Belgium away from the rest of the world food might have come into Belgium, it did not; for Germany realized at once that she had none to spare. Also, Belgian money and manufactured



HERBERT C. HOOVER

goods might have gone out, and much did, but only in a way very shameful to Germany and of no benefit but only disadvantageous to Belgium; it is a way that would be called burglary if it could not be called war. And not only did food not come in from Germany but—shame added to shame!—much already in Belgium actually went out; and not only did the product of factories go out without corresponding coming in of recompense in money or kind, but a great part of the raw materials in hand for manufacture and

even machines for doing the manufacture went out, also. So that Belgium's great factories immediately became still, her myriad tall stacks lost their usual adornment of smoke flags, and her skilled workmen moved idly about, dazed and hardly understanding, in the great silent sheds of Liège and the Hainaut. The something that spelled disaster in red capital letters had come to Belgium and to the Belgians."

It was clear that the Belgians would starve by millions if some extraordinary means were not taken for their relief. It was really the duty of the Germans to supply the invaded regions with food, but the Germans were short of food themselves, and, as has already been said, even seized part of Belgium's scanty store. Furthermore, they declared that Belgium's plight was due to the British blockade and asserted that they would let the Belgians starve before they would send food from Germany.

Ultimately, there was formed what became known as the Commission for Relief in Belgium. This commission was organized in large measure through the efforts of Brand Whitlock, the American Minister at Brussels, and of other Americans, notably Millard Shaler. Other neutral states also aided in the work, but until America entered the war the main work of administering relief was done by American agents. Subsequently, it was taken over by the Spaniards.

Up to America's entrance into the conflict, the commission expended about \$250,000,000 for relief work in Belgium and northern France. Contrary to a rather general belief in the United States, however, only a comparatively small part of this money was obtained in America, namely about ten millions. The Rockefeller Foundation took the lead in furnishing this money. Twenty millions more were obtained by private subscription in other countries. The remainder was money which was loaned to Belgium by Great Britain and France.

As director of the work the commission was fortunate in securing the services of Herbert C. Hoover. Mr. Hoover was

a native of Iowa and a graduate of Stanford University. By profession he was a mining engineer, and he had been active in many parts of the world in his profession. During the Boxer Rebellion, he had some exciting experiences at Tientsin and helped to repel the attacks upon that city.

When the Great War broke out, he was in Europe and rendered conspicuous service in relief work, organizing the American Relief Commission for the purpose of aiding and sending home the 150,000 Americans who found themselves stranded in Europe at the beginning of the war.

Mr. Hoover was a man of enormous energy and possessed the administrative ability and tact necessary for the difficult work he took up. Few men in all history have rendered such services to humanity as did he during the next four years.

At first there was some difficulty in persuading the Allies to permit the provisioning of Belgium. At a meeting between Hoover and Chancellor of the Exchequer Lloyd George, the latter urged that the relief work would give the Belgians more food resources with which to stand requisitions in food by the invaders, that it would be giving them more resources generally with which to stand monetary levies, and that in relieving the Germans of the duty and necessity of feeding the civil population the effect would be to prolong the war. He expressed the belief that the Germans would, in the last resort, provision the Belgians and that the Relief Commission's action was akin to provisioning the civil population of a besieged city and thus prolonging the resistance of a garrison. He, therefore, declared himself opposed to the Commission's work, benevolent and humane as it was. In reply,

Hoover stated that, as to requisitioning food, the Germans had promised that, after the first of January, no such requisitions would be made, and also said that, thus far, the Germans had impressed none of the Commission's food. He also declared that the Germans were in earnest in saying they would not provision the Belgians and would let them starve before they would

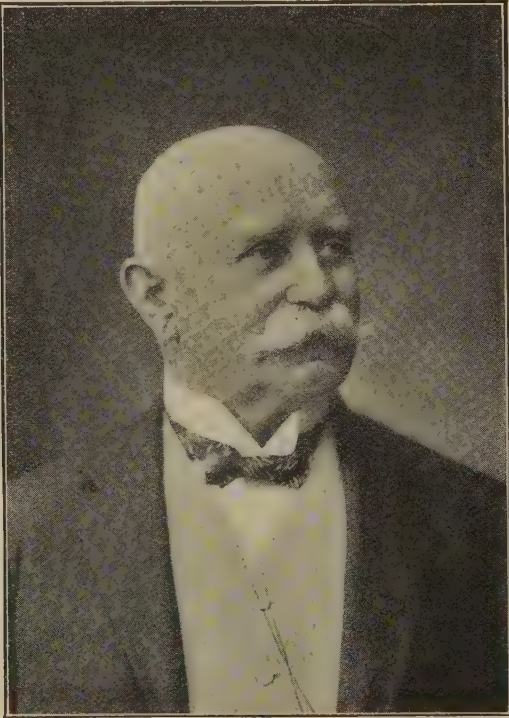


GERMAN PARACHUTE LANDING AFTER OBSERVATION BALLOON WAS DESTROYED

do so; that, in fact, some of the Belgians had already starved. Cold selfishness decreed that provisions should be withheld, but Lloyd George was too humane a man to withstand Hoover's arguments. He finally said abruptly, "I am convinced," and asked those with him to settle the details necessary to carry out the work.

Under Hoover's direction the Relief Commission, in the words of Mr. Kellogg,

"obtained and expended more than \$250,000,000 and delivered 2½ million tons of supplies, rationed on scientific dietetic principles, to an imprisoned population of ten million people. It has chartered fleets of ocean-going steamers and thousands of canal boats; it has managed great mills, employed an army of bakers, and guided the bread and soup to the mouths of millions of destitute men, women, and children. It has been recognized and privileged by the warring nations and



COUNT FERDINAND VON ZEPPELIN

their armies, and negotiated directly with the chief officers of state of half a dozen governments; indeed, it has been trusted as if almost a state itself. And through all its activities it has manifested—even one connected with it may be bold enough to say it—an efficiency and a spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice of which America may be not ashamed."

No feature of the war was watched with more eager interest than was the use of flying machines. Stationary balloons had been employed for observation purposes in warfare at least as early as

a century and a quarter before, and the newer types of aerial vessels had been used to some extent in the recent war between Turkey and Italy and in the Balkan conflicts, but in neither had the actual possibilities of such machines received a thorough trial. In the present great conflict there was to be ample time and opportunity for experiment in every possible direction in which such machines gave even the slightest prospect of success.

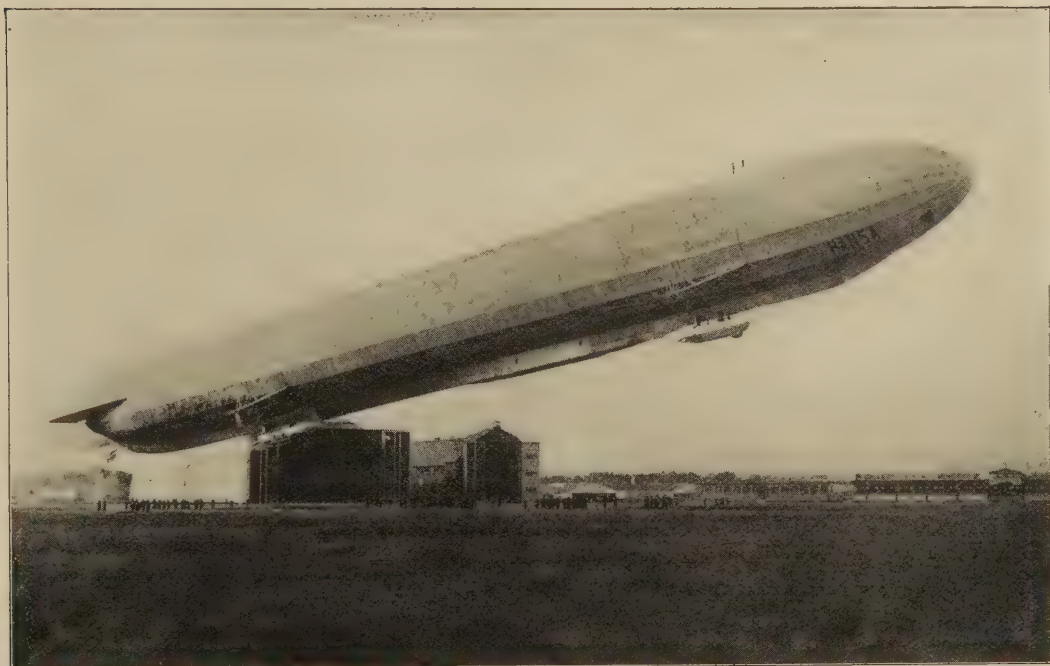
The aerial vessels were of two general types: lighter than air machines, and heavier than air machines. The first type were, in fact, nothing more than balloons, which depended upon a gas-filled bag of some sort for their ability to fly, though for the most part they were equipped with engines and propellers designed to enable them to move in any direction their crew might wish. All the chief combatants had air vessels of this type, but the Germans had devoted much more effort in this direction than had the Allies. The Zeppelins, so named after Count Zeppelin, their inventor, were already famous throughout the world; and it had been demonstrated that, under favorable conditions, such ships were able to carry a considerable number of persons for long distances. In the popular mind all German dirigibles were "Zeppelins," but such, in reality, was not the case. A Zeppelin consisted of a long cigar-shaped gas envelope divided into many compartments, with a car beneath, in which a powerful engine was established to turn the propeller. In order to make these vessels as light as possible, aluminum was used in large measure for the metal framework. Imposing as were these machines, they had some decided disadvantages and weaknesses. In the first place, they were immensely costly, the building of one of the largest size necessitating the expenditure of half a million dollars. In a storm they were also practically uncontrollable, unless inside the great shed-like hangars built for their protection. They furnished, too, an enormous mark for the enemy's artillery.

The heavier than air machines were, of course, the well known aeroplanes.

First invented by Americans, these machines had been greatly developed by European experimenters in the preceding decade, and vast improvements were to be made in them during the course of the war. They were of two forms: the monoplane (the German "Taube" was of this type) and the biplane. In size they ranged from very small machines capable of carrying only one person up to monster battle planes that carried several men and mounted small cannon. These last,

by the simple process of dropping imaginary bombs from imaginary Zeppelins.

Such expectations were destined to disillusionment. The Zeppelins were able to execute numerous raids over hostile countries, but their exploits were mostly confined to the destruction of peaceful dwellings and defenseless men, women, and children. Of their work in this direction more will be said a little later. So many of them were destroyed either by the enemy's fire or by windstorms and acci-



GERMAN ZEPPELIN HANSA

however, were not produced until months after the war began.

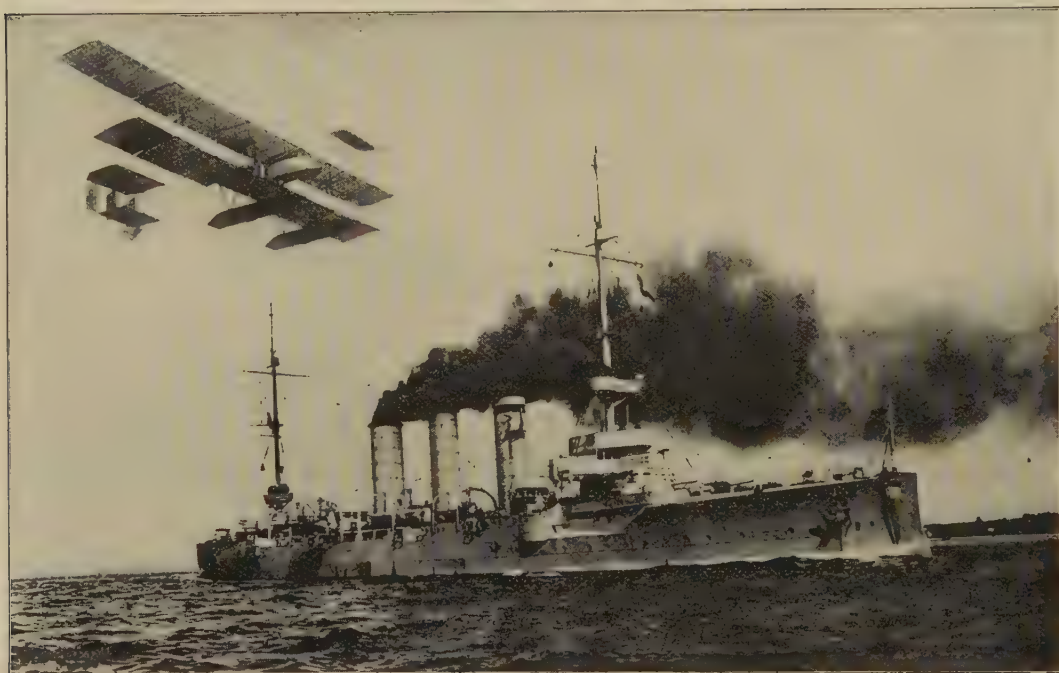
The Germans—the general public at least—looked forward most hopefully to the work of their Zeppelins. It was popularly supposed that these monsters of the air would not only drop immense bombs upon cities and forts, erasing them, so to speak, from the map, but it was believed that they would be able to inflict enormous damage upon the hated British fleet. Expectations in this direction caused some ludicrous errors, as, for example, when an enthusiastic German-American editor "sank" British dreadnoughts by the dozen

dents of various sorts, that it may well be doubted whether the Germans were able to inflict as much damage by means of dirigibles as the efforts cost them.

Most of the real work in the air was performed by the heavier than air aeroplanes. It was quickly discovered that these machines also had decided limitations. In some respects, however, they proved of immense value. By their use a commander on one side was able to keep close watch upon the movements of his enemy. If the enemy was receiving reinforcements, the watchful airmen of the opposing army at once made their com-

mander aware of the fact, and he could make his dispositions accordingly. Aeroplane observers could also spy out the details of the enemy's fortifications and ascertain the location of his batteries. Frequently photographs of the enemy's position would be taken, so that these could be studied by the commanding general at his leisure. The use of aeroplanes in this manner, in fact, almost banished the possibility of surprise in warfare. Hitherto the most successful general had often been he who could best

Japanese operations against Port Arthur we described how, after the besiegers captured 203 Meter Hill overlooking the harbor, they installed a telephone there by means of which observers gave directions to gunners miles away that enabled the gunners to sink the remaining Russian ships. In the present war, observation posts on terra firma were often established by which similar objects were accomplished. Many times in war, however, it happens that there are no such points of vantage. What then was more simple



MARINE TYPE AEROPLANE

guess what the enemy was doing behind a range of hills or mountains or who could most skillfully move his own troops behind such a screen. Now all that a general had to do was to send up some aeroplanes and ascertain what the enemy was doing behind the hills or mountains. Except in forests, in order to conceal the movement of troops from the enemy, such movements must either be made in driblets or else in the night time.

Another important feature of the work of aeroplanes was their use to direct the fire of artillery. In our account of the

than to send an aeroplane aloft to watch the falling of the shells and to signal the gunners directions by which, in a very short time, they could be able to find the exact range of their target? This method was, in fact, quickly adopted by all the armies in the field, and it at once rendered artillery fire infinitely more accurate and deadly.

Such observation work was not without its hazards. The enemy would, of course, endeavor to keep such observers as far distant as possible. If such an aeroplane ventured within rifle range, it would be

greeted by thousands of rifle bullets; if further off, by bursting shells from anti-aircraft guns especially designed for that purpose. Enemy aircraft, too, were likely to endeavor to destroy or drive away the spy.

The exigencies of real warfare quickly revealed needs in the air not unlike those upon the water. Some aircraft were built purely for observation purposes. These corresponded to the scout cruisers of the

On the sea both sides made considerable use of hydro-aeroplanes for scouting purposes, and the Allies found these machines helpful in locating and destroying submarines.

A few instances were reported in which dirigibles or aeroplanes were able to damage or destroy merchant vessels or small warships, but not a single instance occurred of a battleship being sunk by such an



ITALIANS BRING DOWN AUSTRIAN PLANE

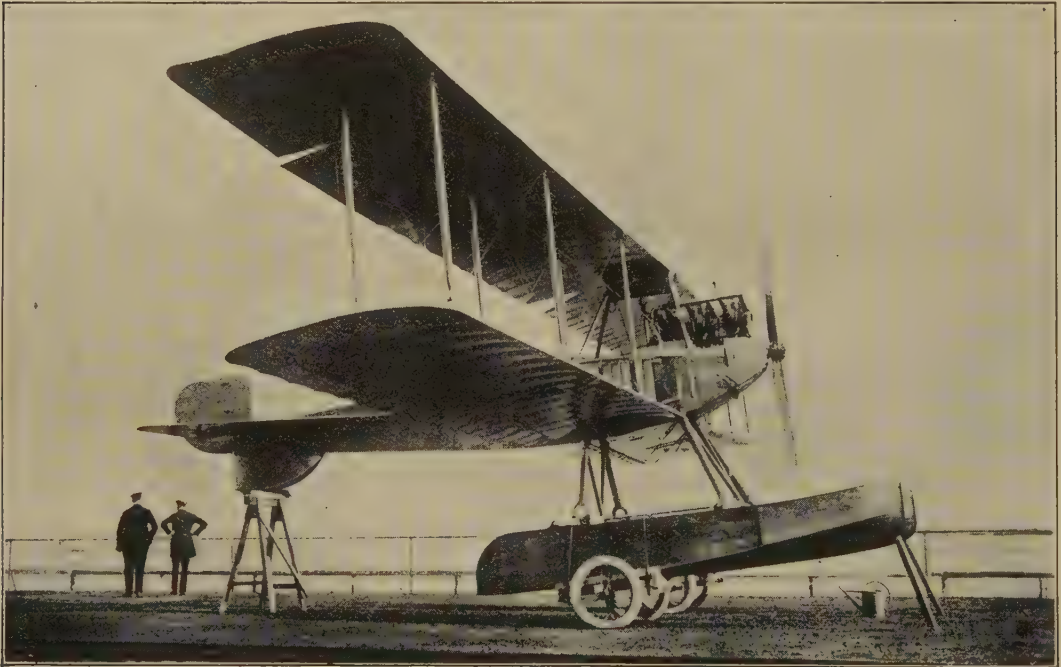
watery main. Others were built primarily for fighting purposes and corresponded to battleships. Still others were designed to carry heavy loads of bombs. Incredible as it would have seemed fifteen years before, some types of aeroplanes were actually armored, to protect both the crew and also the more vital parts of the machines. Offensive weapons were at first confined to automatic pistols and rifles; then machine guns were installed; and finally some of the battle planes carried small cannon.

attack. Certain peculiar properties of high explosives, in fact, unfit them for destroying vessels in this manner. The force of a high explosive, when merely placed or dropped upon an object is mostly exerted upward, and only a bomb of enormous size would be likely to sink a battleship unless, by rare chance, it should happen to fall down a smokestack. Furthermore, many of the battleships were provided with nets designed to intercept bombs dropped from the air.

Like the dirigibles, aeroplanes were also used to drop bombs upon fortresses, towns, troops, and other objects it was desired to harm. Early in the war the French invented a small sharp-pointed arrow, which they would drop from great heights upon the enemy. Such weapons were very deadly when they struck, but the number killed by them does not seem to have been large.

The event of the Zeppelin dropping bombs upon Antwerp has already been described. There were other examples

dirigibles, dropped bombs on Yarmouth, King's Lynn, and other English towns on the east coast, killing four persons and injuring others. On April 14, there was a big raid over the Tyne district, but the news spread quickly, the towns were plunged into darkness, and the airships, unable to see their marks, did little damage. April 16, Zeppelins dropped bombs at Lowestoft, Malden, and other places only a short distance east of London, and, about the same time, an aeroplane dropped bombs in Kent. There were



GERMAN AEROPLANE, MARINE DOUBLE-DECKER

of the same use of this type of airship in the early days of the war, both in Belgium and France, though in the raids upon Paris the Germans usually made use of aeroplanes. Meanwhile the Germans looked forward with the utmost eagerness to an aerial raid against England and particularly against London.

On Christmas day, 1914, two German aeroplanes flew up the Thames, but were driven off by the British. The body of one of the aviators was subsequently found floating in the river. On the 19th of the following month, airships, probably

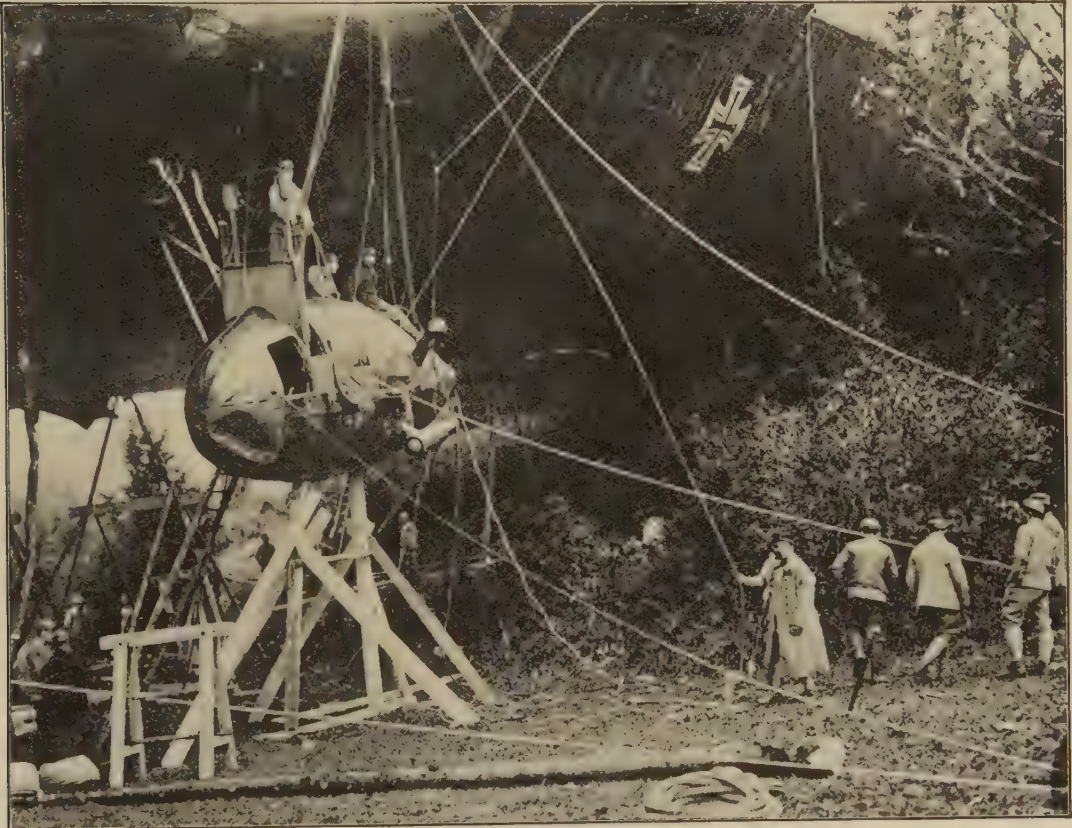
subsequent raids on Ramsgate and Southend, and, May 31, the Zeppelins at last actually got to London, dropping 90 incendiary bombs, which destroyed considerable property and killed four people and wounded many others. All these Zeppelin raids took place in the night time, and owing to precautions in the way of keeping towns in darkness, the raiders were able to do little more than drop their bombs at random, accomplishing little or no military damage.

There were raids on the east coast on June 4 and 6, in the last of which

26 people were killed and 40 injured. Revenge was, however, quickly obtained. On the 7th, Sub-Lieutenant Reginald Warneford caught sight of one of the returning raiders near the town of Ghent in Belgium. Warneford was a young Canadian, whose experience in flying had extended through only about three months time. With the utmost boldness, he managed to get above the Zeppelin and threw a bomb upon it, which blew it up.

an accident, and both of the occupants were killed.

Subsequently there were other raids against various English towns. In one that occurred against London on September 16, 1915, 38 persons were killed and 124 injured, and in another, on the night of October 13, 55 were killed and 114 wounded. One of the episodes of the September bombardment was thus described in the British official report:



GERMAN ZEPPELIN CAPTURED AFTER RAID OVER LONDON

The fragments fell to earth, striking a nunnery. Every one of the 28 members of the crew were killed, and unfortunately some of the inmates of the nunnery were killed or injured. The exploit attracted great attention, and in a day the young aviator won worldwide fame and the coveted Victoria Cross. The young hero did not, however, long survive his honors. Not long afterward, while flying with an American author, his machine met with

"In another part of the area over which the airship passed, there is a big block of workmen's dwellings—places where men live who are away at their trades all day and often all night, and which day and night are crowded with children. A bomb dropped on the roof of one of these, and right under the roof was a little flat in which four children had been put to sleep. Two of them after being put to bed had got up surreptitiously to make tea in an

adjoining room; you can see the bed that they left now, a mass of blackened and charred sheets with the mattress torn to pieces. They escaped by a miracle, but in the small bedroom next door to them the other two children were killed in an instant. . . . That was all that was happening when the captain of the German aircraft professed to think he was visiting the docks and vitally damaging the Port of London."



ZEPPELIN RAID OVER LONDON, SEPTEMBER 3, 1916

After a raid made on the night of January 31, 1916, a Zeppelin, the L-19, from some cause, perhaps from being struck by a shell, fell into the North Sea. It was discovered in a partly submerged condition by an English fishing trawler, and the crew eagerly begged to be rescued, but their hope proved vain. "They were thirty and we were nine," the skipper afterward explained; "they were armed, and we had not as much as a pistol aboard and I would not take the risk. Besides, I remembered what the Huns had done

and what they might do again." Other boats subsequently went in search of the Zeppelin, but meanwhile the wind had freshened and a sea had got up and the boats found nothing, nor were any of the crew ever heard of more.

On the night of March 30, 1916, a number of Zeppelins made a raid over the eastern counties, dropping many bombs, with the usual casualties among the civilian population. One of them, the L-15, was struck by one or more projectiles from an anti-aircraft gun. In the effort to lighten the airship, a machine gun, a petrol tank riddled with shrapnel and some machinery were thrown out, but all efforts were vain. The great vessel "came down like a sick bird, flopping at both ends as if they were wings," and fell into the broad estuary of the Thames. Here she was found by a British patrol boat and the crew, some of whom were wounded, were made prisoners. An attempt was made to tow the Zeppelin to land, but she sank before it could be done. In spite of this loss, the Germans repeated the raid on the two subsequent nights, dropping some bombs even in Scotland.

Shortly before these raids took place, the British Government announced that the total casualties in England from aerial attacks amounted to 276 killed and several hundred more wounded. Virtually all of these were civilians, mostly women and children. Much private property had been destroyed, but the military damage done was infinitesimal.

These raids against England were, from the German viewpoint, worse than a total failure. They in no way intimidated the people; on the contrary, they greatly stimulated recruiting, and aroused in the British a grim determination to fight the war through to a successful conclusion at any cost. That the people acquiesced so quietly in conscription and other military measures was in no small measure due to such attacks and to the German submarine warfare. Furthermore, enough Zeppelins were lost in such raids approximately to balance financially and in the matter of lives the damage that had been inflicted.

On the Continent hardly a day passed without aerial battles or raids of some sort. In the early days of the war the Germans repeatedly dropped bombs on Paris, killing a considerable number of people and striking the famous church of Notre Dame de Paris. Later such exploits against the capital became so dangerous that they were few and far between, but Dunkirk, Calais, Boulogne, Amiens and other cities suffered often.

Russian towns such as Warsaw and Riga were repeatedly bombarded from the air.

The Allies for the most part confined their efforts to dropping bombs on fortresses, railways, troops in the field, barracks, Zeppelin hangars, and other objects that gave promise of military results, but on a few occasions, as for example in the dropping of bombs on Karlsruhe, they resorted to reprisals. Even in their use of bombs against military objects they not infrequently killed civilians, in some instances their friends, the Belgians.

The dropping of bombs in any manner proved, in fact, to be so destructive of innocent lives that there can be no question that the practice ought to be utterly forbidden by international law. At best the military objects attained were almost invariably meager, while the death and suffering inflicted upon the non-combatant population was very great. It is not too much to say that the use of aerial bombs, submarines, and German "frightfulness" combined to make the war the most brutal for centuries.

As time passed, the Allies on the Western Front displayed a tendency to send out great fleets of aeroplanes in their bombing operations. Thus on July 13, 1915, a squadron of 35 machines dropped 171 bombs at and near the railroad station strategically established by the Germans at Vigneulles-les-Hattonchatel, where ammunition and other stores were concentrated. The bombs not only inflicted considerable damage by their explosions but also started several fires. The same day 20 aeroplanes bombarded with 40 shells the station at Libercourt between

Douai and Lille. Aeroplanes armed with cannon bombarded a train.

Thrilling beyond anything ever witnessed in warfare were the hundreds of duels that took place in the air. These combats were often watched by thousands of soldiers on the earth beneath, and not infrequently they took place so high in the air that they were literally fought among the clouds. Now and then the pilot of an aeroplane who desired to break off an engagement was enabled to do so by steering into some convenient cloud-bank and thus escaping from his antagonist. Instances occurred in which machines were disabled as high as two miles in the air, to fall all that enormous distance to the earth. When the engine alone chanced to be disabled, the passengers could sometimes save their lives by volplaning like a soaring bird to earth, often into the enemy's lines. Now and then machines caught fire in air, and in such instances a horrible death was usually inevitable. When the passengers were killed or disabled, an aeroplane would gyrate wildly about in all sorts of positions, soon to dash to earth with a violence that left little except a mass of tangled canvas, wire and steel. Disabled machines falling reminded watchers of birds shot on the wing by hunters.

On the land, war had come to be almost an impersonal affair. Armies had grown to be so large that the individual was virtually lost in the mass. Artillerymen worked their great guns much as men operate machines in a factory, and by indirect fire, destroyed from a distance of several miles enemies whom they never even saw. To a large extent what was done was in obedience to orders transmitted by some general stationed long distances from the scene of actual combat. In the air, however, there was more opportunity for a display of individuality, and the element of "personal combat," which lent interest to the warfare of old, remained. It was possible, therefore, for individuals to gain marked distinction by deeds of personal prowess. In the military reports the credit for such deeds

was often purposely concealed under the device of anonymity, but names were sometimes given. The Germans, for example, gave prominence to the names of some of their most successful aviators. By the end of March, 1916, two of these aviators, Lieutenants Boelke and Immelmann, had shot down a dozen enemy aeroplanes apiece.

Certain French fliers also had large

a decided preponderance. Then suddenly a new and powerful German battle plane which the Allies nicknamed "Fritz" appeared, and sent many French and British planes crashing to the ground. "Fritz" was followed by an even more powerful type known as the "Fokker," an exceedingly swift monoplane, which likewise gave the Allied aviators great trouble. On the Eastern Front the Germans almost



DIRECTING FRENCH AND BRITISH GUNS AT WORK AGAINST GERMANS

records to their credit. By May, 1916, Navarre, one of their airmen, had shot down seventeen German craft. As a reward he asked merely for "forty-eight hours in Paris."

The conflict for supremacy in the air was a spirited one, and each side was constantly bringing forth new and more powerful types. First one side and then the other would have the advantage. For a time in the summer and fall of 1915 the Allies on the Western Front possessed

always enjoyed control of the air, and this was one of the reasons of their great success in this direction.

For purposes of reconnaissance and directing artillery fire, aeroplanes, in fact, showed themselves invaluable. Nothing could be more certain than that in the future, any army that was not well equipped with them would be destined to almost inevitable defeat. For the enemy's artillery, directed by the aerial observers, would be able to put down the fire of the

artillery and annihilate the infantry of a force thus handicapped.

Let us now come back to the progress of events on the Western Front. General Joffre's policy was described by him as one of "nibbling." He would make no grand attacks, but would confine his efforts to taking a position here and another there, to harassing the enemy continually, gradually forcing him back

The activity of the French in Champagne served to draw some of the Germans from Flanders, and in the second week in March, Sir John French undertook an offensive movement. The objective of this attack was the little village of Neuve Chapelle, at the junction of several highways, one of them leading north from La Bassée. The British hoped to inflict heavy losses upon the enemy, to gain

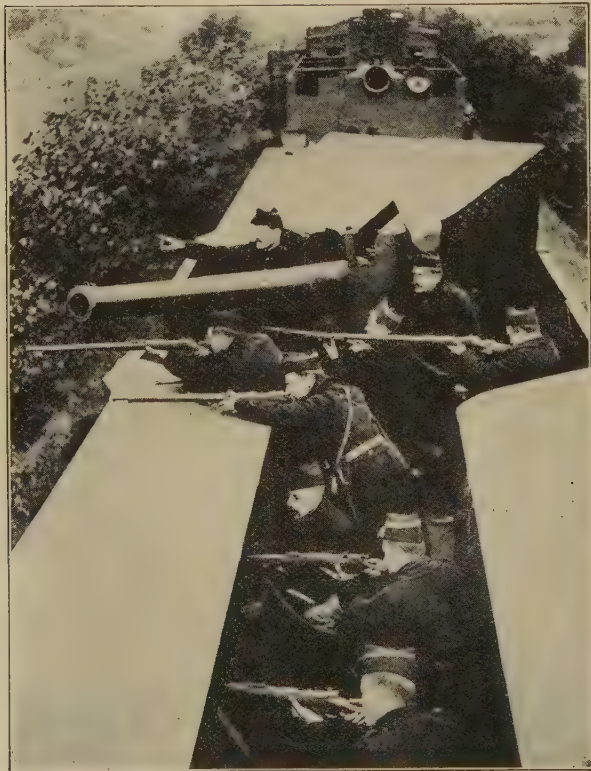


FRENCH GUN RESERVES

and ultimately so weakening him by the process of attrition that the overwhelming resources of the Allies in men would ultimately give them the victory. Following the halting of his efforts in Alsace, he directed his chief attention against the German positions in Champagne, and managed to make some advances, though the Germans, then as later, fought desperately, and not infrequently, by counter-offensives, were able to recover all that they had lost in a given locality, or even more.

ground, to effect a diversion favorable to the Russians, and also to cultivate an "offensive spirit" among their men. More than three hundred cannon were concentrated along a narrow front, and the German positions subjected to a terrific blast which leveled the village of Neuve Chapelle, wrecked many German intrenchments, and cut many of the wire entanglements. In fact, during this bombardment more ammunition was expended than had been shot away during the whole Boer War.

At the opportune moment, a large force of British infantry charged and captured Neuve Chapelle and carried works about a mile in depth along a front of over three miles. They found many of the Germans dazed by the bombardment, and captured about seventeen hundred prisoners. In places, however, the Germans made a strong defense, and with the help of skillfully placed machine guns, inflicted great losses upon the British.



BELGIAN SHARPSHOOTERS NEAR YPRES

Some of the British officers failed to bring up the reserves in time, while through a mistake, the British artillery shelled some of their own men. The British buried almost 3,000 Germans, many of them killed in futile counter-attacks, and they estimated the whole German loss at 20,000. The British press hailed the victory as a "greater battle than Waterloo," but the gain in ground was small, and the British losses were almost 13,000, including over 2,500 killed. It was a heavy price to pay for four square miles of territory,

and the British hope of being able to turn the Germans out of La Bassée had not been realized. Furthermore, the British failure to push on condemned a French offensive about Arras, in the same period, to comparatively small gains. Both operations helped, however, toward wearing down the Germans and also served to prevent the sending of troops to the aid of beleaguered Przemyśl.

One condition which enormously increased the difficulties which either side must overcome in order to break through the opposing line, was the preparation that had been made quickly to reinforce any threatened point. Not only were local reserves always held in readiness to push to the assistance of endangered comrades, but a system of railroads had been constructed just behind the lines by which tens of thousands of men and great numbers of cannons could quickly be concentrated to oppose an offensive. These roads were also used to supply the troops with food and munitions. Furthermore, the ordinary roads were kept in the best possible state of repair, and great numbers of automobiles were always in readiness to transport troops. It was this condition, in fact, much more than the strength of the fortifications that made possible the long deadlock. That so extended a front could be held in such a manner had not been thought of before the war began.

Of fortifications there was certainly no lack. Each army had three or more trenches, one behind the other, with positions in the rear to which a retirement could be made in case of need.

War seemed, in fact, to have been revolutionized. The open field battle, in which armies maneuvered and attacked in the old fashioned way, seemed a thing of the past. In the west the last such battle until 1918 was that of the Marne. The change had been foreshadowed by the nature of the fighting in Virginia in the last year of the American Civil War, but the

lesson that might have been learned by European military men from that conflict had largely been missed, and both sides lost great opportunities as a result.

In April, the French made persistent attacks upon the long narrow German salient at St. Mihiel, south of Verdun, but, after weeks of bloody fighting, the Germans managed to hold practically all the ground for which they were contesting. As the French attack died down,

fare. The attack was originally set for the 20th of April, but it was postponed until the 22d, because the wind was unfavorable. That the Germans were meditating some sort of effort the Allies were well aware, but the form it took came as a complete surprise. Between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, troops of a French colonial division from their trenches west of Langemarck perceived a white smoke arising from the German trenches,



CANADIANS MOVING UP TO THE FRONT

the Germans themselves prepared to take the offensive on a limited scale further west. Since November they had been almost wholly upon the defensive in that region, and their attack was no doubt partly dictated by the need of encouraging the people at home and impressing Italy and the wavering Balkan States.

The point chosen for attack was the Allied line in front of Ypres, and in the attempt the Germans prepared to make use of a new and frightful method of war-

and in front of this smoke appeared a sort of greenish cloud, which came drifting down upon them before a north wind. When the vapor reached the French trenches, the men at once began to cough and strangle, and some fell dying in fearful agonies. Behind the wall of vapor came the Germans, their faces hidden in strange masks. Against such a novel attack the French were powerless, and those that survived retreated headlong from their position.

The retreat of the French uncovered the left flank of the troops occupying the trenches to their right, and it so happened that these troops were a division of Canadians. A few months before these men had been engaged in peaceful pursuits in the forests and mines and on the wheat farms and ranches of the broad Dominion. Not a few of them were natives of the United States. Hardly any of them had ever had any previous military experience,

and the wide plains of the "last best West" rise to the great emergency. On the threatened left troops were hurriedly thrown back southward to protect the endangered flank, and then, facing the choking gas, the brave Canadians waited for their enemy. Strong and stalwart men they were, used to the free life of the open, slayers of moose and bear and caribou, accustomed to the use of the rifle from childhood; counterparts of men



CANADIAN TROOPS ADJUSTING GAS MASKS

and they were officered in large measure by men drawn from peaceful pursuits. And now, in their first real battle, they were face to face with the most terrible ordeal that men had ever been called upon to meet—their flank uncovered, a new and awful death floating down before the wind upon them, with thousands of German soldiers charging after to finish what the gas might leave undone.

But right valiantly did these "amateur soldiers" from the tall mountains, the broad

that George Rogers Clark and Andrew Jackson led to immortal fame in their cousin country to southward.

The story of the second battle of Ypres is in large measure "the story of how the Canadian Division, enormously outnumbered—for they had in front of them at least four divisions, supported by immensely heavy artillery—with a gap still existing, though reduced, in their lines, and with dispositions made hurriedly under the stimulus of critical danger,

fought through the day and through the night, and then through another day and night; fought under their officers until, as happened to so many, those perished gloriously, and then fought from the impulsion of sheer valor because they came from a fighting stock."

In places they were annihilated, but the rest held fast. At one point four of their cannon were captured. They retook them with the bayonet. At another time it was deemed essential to counter-attack a German trench in order to save the situation. As the line advanced, the rifle and artillery and machine gun fire was so withering, that for a moment a battalion wavered. Their commander, Lieutenant Colonel Burchill, "carrying after an old fashion, a light cane, coolly and cheerfully rallied his men and, at the very moment when his example had infected them, fell dead at the head of his battalion. With a hoarse cry of anger they sprang forward (for indeed they loved him), as if to avenge his death. The astonishing attack which followed—pushed home in the face of direct frontal fire made in broad daylight by battalions whose names should live forever in the memories of soldiers—was carried to the first line of German trenches. After a hand-to-hand struggle the last German who resisted was bayoneted, and the trench was won."

Battered by high explosive shells, exposed to new gas attacks, riddled by the rain of bullets from machine guns, the Canadians still held doggedly on. Wounds were disregarded, and officers and men fought on so long as breath and life lasted. At one point it became necessary for the Royal Highlanders of Montreal, Thirteenth Battalion, to retire from an advanced trench. Captain McCuaig of that battalion had been grievously wounded some time before, but had absolutely refused to allow himself to be removed and continued to discharge his duty. Now when his men wished to carry him back to safety as they retired, "he, knowing, it may be, better than they, the exertions which still lay in front of them,

and unwilling to inflict upon them the disabilities of a maimed man, very resolutely refused, and asked of them one thing only, that there should be given to him, as he lay alone in the trench, two loaded Colt revolvers to add to his own, which lay in his right hand as he made his last request. And so, with three revolvers ready to his hand for use, a very brave officer waited to sell his life, wounded and racked with pain, in an abandoned trench."

Such was the spirit of the Men of the North. Their losses were very dreadful.



FRENCH SOLDIER WEARING GAS MASK

Of the whole Canadian force that went into the action, seven thousand, or about a fourth of the whole, were killed, wounded, or captured.

But the Canadians had checked the German advance. Their fame went round the world. Even as the Dominion bowed her head in sorrow over the death of her sons, her pride leaped high at the thought of their valor and their glory. And from the pen of the Canadian "Observer" at the front, there went out to every corner of the British world the call:

"'Arise, O Israel!' The Empire is engaged in a struggle, without quarter and without compromise, against an enemy

still superbly organized, still immensely powerful, still confident that its strength is the mate of its necessities. To arms, then, and still to arms!"

The valiant stand of the Canadians gave the British and French an opportunity to bring up reinforcements and ultimately to stem the German rush. In one section the enemy managed to reach the Ypres Canal and even to cross it, but there they were held, and later

by the explosion of specially constructed shells and hand grenades. Being heavier than air, the gas was readily carried along the ground by the wind, and was particularly effective against the men in the trenches. Its effect upon those who inhaled it was infinitely painful and dreadful beyond description. For the moment it seemed as if the Germans had evolved a weapon that would enable them to drive the Allies before them with ease. But



CANADIAN ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS IN ACTION

they were compelled to retire to the north bank. Still they had managed to gain ground along a front of five miles, and their success was a fitting retort to the British victory at Neuve Chapelle.

The battle attracted a vast amount of attention, due largely to the German use of poisonous gas. After the battle an investigation was made, and it was learned that the vapor used was chlorine gas; that it had been ejected from pipes laid into the trenches, and also thrown out

it was immediately discovered that a simple form of inhaler gave protection against the gas. An appeal was made to the French and British people, and in a few days the troops were amply supplied with the needed form of protection.

The use of poisonous gas had, of course, been prohibited by the laws of civilized warfare. The Germans, however, justified themselves by contending that the Allies had been making use of such methods; and, in fact, a week before the attack they

had issued an official statement to that effect. The Allies indignantly denied the charge, and contended that it was evidently made "to forestall neutral and possibly domestic criticism." They asserted, with truth, that it was merely another illustration of the German "frightfulness" and disregard of the laws of civilization.

The sinking of the *Lusitania*, which came about a fortnight after the inauguration of chlorine gas warfare at Ypres, helped to rouse the slow-going, phlegmatic Briton from his torpor. Yet repeated Zeppelin horrors, defeat at the Dardanelles, and numerous other disasters were to be required before the people were fully awakened to the supreme crisis—before they realized that this was not an ordinary war but one into which they must throw every pound of strength and ounce of fighting blood in the whole of their vast Empire.

Two aerial episodes of the period of the second battle of Ypres are worthy of record. On April 26th, British airmen bombarded the German communications and "the raid on Courtrai (station) unfortunately cost the nation a very gallant life, but it will live as one of the most heroic episodes of the war," said the official "Eyewitness." "The airman started on the enterprise alone in a biplane. On arrival at Courtrai he glided down to a height of 300 feet and dropped a large bomb on the railway junction. While he did this he was the target of hundreds of rifles, of machine guns, and of anti-aircraft armament, and was severely wounded in the thigh. Though he might have saved his life by at once coming down in the enemy's lines, he decided to save his machine at all costs, and made for the British lines. Descending to a height of only 100 feet in order to increase his speed, he continued to fly and was again wounded, this time mortally. He still flew on, however, and without coming down at the nearest of our aerodromes went all the way back to his own base, where he executed a perfect landing and made his report. He died in the hospital not long afterward." The official report did not give this officer's name, but

the obituary columns of the London *Times* of April 30 contained the following notice under "Died of Wounds:"

"Rhodes-Moorhouse.—On Tuesday, the 27th of April, of wounds received while dropping bombs on Courtrai the day before, William Barnard Rhodes Rhodes-Moorhouse, Second Lieutenant, Royal Flying Corps, aged 27, dear elder son of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Moorhouse of Parnham House, Dorset, and most loved husband of Linda Rhodes-Moorhouse."

On the 29th, near Wytschaete, a British aviator met a German aviator high up in the air. The Briton fired a whole belt of ammunition from his machine gun. The Taube suddenly swerved, righted itself for a moment, and then, like a wounded bird, fell tumbling from a height of thousands of feet straight to the ground.

Lack of ammunition, particularly of high explosive shells, condemned the British and French on the Western Front to comparative inaction during the spring and summer of 1915. Furthermore, Kitchener's new army was not yet ready for really large tasks, and many months must elapse before Great Britain could really throw her whole weight into the war. The situation was the more serious because the Germans were enabled to hold the western lines with a part of their forces, and to employ vast numbers against the Russians. The reconquest of Galicia, the over-running of Poland, and all the great disasters that befell the Russian armies in the spring and summer of 1915 were an indirect result of British military unpreparedness.

The British facilities for munition work were still limited, and even those which existed had not been employed to the best purpose. The War Office had failed to realize the importance of high explosive shells in the new trench warfare and had provided too large a proportion of shrapnel, which was comparatively useless against troops who were "dug in." This mistake, a quarrel between Lord Fisher and Winston Churchill in the Admiralty over the Dardanelles expedition, and various other causes combined late in May to bring

about a reconstruction of the British Ministry. A coalition Ministry was formed, in which a number of Conservative leaders, such as Sir Edward Carson, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Bonar Law, and Lord Curzon were given office. Mr. McKenna became Chancellor of the Exchequer in place of Mr. Lloyd George, and the energetic Welshman, whose management of financial affairs was fast making him a hero even to his

tions and that, thanks to their preparations and superb organization of industry, the Central Powers were far in the lead in this respect. Hundreds of millions of dollars worth of munitions had been ordered by the Allies in America, but these came in too slowly to redress the balance. Great Britain was compelled not only to provide equipment and ammunition for her vast new levies, but also



BRITISH "FLYING PIG"

bitterest enemies, became the head of a new department, that of Munitions. Mr. Balfour succeeded Winston Churchill as first Lord of the Admiralty, the latter taking a nominal position, which he resigned after the failure of the Dardanelles enterprise. Sir Edward Carson also retired about the same time.

It was becoming more and more apparent that the war was largely a matter of machinery and of vast supplies of muni-

in part to supply Russia, Belgium, and Servia. France was better equipped at the outset than was Great Britain, but France was badly handicapped by the fact that a large part of her industrial machinery and mines had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Deficiencies could not be remedied in a few days, a few weeks, or even a few months. Not only had guns and shells and rifles and aeroplanes to be made, but, to a considerable extent,

the machinery and tools to be used in such work had first to be created.

In at least three things the Central Powers had a great superiority. They were immensely strong in heavy field howitzers, they had immense stores of shells and were able to make new ones at a rate estimated as high as the prodigious number of 250,000 per day, and they also enjoyed a great superiority in the number of machine guns. These weapons had turned out to be very formidable, and a few men armed with

long time to build. And so it was with almost every form of munition.

The Germans had foreseen the situation and had prepared for it. Not only did they begin the war with large accumulations of guns, shells, and rifles, but they had organized industry in such a manner as to render it easy to make more of these necessary articles. Their foresight had even extended to providing for a supply of the raw materials. For example, they had subsidized certain industries that produced as by-products chemicals



CANADIAN LIGHT FIELD GUN IN ACTION

them could sometimes stand off thousands. The making of the tools necessary for manufacturing rifles and machine guns took six or eight months, before the actual production of the weapons could be begun. The construction of even a 6- or 8-inch howitzer was a matter of about half a year, with the machinery in readiness, and of larger guns a much longer time. Lathes for the making of shells required a long time to manufacture, and, even after the shells were made, it was often difficult to obtain the high explosive to put in them. The delicate but powerful engines for aeroplanes also required a

needed in the making of explosives, notably the coal tar and dye industries, which produced toluene, one of the ingredients of the terrible TNT, or trinitrotoluene.

The blockade was presently to hamper the Germans by causing a scarcity of copper and of cotton, but they succeeded in substituting other metals for copper and made propulsive gunpowder out of wood pulp instead of cotton. Notwithstanding the fact that the Allies were able to draw upon the whole world for such supplies, they were for at least a year at a disadvantage in the manufacture of high explosives. For all the rest of

the world was not so well provided as was Germany with the machinery, factories and experts needed to produce the materials that must be used in such production. Vast orders were, of course, placed in the United States, but many months of preparation were required before much could be done toward filling of such orders. This applied not only to high explosives, but to rifles, shells, and artillery.

Furthermore, the new Minister of Munitions was greatly hampered by other conditions. Industry in Great Britain had largely fallen under the control of

New factories were built, thousands of workers were induced to volunteer in munition work, and industry was organized toward the one great end of furnishing the armies of the Allies with the tools of warfare. Meanwhile, vast sums were set aside for the purchase of material elsewhere in the world, and particularly in that greatest of all industrial countries, the United States. The steel works of the world, outside the Teutonic lines, the chemical works, the powder works, were to be set to work to pile up a supply of guns and munitions that would ultimately result in the crushing



SCOTLAND TRAINING RED CROSS NURSES

the labor unions, and these unions, in this supreme crisis, displayed a narrow-mindedness, a lack of patriotism that is beyond belief. Strikes of coal miners had already threatened disaster to the fleet, because it would deprive the ships of fuel; and, to proposals to suspend union rules regarding hours of work, quantity of output, and the persons who could engage in various forms of labor, the labor leaders interposed objections and threatened strikes. It was only by cajoling and pleading with these men that Lloyd George—and he was perhaps the only man who could have done it—managed slowly to have his way.

of the Central Powers. Gold was to be used lavishly, for, said Lloyd George, "What you spare in money you spill in blood."

In the same speech in which he used these words, a speech made after the Russian and Servian disasters, the Minister of Munitions made a moving appeal for speed in the work and indicated one of the main causes for repeated failures. He said:

"I wonder whether it will not be too late. Ah, fatal words! Too late in moving here, too late in arriving there, too late in coming to this decision, too late in starting with enterprises, too late in pre-

paring. In this war the footsteps of the Allied forces have been dogged by the mocking specter of "Too Late!" And unless we quicken our movements damnation will fall upon the sacred cause for which so much gallant blood has flowed."

Yet the process was to be a long and slow one. It was to need all of the Welshman's superb energy, moving eloquence, and unsurpassed adroitness to organize

ing in Galicia and Poland. The most considerable of these "nibbles" was that of the French against the immensely powerful series of German trenches and fortifications north of Arras, known as "The Labyrinth." These fortifications and trenches formed a salient in the German line which the French were anxious to capture in order to render future operations in that region feasible. The



RUINS OF ARRAS

the country for its work. And in the meantime, Britain the Unready was forced to sit and watch her Allies suffer defeat after defeat because she was unable to throw into the contest the potential might that she possessed yet had not available.

From April to September, then, the Allies on the west were condemned to comparative inaction, to occasional "nibbling," which produced results that appeared pitiful beside those which the triumphant Teutonic legions were achiev-

positions were not only strongly held by large forces of Germans, but were also defended by scores of heavy guns, some of them as big as the 305-millimeter howitzers.

The Labyrinth was first subjected to heavy bombardments, and from the 9th of May onward the French made repeated but futile assaults. Toward the end of May, orders were given to take the position "inch by inch." To accomplish this it was first necessary by well prepared and vigorous rushes to get a foothold in the

enemy's position and to advance step by step from one trench to another, fighting hand to hand with the defenders. On May 30, much of the first line was carried by assault, but behind were a great number of barricades and fortlets. Without a stop, for eighteen days, the war of communication trenches was kept up. Ahead of their men, the French artillery dropped a fearful "*rideau de fer*,"

"Then we came to a wide place where a sign announced the headquarters of the German commandant. The sides of his underground cavern were all solid concrete, with cement inner walls separating four rooms. Paper and artistic bur-laping covered the walls and ceilings, and rugs were on the floors. The furniture was all that could be desired. There was a good iron bed, an excellent mattress,



GERMAN PRISONERS IN THE ARRAS DISTRICT

or "iron curtain," of shells, and in one day fired almost a quarter of a million of these deadly missiles. But so deeply had the Germans dug themselves in that the assailants were compelled to resort to mines, bombs, and much hand-to-hand fighting to clear them out. The weather was extremely hot, while to the dangers of fighting was added the unpleasantness of constantly digging up the bodies of the dead. A portion of the captured trenches is thus described by a correspondent:

a dresser with a pier glass, and solid tables and chairs. The rooms consisted of an office, dining room, bedroom, and a kitchen, with offshoots for wine, and sleeping quarters for the orderlies and cook. Kultur demanded that the Kaiser's officer should have the best accommodation transportable to the firing line, but the fare of the common soldier, I should judge, averaged quite a third below that of the French—both privates and officers, all of whom share the common lot, with

straw for bedding and either mud or stars for the roof."

The Labyrinth was finally captured and, along with it, other German positions in the same neighborhood. The French announced a greater capture of prisoners than at any time since the Marne, but their own losses were large, and the whole operation seemed a small one compared with the gigantic campaigns in Galicia and Poland.

from Switzerland to the North Sea, were subjected to terrific bombardments, but the French and British gradually concentrated most heavily upon a section in Champagne to the east of Rheims, upon another in Artois, and upon a third in front of Ypres. This cannonade, or "drum fire," as it had come to be called, exceeded in fierceness and intensity anything that the world had yet seen, and in places it



RUINS OF YPRES

Late in September, the Allies began the most serious offensive movement they had yet undertaken. They had piled up immense, though as the event proved insufficient, piles of shells, and, furthermore, the state of affairs on the Eastern Front, particularly the threatening attitude of Bulgaria, seemed to render it wise from a political standpoint to attempt a forward movement.

Many portions of the German line,

was continued for 72 hours without cessation. Furthermore, the assailants took a leaf out of their enemy's book and made use of gas.

On the morning of September 25th, a grand assault was made at the places selected. The German first line had been too badly battered to afford very effective resistance, and the assaulting columns for the most part passed over it with comparative ease. Beyond, however, the

way was not so easy, and for days a bloody confusion of attack and counter-attack followed. Some of the ground taken afterward had to be resigned, but as a net result, the Allies retained considerable ground near Ypres and more in Artois, while in Champagne they took two lines of German trenches over a front of seven and a half miles and with an average depth of two miles. Furthermore, the British captured over 3,000 prisoners and some 25 guns; while the French took 25,000 unwounded prisoners and 150 guns. Both French and British also captured great numbers of machine guns and large quantities of war material. The French estimated the German losses at 120,000, and the Germans gave an even larger estimate of the losses of the Allies.

In their official statements the Germans minimized the Allied success, and there can be no doubt that it did not attain all that the Allies had hoped. Lloyd George, the British Minister of Munitions, later declared that with three times the supply of shells, twenty times the results could have been achieved. Still the actual results somewhat bettered the position of the Allies, and the fighting tended to diminish the German strength—to promote the process of attrition, which the Allies counted upon to help them win the war.

For months after the close of the Allies' great offensive, the old deadlock continued in the west, without either side attempting any grand effort. Every day there was more or less cannonading along the four hundred mile front; almost every day there were sporadic infantry attacks and bomb throwing, mining and counter-mining; every day hundreds or even thousands of men were killed or wounded; but neither side felt strong enough to make any determined push against the other. There were sharp battles, but they grew out of attempts at local advances and not out of any general attack. Throughout the winter four or five millions of men, burrowed in the earth like badgers or prairie dogs, lay facing each other, while the impatient world hoped and prayed and clamored for the end.

Meanwhile, both armies continued to strengthen their defenses. Each had lines behind lines, and it came to be said that the French were fortified back to Paris, and the Germans back to Berlin, while Belgium had been transformed into one vast fortress.

In December, Sir John French resigned from command of the British Expeditionary Force in France, the step being partly due to dissatisfaction with his recent conduct of affairs. He was not, however, disgraced, but was raised to a peerage and was given command of the forces in Great Britain. He was succeeded by Sir Douglas Haig, whose skill and resourcefulness had been frequently displayed in the course of the war. Steps were also taken to insure a closer coöperation between the French and British armies and to improve the leadership generally of the British forces.

Meanwhile, a great campaign for recruits was being waged in Great Britain under the leadership of the Earl of Derby. The number who volunteered was very large, over three millions, but ultimately it was found advisable to enact a conscription law to reach the unmarried slackers. This step had long been advocated, particularly by the Conservatives, but it had been bitterly opposed. There were many threats, particularly in labor circles, that the act would be resisted, but Great Britain's need had at last become obvious to all intelligent patriots, and the measure was ultimately acquiesced in more quietly than had been expected, though the fact that Ireland was not made subject to the law aroused some muttering, as did also the exemption from its terms of married men and of men working in certain trades.

By spring Great Britain had four million men under arms. It was certain, however, that months would elapse before she really reached the top of her fighting strength, for, to a large extent, men and officers were still new to their trade. It was the British hope that when the time for the final decision came, it would find the Central Powers weakened by losses, while British armies would have reached

their greatest effectiveness. Hitherto the British armies—save the first expeditionary force to France—had not greatly distinguished themselves except for courage, but it seemed possible that they might loom very large toward the end of the war.

Both sides claimed the advantage of the deadlock in France. The Germans declared that because of the strength of

the Germans within bounds, they would win ultimately because of the blockade.

Meanwhile, feeling between the combatants was becoming more and more embittered. The invasion of Belgium, the sinking of the *Lusitania* and other vessels, the bombing of defenseless towns, the use of poison gas, and other examples of German "frightfulness" created an ever-increasing abhorrence of the nation



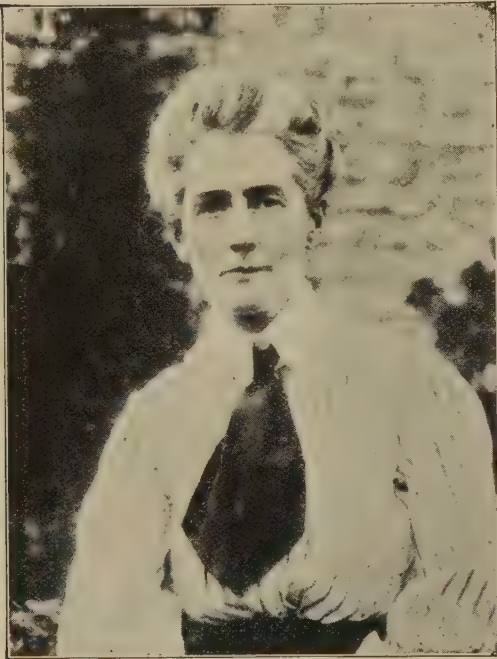
GENERAL VON BISSING AND STAFF

their "strategic defense" they were able to hold what they had conquered with a firm grasp and that they could so hold it forever. The Allies asserted that the Germans were already beaten in the West, that the deadlock gave the Allied forces time to increase their numbers and obtain guns and munitions in such overwhelming quantities that the result could not be doubtful. Furthermore, they argued that even if they merely succeeded in holding

guilty of such offenses. In Great Britain, public feeling was deeply stirred by the execution in Belgium of a heroic nurse, Edith Cavell.

Miss Cavell was an Englishwoman who was the head of a nursing school in Brussels. Practically her entire life had been spent in alleviating the sufferings of others, and she had cared for many wounded German soldiers. After the battle of Mons, numerous British wounded soldiers

and stragglers had been cared for and secreted by the inhabitants of the district, and Miss Cavell had aided them to escape from Belgium to Holland. She had also assisted some Belgians who wished to join the Allied forces to escape through the German lines. When friends protested and pointed out the risk she ran, she only answered, "Nothing but physical impossibility, lack of space, or lack of money would make me close my house to Allied fugitives." In the end, her activities became known to the German



EDITH CAVELL

authorities, and, on August 5, 1915, she was arrested and was confined in the prison of St. Gilles.

On October 7, she was brought to trial, together with more than a score of others. Though she was only a tiny thing, who looked as if she could be blown away with a breath, she had a dauntless spirit. She frankly admitted that she had aided the men to escape into Holland because she thought that had she not done so they would have been captured and shot by the Germans and that she felt that she had done her duty in helping to save their lives. When the interpreter of the court

rudely bawled at her the question, "What have you to say in your defense?" she quietly answered, "Nothing." She was condemned to be shot the following night.

The American representative in Belgium had watched the case carefully. The German authorities endeavored to conceal the fact of the sentence, but Mr. Hugh Gibson, the American First Secretary, learned the facts and set out with the Spanish Minister for the German Governor's headquarters. There they argued for a long time with the staff of the political department, appealing to the German sense of humanity and pointing out the effect that the execution of such a woman would have upon neutral opinion, but wholly without avail. One of the Germans, Count Harrach, even declared that his only regret was that they did not have "three or four old Englishwomen to shoot." Mr. Gibson and the Spanish Minister remained until midnight and did not depart until, in Gibson's words, "it was only too clear that there was no hope."

Shortly before the end, Mr. Gahan, an English chaplain, was allowed to see the condemned nurse. In the words of Gibson, "they partook together of the Holy Communion, and she who had so little need for preparation was prepared for death. She was free from resentment and said, 'I realize that patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred or bitterness toward anyone.'" Before daybreak, she was taken out and shot, together with a Belgian named Baucq. The English chaplain was not permitted to remain with her until the end, but the German military chaplain witnessed the execution and saw to her burial within the precinct of the prison. He testified that she faced the firing squad courageously and "died like a heroine."

The execution of Miss Cavell sent a thrill of horror and indignation through Great Britain and the neutral world. It helped to stiffen the determination of the British never to cease fighting until the Teutons were beaten. It was another act in the world's count against German "frightfulness." After Belgium had been redeemed from the German heel, Miss

Cavell's body was borne with tender reverence to England. A touching memorial service, attended by many of the most celebrated people of the nation, was held in Westminster Abbey, and all that was mortal of the heroic nurse was finally laid to rest in English soil. Memorials in her honor were established in many places, but perhaps the finest tribute of all was the naming of a peak in Jasper Park in the Canadian Rockies after her. The rugged rocks of this splendid mountain typify her courageous spirit, while the perpetual snow upon the summit symbolizes her purity.

Another case which aroused widespread resentment in England and also in neutral countries was that of Captain Charles Fryatt, master of the Great Eastern Railway's steamer *Brussels*. In March, 1915, the German submarine *U-33* attacked Fryatt's ship, but he defeated the submarine by putting on full speed ahead and attempting to ram his assailant. The submarine narrowly escaped destruction, being forced to dive and to give up the attack. For this act Fryatt, his first officer, and the chief engineer received gold watches from the British Admiralty, and Fryatt's bravery was mentioned with praise in the House of Commons.

In June, 1916, Captain Fryatt was captured by a German warship and taken to Zeebrugge. His captors discovered the watch and brought him before a German court-martial at Bruges. The British Government energetically protested through the American Ambassador at Berlin, but Fryatt was condemned to death as a *franc-tireur* and was executed.

His execution was undoubtedly designed to strike terror into the hearts of other Allied merchant ship captains and to prevent their imitating Fryatt's courageous behaviour. In reality, Captain Fryatt had been acting well within his rights under international law, and this new example of German frightfulness was condemned not only by Allied naval and military experts but also by the best informed neutral international lawyers. In a statement in Parliament, Premier

Asquith said that it appeared to be certain that Captain Fryatt had been "murdered by the Germans" and he announced that the British Government was resolved that such a crime, if they could help it, should not go unpunished. "When the time arrives they are determined to bring them (the culprits) to justice, whoever they may be and whatever their station."

As has been said before, German "frightfulness" was a calculated policy designed to break down the morale of their enemies.



FRENCH TRENCH CLEANERS

The Allies, of course, resorted to all sorts of expedients to maintain the spirit of their peoples. The specter of German domination was constantly held up before the people; all kinds of appeals were made to their patriotism. In France, undoubtedly, one of the strongest factors in keeping the people up with their desperate work was the famous French song, the *Marseillaise*. It was sung and played under all kinds of circumstances and by all kinds of people, by soldiers and civilians, by women and children, but its singing by

one of the great artistes came to be one of the celebrated features of the day. This singer was Marthe Chenal, and for months, nightly, she sang this song of war songs at the Opera Comique to large audiences. She also sang it to wounded soldiers and to soldiers going into battle and never failed to arouse burning patriotic ardor in the hearts of her hearers.

One of the best bits of writing produced during the war was written by Wythe

"The orchestra played the opening bars of the martial music. With the first notes the vast audience rose. I looked up at the row of wounded leaning heavily against the rail, their eyes fixed and staring on the curtain. I noticed the officers in the boxes, their eyes glistening. I heard a convulsive catch in the throats of persons about me. Then the curtain lifted.

"I do not remember what was the stage setting. I do not believe I saw it. All



BUILDING WIRE ENTANGLEMENTS AT THE FRONT

Williams, Paris correspondent of the *New York Times*, describing Chenal's singing the national hymn at the opera. First came an operetta entitled "Ballet of the Nations." After it came "*Le Chant du Depart*," the famous song of the Revolution. There was a magnificent soldier chorus and a thrilling fanfare of trumpets and drums. "I concluded," wrote Williams, "that the best Chenal could do with the '*Marseillaise*,' which was next on the programme, would be an anti-climax.

I remember was Chenal standing at the top of a short flight of steps, in the center near the back drop. I indistinctly remember that the rest of the stage was filled with the soldier chorus and that near the footlights on either side were clusters of little children.

"'Up, sons of France, the call of glory'—

"Chenal swept down to the footlights. The words of the song swept over the audience like a bugle call. The singer wore a white silk gown draped in perfect

Grecian folds. She wore the large black Alsatian head dress, in one corner of which was pinned a small tri-colored cockade. She has often been called the most beautiful woman in Paris. The description was too limited. With the next lines she threw her arms apart, drawing out the folds of the gown into the tricolor of France—heavy folds of red silk draped over one arm and blue over the other. Her head was thrown back. Her tall, slender figure simply vibrated with the feeling of the words that poured forth from her lips. She was noble. She was glorious. She was sublime. With the 'March on, march on' of the chorus, her voice arose high and fine over the full orchestra, and even above her voice could be sensed the surging emotions of the audience that seemed to sweep over the house in waves.

"I looked up at the row of wounded. One man held his bandaged head between his hands and was crying. An officer in a box, wearing the gorgeous uniform of the headquarters staff, held a handkerchief over his eyes.

"Through the second verse the audience alternately cheered and stamped their

feet and wept. Then came the wonderful '*Amour sacré de la patrie*' (Sacred love of home and country) verse. The crashing of the orchestra ceased, dying away almost to a whisper. Chenal drew the folds of the tricolor cloak about her. Then she bent her head and, drawing the flag to her lips, kissed it reverently. The first words came like a sob from her soul. From then until the end of the verse, when her voice again rang out over the renewed efforts of the orchestra, one seemed to live through all the glorious history of France. At the very end, when Chenal drew a short jeweled sword from the folds of her gown and stood, silent and superb, with the folds of the flag draped about her, while the curtain rang slowly down, she seemed to typify both Empire and Republic throughout all time. All the best of the past seemed concentrated there as that glorious woman, with head raised high, looked into the future.

"And as I came out of the theater with the silent audience I said to myself that a nation with a song and a patriotism such as I had just witnessed could not vanish from the earth—nor again be vanquished."

CHAPTER CLXXX.—THE GRAND DRIVE AGAINST RUSSIA.



AS the spring of 1915 opened, the situation of the Central Powers did not appear to be very promising. Germany had put forth superhuman efforts, but had failed to force a definite decision in either the east or the west. In March, Przemyśl fell with more than a hundred thousand Austrians, while the Russians were storming the Carpathian passes, and French and British warships were thundering at the Dardanelles. The fleets of the Entente Allies swept the seas, and the strength of these powers, both in men and munitions, was increasing. Italy had adopted a threatening attitude

toward her former partners, and the course of some of the Balkan states was uncertain. The people of the Dual Monarchy were discouraged, many of them were hungry, and some observers were prophesying an Austro-Hungarian collapse; while even in Germany economic conditions were bad, and the first glow of absolute confidence had given way to doubts. In a word, the fortunes of the Central Powers had reached a critical stage, and it behooved the Teutonic War Lords to do something to turn back their enemies, to restore their own drooping prestige, and to revive the spirits of their peoples.

On the 22d of April, the Germans launched their chlorine gas attack at Ypres, taking about six thousand prisoners and

many guns. On the 7th of May, they sank the *Lusitania*. At the end of April and the beginning of May,—they began a vast forward movement in the region about the Baltic and in Galicia. The combination of new methods and of old methods marvellously executed dazed and bewildered their enemies, and for months Allied efforts seemed weak, disconnected and purposeless, while the troops of the

reality, the Austro-Hungarian forces were now in large measure under German direction and command. And the management of campaigns everywhere was under the supreme direction of the German General Staff, which, since the retirement of von Moltke early in the war, was headed by General von Falkenhayn.

The campaign in the north was intrusted to von Hindenburg; that in the south



FORTS OF PRZEMYSL AFTER GERMAN BOMBARDMENT

two Kaisers marched on from victory to victory.

On the Eastern Front the Central Powers had three objects in view: to free Austrian Galicia, to conquer Poland, and above all, to destroy the Russian army.

The chief leaders in this great drive against the Muscovites were Marshal von Hindenburg and General von Mackensen. The Austrians were nominally under the command of the Archdukes Joseph, Frederick, and Boroëvic, but in

to von Mackensen. At the end of April, von Hindenburg's forces began an offensive into the Russian provinces along the Baltic, great numbers of cavalry being used. This region was lightly held by the Russians, and at first they were able to offer little effective resistance. On the 8th of May the Germans took the port of Libau, with large quantities of stores and about 1,600 prisoners. Somewhat later they met with a check before Mitau, but they managed to overrun a large part of Cour-

land, and meanwhile von Hindenburg was exerting pressure against northern and western Poland. His operations for the time, however, were less vigorously pressed than those in Galicia, and were, in fact, partly in the way of a diversion, partly by way of preparation for the grand drive against Warsaw and the attempt to bag the Russian army.

In these weeks the main attention of the world was fixed upon the campaign of von Mackensen in Galicia. Toward the end of April, every railway and road leading to that region had been pouring hordes of Austro-Hungarian and German troops and thousands of cannon of all calibres toward the theater in which it was proposed to make the great effort. By the night of May 1 all was in readiness. The Teutonic generals had concentrated hundreds of guns and hundreds of thousands of men upon a comparatively short front in the neighborhood of Tarnow before the Russian lines in western Galicia.

On the night of May 1, "the artillery fired in slow rhythm at the enemy's positions. Pauses in the fire served the pioneers for cutting the wire entanglements. On the 2d of May at 6 a. m., an overwhelming artillery fire, including field guns and running to the heaviest calibres, was begun on the front many miles in extent selected for the effort to break through. This was maintained unbroken for four hours. At 10 o'clock in the morning these hundreds of fire-spouting tubes suddenly ceased and at the same moment the swarming lines and attacking columns of the assailants threw themselves upon the hostile positions. The enemy had been so shaken by the heavy artillery fire that his resistance at many points was very slight. In headlong flight he left his defenses...throwing away rifles and cooking utensils and leaving immense quantities of infantry ammunition and dead."

According to the German press reports, prisoners taken declared the effect of the Teutonic artillery fire "more terrible than imagination can picture.... Corps, divisions, brigades and regiments melted

away as though in the heat of a furnace. In no direction was escape possible, for there was no spot of ground on which the four hundred guns of the Teutonic allies had not exerted themselves. All the Generals and Staff officers of one Russian division were killed or wounded. Moreover, insanity raged in the ranks of the Russians, and from all sides hysterical cries could be heard rising over the roar of our guns, too strong for human nerves.



FIELD MARSHAL VON MACKENSEN

Over the remnants of the Russians who crowded in terror into the remotest corners of their trenches, there broke the mighty rush of our masses of infantry, before which also the Russian reserves, hurrying forward, crumbled away."

Thousands of Russians were killed or taken prisoner, and the survivors were driven eastward. But wherever they attempted to make a stand the same tactics were used by this new phalanx or battering ram. First the great German and Austrian howitzers would deluge the Russian

trenches with a hail of shrapnel and high-explosive shells. Against such an attack the Russians could make little reply, for they were wholly outmatched in number of guns, while their supply of shells and even of small arms ammunition had run short. With the relentlessness of fate and the power of an avalanche, the Teutonic phalanx fought its way eastward through Galicia. In two weeks it was nearing Przemysl and the German

had some preliminary successes; but, realizing the absolute necessity of checking this drive, the Russians began a counter-offensive against it. The Austro-Germans in this sector were badly defeated, and by May 15, the Russians announced the capture of more than 30,000 prisoners.

Nothing availed, however, to stop the drive from the west. The Russians hurried up reserves, including even the forces that were gathering at Odessa for an attack



RUSSIAN PRISONERS AT GALICIA

press reports claimed the capture of 143,500 Russians. These figures may have been somewhat exaggerated—the temptation was great, for Italy had not yet declared war—but as to Teutonic successes there could be no doubt.

The Teutonic victories would have been even more overwhelming if Austro-German forces in the region from the Beskid Pass to the Roumanian frontier had been able to carry out the part assigned to them. These forces, moving northward and aiming for Lemberg and Tarnopol,

on the Bosphorus; but the Teutons fought their way across the River San, and early in June, recaptured Przemysl, which the Russians did not seriously attempt to defend. Thrusting now here, now there, capturing thousands of prisoners almost every day, Mackensen's forces, intoxicated with victory, pursued their triumphant way eastward. The Russians in the Carpathians, taken in the rear, were either captured, killed or driven out; and even the victorious army in Bukovina was forced to retreat to preserve

the continuity of the Russian line. Lemberg fell three weeks after Przemyśl, and by the 1st of July, only a small slice of eastern Galicia still remained in Russian hands. The Russian losses were numbered by hundreds of thousands, and the shortage of rifles was so great that reserves stood waiting to take the weapons that fell from the hands of the killed and wounded, while it was said that some regiments were armed only with iron clubs.

retire or would be driven out by infantry charges, and would take up new positions further back, where again the process would be repeated. Here, even more than in France, it was demonstrated that infantry, no matter how excellent, is virtually helpless against an enemy that has a great preponderance in artillery.

Behind the victorious armies followed Kaiser Wilhelm, bestowing promotions, iron crosses and other honors with a lavish



AUSTRIAN BATTERY IN THE CARPATHIANS

The Russians fought courageously, but they were outnumbered and were helpless against the overwhelming superiority of the Teutons in artillery and shells. The Russians would take up a position, and presently the enemy would appear and with scores of great howitzers would proceed to blast the Russian trenches out of the ground. The Russians had comparatively few cannon, and the shortage of shells was so great that no effective reply could be made to the bombardment. Ultimately the Russians would either

hand. Germany and Austria-Hungary were aflame with the great news, and every few days a holiday would be declared to celebrate some new victory.

To relieve the pressure upon the Russians, the French made their attack upon the "Labyrinth" and other German works about Arras, while the British attempted an offensive about Ypres. But neither power was able dangerously to threaten the German lines along the Western Front and thereby to compel the enemy to weaken the forces that were being thrown against

the hard pressed Russians. Both French and British were lacking in heavy artillery and particularly in high-explosive shells, while the Germans were so well equipped with machine guns that mere infantry attacks, without extensive artillery preparation, were practically suicidal. Furthermore, comparatively few of Kitchener's new troops were as yet seasoned enough to make them of much value in an offensive movement against such veterans as the Germans. For months the French and British were able to do little except hold their own lines, while the Teutonic forces marched farther and farther toward the heart of Russia.

Soon after the capture of Lemberg, the Germans began to make final preparations for a yet more ambitious effort—no less than the conquest of Poland and the destruction of the Russian armies. With the reconquest of Galicia and the overrunning of Courland, Poland projected, even more than at the beginning of the war, in between territory held by its enemies. By many military writers its position was likened to a nut in the grasp of a giant nutcracker, and it remained to be seen whether or not the Germans and Austrians were strong enough to close the cracker and smash the nut.

In the Russian favor was the fact that the threatened area was defended by numerous powerful fortresses, such as Ivangorod, Novo Georgievsk and Ossowetz, while the various rivers offered certain advantages in the way of defense. The lack of rifles, shells and small arms ammunition was, however, growing more than ever acute; while the losses suffered in Galicia had not only weakened the army in the way of numbers but somewhat impaired its morale.

The weakness of the Russians in the matter of munitions was due to a number of causes. At the outbreak of the war Russia had been reasonably well equipped with such things, and she also possessed large arsenals for the manufacture of ammunition and other supplies. She was, however, mainly an agricultural country and lacked the great industrial factories

and workmen such as the Central Powers had been able to turn to account in the production of shells and other munitions in quantities beyond anything of which the world had ever before dreamed. The Baltic Sea was, of course, closed by the Germans, the Dardanelles had not been opened, and supplies from the outside world could come in only by way of the Arctic and White Seas to Archangel, from which there was only a narrow-gauge, single-track railway, or to Vladivostok on the Pacific and thence many thousands of miles by the Siberian Railroad. Arrangements had been made with Japan to furnish large quantities of war materials, but the crisis in Chino-Japanese affairs early in 1915 had caused the Japanese to hold back such supplies in the thought that they might perhaps need them for their own use, and a considerable interval elapsed before this source of supply became fully available again. Furthermore, both in obtaining supplies abroad and in manufacturing them at home, Russian officials had been guilty of procrastination and corruption, and even of treason, and the result was disastrous to Russian military interests. One result of the Galician disasters was the resignation of Secretary of War Sukhomlinoff and sweeping changes in the personnel of the war office generally, while energetic steps were taken to remedy other weaknesses, but time was required to make these steps effective.

The Teutons gave their enemy little time for recovery, and by the middle of July, they had their campaign against Warsaw and Poland well under way. While General von Mackensen's forces pushed in from the south and southwest, Marshal von Hindenburg's armies, with a dash and determination they had not displayed while the Galician campaign was in full swing, hurled themselves upon the Russian forces from the north and northwest. The Russians held on desperately along the Narew River in the north and about the great fortress of Ivangorod in the south, but their position daily grew more precarious.

The seriousness of the situation was well

understood by the Russian people, and in hundreds of places the church bells clanged calls to prayer for victory. At Petrograd, on July 21, in spite of the great heat, the churches were packed. Hour after hour the people stood wedged together while the priests and choirs chanted interminable litanies. Outside the Kamian Cathedral an open air mass was celebrated in the presence of a vast crowd.

But prayer was vain to stop the onrush of the skillfully led Teutonic legions.

main of less efficient Austrian troops, and besides, in the week ending July 11, his forces in the neighborhood of Lublin had received a severe defeat, in which the Russians had captured over twenty thousand men. Von Hindenburg's successes in the north, however, so threatened the Warsaw-Bialystok-Petrograd Railway that the Grand Duke was forced to transfer troops from his southern front to defend his northern line, and von Mackensen was then able to push up against the fortress



RUSSIAN PRISONERS CAPTURED BY AUSTRIAN ARMY IN POLAND

From the first it had been doubtful whether the Russians would be able to hold Warsaw, and soon it became doubtful whether the Russian armies could escape destruction. The great jaws of the gigantic nutcracker were reaching for the railways leading to the interior of Russia, and it was evidently the Teutonic hope to cut these and envelop and destroy the Muscovite hosts. Had von Mackensen from the south been able to push in as successfully as von Hindenburg did from the north, this great object might, partially at least, have been accomplished; but his armies were made up in the

of Ivangorod and the Ivangorod-Lublin-Chelm Railroad.

The Grand Duke Nicholas had already seen that he must evacuate the Polish salient, as he had evacuated Galicia, and his problem was to do so with the smallest possible loss of men and guns. For a considerable time the world was in doubt as to whether he would be able to avoid a great disaster. But by striking here and there and fighting delaying actions at many points, he was able not only to extricate most of his men and guns from the trap but also to sweep Poland of articles

likely to be of use to the enemy. Great care was taken especially to remove all copper, and even church bells were taken down and shipped to the interior of Russia in order to prevent the Teutons from using them in their munition work.

The retreat was conducted with great skill, but even so it was necessary to sacrifice thousands of men to secure the safety of the rest. A large garrison was left behind in the great fortress of Novo Georgievsk, at the junction of the Bug and Vistula, northwest of Warsaw, to prevent the enemy from using these rivers in the pursuit.

Warsaw was occupied by the victors on August 5, Ivangorod the next day, and Novo Georgievsk fell before the battering of the German "brummers" on the 20th. At the last mentioned place the Germans captured more men and cannons than at any other in the course of the campaign.

During these weeks there was almost continuous rejoicing throughout the domains of the Central Powers. Every few days the bells were ringing, the flags flying, and schools were being dismissed to celebrate some new victory. There was reason for these manifestations of Teutonic exultation, and yet after all, what had been accomplished was not decisive. Poland was overrun, but the Russian armies, which were infinitely more important than mere territory, remained in being. Throughout these trying days, the Grand Duke Nicholas and his generals had managed the retreat with consummate skill and with eyes fixed upon the future. It was their policy to sacrifice men rather than guns, for of men Russia had great abundance, but guns were scarce and hard to replace. When a position became insecure, the artillery was hurried to the rear and the task of delaying the pursuit was intrusted almost wholly to infantry and machine guns. And though the Russian losses were enormous, the price paid by the victors was by no means a light one.

It was expected by many observers that the Russians would make a stand on a line running north and south through

Brest-Litovsk, Ossowetz and Kovno. But after heavy bombardment, Kovno was taken by storm, with many prisoners and much booty, in the middle of August, and the breaking of the Russian line at this point exposed their armies to the danger of being rolled up from the north, so that the Great Retreat, the greatest in all history, had once more to be continued. Ossowetz, a fortress that had withstood repeated attacks in the course of the war, was abandoned on the 22d and Brest-Litovsk four days later. Once more the Teutons endeavored to envelop their enemies, but once more the Slavic armies escaped the net.

It was universally conceded that, considering the Teutonic superiority in numbers and the Russian weakness in artillery and shells, the Grand Duke Nicholas had conducted the campaign with remarkable skill; but, on the 8th of September, the Grand Duke was transferred to the Caucasus, and the Czar announced that he himself had assumed supreme command. One reason for the change seems to have been that it was believed that the morale of the army would be improved by the step; while the announcement also constituted a defiant answer to German stories that Russia would desert her allies and make a separate peace.

Military critics were inclined to doubt the wisdom of the step, and some expected that great disasters would follow. But the Czar's command was merely a nominal one, the real leader being the new Chief of Staff, General Alexieff, who, as Chief of Staff to General Ivanoff had had a prominent part in the earlier Galician victories and later had had direct management of the retreat from Warsaw. As a matter of fact, the announcement that "the Little Father" was at their head aroused great enthusiasm among the Russian troops. An offensive movement had already been launched by General Ivanoff in Galicia and elsewhere along the Southern Front. The Teutonic cause received a severe setback, and the Russians, tasting once more of victory, captured during October and November many thousands of prisoners.

Meanwhile, von Hindenburg in the north managed to take Vilna, but the Russian forces once more evaded his net, and all of his efforts against Dvinsk and Riga were foiled. That the last mentioned town was able to hold out was due in large measure to the failure of the German navy to force an entrance into the Gulf of Riga and coöperate with the German army. Russian warships, aided by British submarines, foiled all the German efforts and succeeded in sinking a number of vessels, one of them

appeared insignificant. The whole movement was a triumph of method and organization rather than of any special brilliancy in leadership. Behind the German and Austrian armies followed the engineers, repairing and improving old highways and building railroads. Merely to provision such a multitude of men involved enormous transportation problems; while the fact that it was artillery which enabled the Teutonic forces to drive back the Russians necessitated a vast amount of work



PRINCE LEOPOLD OF BAVARIA

a battle cruiser. The Teutons were now entering upon their Balkan campaign and were content to accept the defensive along the Eastern Front, holding what they had gained. Some observers had supposed that the Teutons would endeavor to capture Petrograd or Moscow, but this, for the present at least, was no part of their intention.

The campaign thus closed had been one of the greatest in all history. Beside the hosts of von Hindenburg and von Mackensen, the "Grand Army" led by Napoleon to Moscow

to bring up the great cannons and their shells, which were expended in quantities undreamed of before this war began. The rapidity with which bridges were rebuilt and railroads constructed almost exceeded credibility. It was as if the Germans had rubbed Aladdin's lamp and had conjured up genii to do the work. But it was all due merely to careful forethought and preparation in advance and to execution by competent, thoroughly trained men. In less than six months the Teutonic forces had not only redeemed practically

all of Galicia but they had overrun all of Poland and other Russian territory as well, had taken fortress after fortress, had captured hundreds of thousands of prisoners, and had driven the Russian armies far back from the German frontiers.

It seemed certain that if the Russians should ever succeed in regaining the ground they had lost it could only be done after a long interval of time and after the expenditure of vast quantities of blood and treas-

doubtless prove helpful to them. Before Germany could again be assailed on the east, the Russians would be compelled to reconquer what they had lost; and if the Central Powers could manage to retain possession of their conquests until after the next harvest, they would be able to derive therefrom food supplies to augment their depleted stores.

Yet, stupendous as was the victory, it was not decisive. Russia had lost much



RUSSIAN PRISONERS AT WORK

ure. The power of the German defensive had been shown to be so great in the west that some observers doubted whether the Russians would ever be able to break the new Teutonic lines—at least not until the strength of the Central Powers had been depleted by a long process of attrition.

To a considerable extent the conquered territory had been swept clean of articles of value to the invaders, and yet the possession of the territory thus gained would

territory, but, after all, it was a bagatelle beside the vast extent which she still retained. Over a million of her soldiers had been killed, wounded or captured, but her armies were not annihilated, nor had they lost the expectation of ultimate victory.

It had been the Teutonic hope to eliminate Russia from the conflict, and suggestions of favorable terms if she would desert her allies found their way to Petrograd.

But Russia stubbornly refused even to consider such offers. With a practically inexhaustible supply of men, with munitions from her own reorganized and expanded factories and from Japan and elsewhere, with British gold to eke out her finances, Russia set herself seriously to the task of preparing for new and vaster campaigns. And hardly were the Teutons done congratulating themselves over their victories before the Cossack was again thundering at their eastern gateways.

the course of Roumania, while the wily King of Bulgaria decided that he at last knew who would win the war and felt it safe to throw off the mask. The course of the Russian campaign was therefore to have a profound influence upon Balkan and Turkish history.

The cause of the temporary Russian collapse was the inability of Russia's allies to make any effective diversion in her behalf. Attacked by three enemies—Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey—



RUSSIAN PEASANTS DRIVEN FROM THEIR HOMES

The Teutonic victories in Russia made a great impression in many parts of Europe—an impression from which the Central Powers were able to reap large benefits. Whatever may have been Roumania's intentions before the beginning of the great "Drive," she was now content to remain for a while a passive spectator. Bulgaria and Greece were profoundly impressed with the spectacle of Teutonic might and also by the contrast of British and French failure at the Dardanelles. The latter imitated

the Muscovites found the task beyond their strength, and it will doubtless be the verdict that they escaped from the trying ordeal comparatively lightly.

One result of the great campaign along the Eastern Front was to add more millions to the suffering non-combatants, of whom there were so many in this great war. War had destroyed hundreds of villages and thousands of farmhouses in Poland and Courland, while the retreating Russians adopted the same course they had adopted

against Napoleon and turned the country into a waste before relinquishing it. Many of the inhabitants fled to the heart of Russia as the war neared their homes, but great numbers remained. In a country ravaged by war, with food supplies commandeered by both armies, with the homes of most of the people in ashes, it required no great prescience to see that the coming winter would be one of great suffering. Such, in fact, proved to be the case, and it is beyond question that the winter of 1915-16 witnessed far greater horrors in

"West Poland, which has been Prussian territory more than a hundred years, is a disappointment to Germany; its people obstinately remain Poles. This time they propose swifter measures. In two or three years, by grace of starvation and frightfulness, they calculate East Poland will be thoroughly made over into a German province.

"In the great Hindenburg drive one year ago, the country was completely devastated by the retreating Russian army and the oncoming Germans. A



ALLIED SOLDIERS AIDING ROUMANIAN REFUGEES

Poland than in Belgium. But it was more remote from the New World, and Americans heard less of this suffering than of that of the little country nearer home.

An American, Frederick C. Walcott, who visited Poland in 1916, gave the following description of conditions there and of the German policy toward the country:

"Poland—Russian Poland—is perishing. And the German high command, imbued with the Prussian system, is coolly reckoning on the necessities of a starving people to promote its imperial ends.

million people were driven from their homes. Half of them perished by the roadside. For miles and miles, when I saw the country, the way was littered with mudsoaked garments and bones picked clean by the crows—though the larger bones had been gathered by the thrifty Germans to be ground into fertilizer. Wicker baskets—the little basket in which the baby swings from the rafters in every peasant home—were scattered along the way, hundreds and hundreds, until one could not count them, each one telling a death.

"Warsaw, which had not been destroyed, once a proud city of a million people, was utterly stricken. Poor folk by thousands lined the streets, leaning against the buildings, shivering in snow and rain, too weak to lift a hand, dying of cold and hunger. Though the rich gave all they had and the poor shared their last crust, they were starving there in the streets in droves.

"In the stricken city, the German governor of Warsaw issued a proclamation. All able-bodied Poles were bidden to go to Germany to work. If any refused, let no other Pole give him to eat, not so much as a mouthful, under penalty of German military law.

"It was more than the mind could grasp. To the husband and father of broken families, the High Command gave this decree: Leave your families to starve—if you stay, we shall see that you do starve—this to a high-strung, sensitive, highly organized people, this from the authorities of a nation professing civilization and religion to millions of fellow Christians captive and starving.

"General von Kries, the governor, was kind enough to explain. Candidly, they preferred not quite so much starvation; it might get on the nerves of the German soldiers. But, starvation being present, it must work for German purpose. Taking advantage of this wretchedness, the working men of Poland were to be removed; the country was to be restocked with Germans. It was country Germany needed—rich alluvial soil—better suited to German expansion than distant possessions. If the Poland that was had to perish, so much the better for Germany.

"Remove the men, let the young and weak die, graft German stock on the women. See how simple it is: with a crafty smile, General von Kries concluded, 'By and by we must give back freedom to Poland. Very good; it will reappear as a German province.'

"Slowly, I came to realize that this monstrous, incredible thing was the Prussian System, deliberately chosen by the circle around the All-Highest, and kneaded into the German people till it became part of their mind."

During these winter months the military situation from the Baltic to Roumania resembled the deadlock that existed in Flanders and France. The Teutonic forces contented themselves with attempting to hold what they had won, and the aggressive movements undertaken were almost solely begun by the Russians. The Russian successes in October and November in the south have already been mentioned. In January and February, 1916, the Muscovites again launched furious attacks in the same quarter and made material progress not only in recovering some of their own territory but also in reconquering districts in Galicia and Bukowina. In some quarters it was believed that the drafts which these attacks made upon Teutonic strength prevented an attempt to drive the French and British out of Salonica. Following the tremendous German attack upon Verdun, General Kuropatkin, who was now in command along the Northern Front, launched an offensive against the Germans in this quarter, but the gains were slight, and Russian losses, according to German reports, were heavy.

These Russian activities gave notice to the world, and particularly to the Central Powers, that the Russian armies were still to be reckoned with. It seemed probable that when the spring campaign opened, the Russians would, in fact, be more numerous and better equipped—despite their losses—than they had been the year before. And the Russian victories in Asiatic Turkey, described elsewhere, bore out this view of the matter.

So vast was Russia's reservoir of men that some observers believed that defeat would prove less exhausting to her than was victory to her enemies.

CHAPTER CLXXXI.—OPENING THE ROAD TO CONSTANTINOPLE.



At the outbreak of the war, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Greece declared their neutrality; but representatives of the opposing belligerents at once began a desperate diplomatic battle in each of these countries to influence public opinion and the governments. The entrance of Turkey into the war merely served to intensify this battle, for it now became a vital matter to Turkey and her Teutonic allies to link themselves together with friendly territory, while the Allies were anxious to keep them separated.

Roumania, the richest and most populous of the three states under consideration, was ruled at the beginning of the war by King Charles. King Charles was a member of the House of Hohenzollern, though he was also related to Napoleon III., while his wife, Princess Elizabeth of Wied, better known as "Carmen Sylva," was also of German parentage. Charles was bound to the Austro-Hungarian ruler, Francis Joseph, by ties of old friendship, while he seems to have forgotten that Russia won independence and other advantages for Roumania in the last Russo-Turkish War and to have remembered only that Russia recovered a part of a strip of Bessarabia, which she had been forced to cede to Roumania at the end of the Crimean conflict. The Roumanian people for the most part, however, were ardently pro-Ally. While they had not forgotten the Bessarabian incident, neither had they forgotten how they had stood with the Russians at Plevna and that their kingdom had been founded by Russian aid. Against Austria-Hungary they were for the most part hostile, and were anxious to free the five million people of Roumanian blood in Transylvania and Bukowina.

The death of King Charles in October, 1914, was generally regarded as favorable

to the Allies, for it brought to the throne his nephew Ferdinand. This prince was a Hohenzollern, but he was also a first cousin of King Albert of Belgium, and he was the husband of a daughter of the late Duke of Edinburgh—a princess who was first cousin of both King George and the Czar. His connections with the Central Powers were more remote than those of his uncle, and there seemed more likelihood that he might listen to Allied overtures.

Under him, however, the Roumanian Government persisted in its policy of neutrality. Teutonic and Allied propaganda continued to be active, and vast sums of money were spent in influencing public opinion. Take Jonesco, an ex-Premier, and other prominent Roumanians actively advocated the entrance of Roumania into the war on the side of the Allies, and their arguments became more popular when Italy declared war on Austria, for the Roumanians considered themselves Latins like the Italians. But the Government, notwithstanding immense popular demonstrations, confined itself to putting the army on a war footing and to preventing the passage of munitions of war to Turkey. Repeatedly Roumania was reported to be on the eve of joining the Allies, and her course undoubtedly gave cause for serious concern at Vienna and Berlin, but she still stood aside.

When the war burst upon Europe, Greece had found herself seemingly upon the verge of a conflict with Turkey over the ownership of certain islands in the Ægean and over the bad treatment of people of Greek blood in the Turkish Empire. To strengthen herself at sea, Turkey had purchased from Brazil two battleships that were near completion in British shipyards, and Greece, to meet this danger, had bought the old battleships *Idaho* and *Mississippi* of the United States. As we have already seen, however, Great Britain took over the ships Turkey

had bought, and the outbreak of the war so overshadowed the Turkish-Greek quarrel that it passed from the public view, and little more was heard of it.

The Greek Government at once declared its neutrality, but the Greek people could not forget that it had been a Russian-French-British fleet which had won their independence at Navarino, and for this and other reasons their sympathies were overwhelmingly with the Allies. Premier Venizelos, the greatest Greek statesman of modern times, publicly announced that Greece was resolved to fulfill the terms of her treaty with Servia, by which he meant that Greece would enter the war in case Bulgaria should attack Servia. As time passed, he became more and more convinced that Greece should join the Allies, for he believed that thereby she could gain great territorial advantages in Asia Minor and elsewhere. For there still remained many people of Greek blood who were not citizens of Greece, and Venizelos was the foremost exponent of the pan-Hellenic movement.

There can be little doubt that Greece would early have thrown in her sword on the side of the Allies had it not been for the King and Queen. King Constantine, as we have already seen, was a prince of the House of Denmark, a family that had little reason to be friendly to Germany, but his wife, Sophie, was a sister of the Kaiser. Like her imperial brother, the Queen was a woman of strong character, and was able to wield an immense and determining influence in behalf of her fatherland, notwithstanding the wishes of the great mass of the Greek people and even of the Queen Dowager, King Constantine's mother, who was a Russian princess.

In Bulgaria the people were still resentful against the other Balkan states for the defeat and consequent loss of territory in the second Balkan War, but Russian influence was still strong there, and one of the foremost Bulgarian soldiers, General Radko Dimitrieff, accepted high command in the Czar's army. It was evident, however, that the determining factor in

Bulgaria would be King Ferdinand, a ruler whose Machiavellian traits had long since given him the name of "the Fox of the Balkans." Ferdinand was born an Austrian subject, and there is no doubt that his sympathies were with the Central Powers, or at least against Servia; but he had made a serious blunder when he precipitated the second Balkan War, and it behooved him to be cautious in the present juncture. On October 15, 1914,



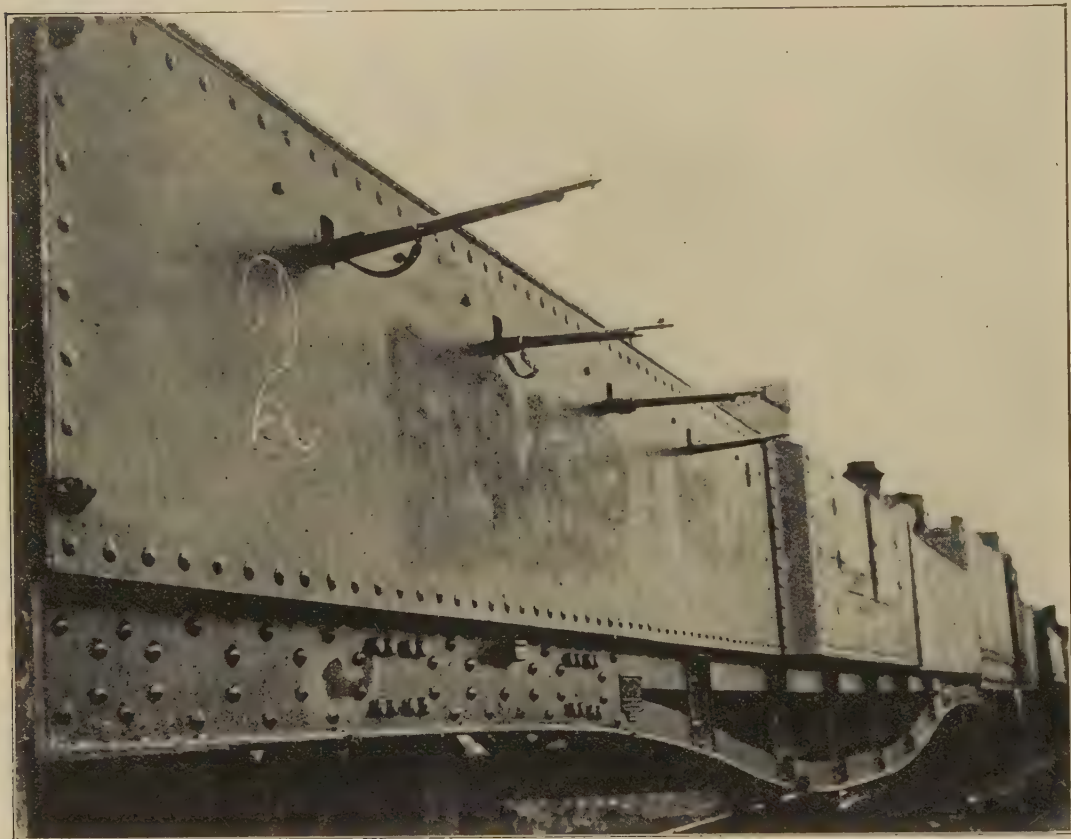
QUEEN SOPHIE OF GREECE

in his speech from the throne, he assured the Parliament that it was his duty "to declare the neutrality of Bulgaria and to maintain this attitude sternly and honestly according to international obligations and the interests of the fatherland." About the same time, members of the Opposition were accusing the Government of "Pro-Austrian-German neutrality" and of courting Turkey. Leaders of the Opposition argued that the Allies would win the war, and that, even if the Central Powers were

victorious, Austria would insist upon seizing most of Macedonia and an outlet at Salonica, which would be contrary to Bulgaria's interests.

The Bulgarians were agreed upon one point, namely, that they ought to take advantage of the crisis to snatch something for themselves, but they were at odds as to whether this could best be done by remaining neutral, by joining the Central

well to join the Allies. About the same time, General Savoff was saying in the Vienna *Reichspost*: "We must insist upon the correction of mistakes made by the Treaty of Bucharest. We are resolved, in case this should prove necessary, to take back by force of arms the territory that belongs to us and that has been snatched from us." Bulgaria's attitude toward each side came, in fact, to be, "How much will you bid?"



BRITISH ARMORED TRAIN

Powers, or by selling their sword to the Allies. The Greeks, Servians, and Roumanians were given to understand, at least by indirection, that they would do well to cede back to Bulgaria the territory that had been taken at the end of the Balkan War. Shortly before Christmas, 1914, Premier Radoslavoff declared to Parliament that if offered Macedonia, Kavalla, and the Dobrudja, he would favor forming a coalition ministry—that is, to consider whether it would not be

The Allied diplomats desired to reconstruct the old Balkan Alliance, and hurl it against Turkey, perhaps also against Austria. But there were many difficulties in the way. Since their creation, the Balkan states had engaged in almost constant bickering, and so great had been their jealousies and discords that only once, and then only for a short interval, had they been able to unite for a common purpose. They all, even Servia, disliked the idea of Russia becoming master of

Constantinople. Bulgaria insisted upon the recovery of the territory that had been seized by Greece, Servia, and Roumania; and the Allies attempted to satisfy her demands. In the subsequent words of Premier Viviani of France: "We had hoped that Roumania, Greece, and Servia, to whom magnificent perspectives opened elsewhere, would consent to sacrifices, in exchange for which they would receive large compensation."

To persuade the three powers to surrender their booty proved to be a difficult task, for their view of the matter was contained in the old proverb that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. Even Servia, whose interest in such a surrender was the most vital, long refused to listen to reason, and when she did agree to make concessions, it was too late. The Allied efforts with Roumania "were partially successful," but in Greece the equivocal attitude of Bulgaria and the opposition of King Constantine caused long delays.

An enthusiastic ally of the Entente Powers in these protracted negotiations was Premier Venizelos of Greece. This remarkable man was fired with enthusiasm at the prospect of Greek expansion in Asia Minor, where many of the people were of Greek blood. He was for re-establishing the Balkan Alliance if possible, and if this could not be done, he was in favor of sending Greek troops to assist the Allies in forcing the Dardanelles. There is reason to believe that the Allies counted upon such assistance, and that the ultimate failure of the venture was partly due to the course which Greece actually adopted. Even King Constantine seems at one time to have wavered, and, if we may believe a statement issued by him months later, he would have ignored his wife and joined in the enterprise had the Allies listened to his demands. But an agreement was not reached. On March 6, Constantine dismissed Venizelos, and called M. Gounaris to head a new Cabinet, which declared for continued neutrality. The Parliament, which was strongly for Venizelos, was dissolved,

and a new election was not to be held until June. In the meantime, despite strong pro-Ally demonstrations, Greece remained neutral.

Throughout the spring and summer and early fall of 1915, the great diplomatic battle continued in Sofia, Bucharest, Nish, and Athens. In June, the followers of Venizelos won a sweeping victory in the elections, but as the new Parliament did not convene until August 16, the energetic Cretan was kept for some time longer out of office. In the meantime, the Central Powers completed their great drive through Galicia and conquered Poland, while the French and British were still struggling for victory in the shambles of Gallipoli and were being held in check in the west. By the end of the summer, Allied prestige, which had been in the ascendant in March, when Przemysl surrendered with 119,000 men, was at a low ebb. Roumania hesitated to declare herself when the Russians had been driven far back from the Carpathians and had not yet put a limit on the forward movement of the Teutonic legions. Greece was doubtful as to the future of the war, while King Ferdinand was gleefully confident that at last he knew to which side victory would incline.

Diplomacy can effect little in the face of defeat, and a paralysis such as characterized the conduct of their armies in the field seemed to have settled down upon the Allied councils. Their course in the Balkans lacked vigor, nor did they prepare for possible defeat. Meanwhile King Ferdinand blandly continued to pretend to be interested in their overtures, while committing himself to Turkey and the Teutonic Powers.

The meeting of the Greek Parliament in August was quickly followed by the return of Venizelos to power, but this seeming advantage to the Allied cause was more apparent than real. Turkey had ceded to Bulgaria certain territory, which gave the latter power control of the railway to Dedeagatch, and there can be no doubt that Ferdinand was now definitely committed to the Central Powers—if he had not been for months before. By September,

the Germans and Austrians, having brought their drive against the Russians to an end, were ready to begin their long-contemplated movement through the Balkans to link themselves up with Turkey. Bulgaria could throw off the mask. German officers became numerous in Sofia, and the Bulgarians began to mobilize. Many of the people seem to have hesitated to declare war against Russia, but the Government and the army overbore all opposition. Meanwhile, large forces of Austrians and



KING FERDINAND OF BULGARIA

Germans were being concentrated along the Danube, and though Ferdinand long persisted in professing his pacific intentions, it was evident that the plan was to attack Serbia both in front and from the rear. Matters were brought to a crisis on October 2 by a Russian ultimatum, and war quickly followed.

The Allies had lost the aid of Bulgaria; the question which remained was, could they gain that of Greece? Between Greece and Serbia there existed a treaty which provided that if one were attacked by Bulgaria, the other must come to its

assistance. Premier Venizelos and the great majority of the Greek people wished to keep the terms of this treaty, and on September 30, an order was issued to mobilize the army. Meanwhile, the French and the British had begun to land forces at the Greek port of Salonica to assist the Servians. Against their disembarkment Venizelos protested, but his protest was merely formal, for he was heartily in accord with the plan and had consented to it. He had, in fact, asked the Allies for 150,000 men and had promised to mobilize the Greek army. At a stormy session of Parliament he explained the landing of the Allied troops, and his government was given a vote of confidence by a large majority. Amid a scene of wild disorder he cried out:

"We have a treaty with Serbia. If we are honest, we will leave nothing undone to insure its fulfillment in letter and spirit. Only if we are rogues may we find excuses to avoid our obligations."

It was already known that King Constantine was not in accord with Venizelos. The Allies, in a panic, made redoubled offers, including, it is said, the Island of Cyprus. But they were now to pay the price for their procrastination, diplomatic bungling, and military failures. Constantine had made up his mind, and it is hard to escape the conclusion that he had long before informed the Central Powers that he would keep Greece neutral and that this information had been conveyed to King Ferdinand, with the result that Ferdinand gained courage to declare himself. At a stormy interview, on October 6, the King informed Venizelos that he would not support the policy of the Ministry, and the Premier was forced from power. The King's action virtually amounted to a *coup d'état* and to a suspension of the Greek constitution. A new Ministry was formed by M. Zaimis, who announced to the Parliament that Greece would continue her neutrality. Excuses were made to Serbia for not fulfilling the terms of the treaty.

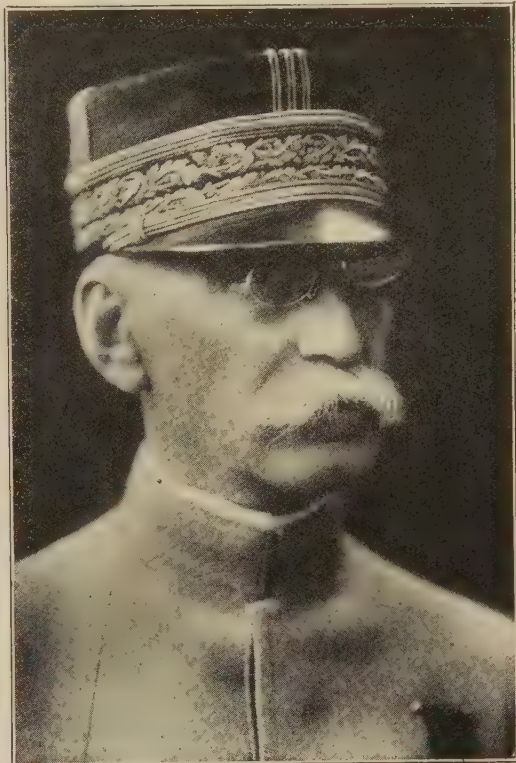
This double diplomatic defeat was one of the severest blows sustained by the

Allies in the course of the war. The Allies had fondly hoped to develop a strong alliance that would enable them to bring Turkey to her knees. And now Bulgaria was openly in arms against them while Greece remained neutral and might even be drawn into the war on the same side as Bulgaria. The situation of Serbia and Montenegro at once became to the last degree precarious. A vast army of Teutons was already gathered on the northern border of Serbia, while the powerful Bulgarian army stood ready to attack Serbia from the rear. Coming as this situation did after the Russian disasters, the failure at the Dardanelles, and the disappointment over the Allied offense in the west, it produced a feeling of gloom in every Allied capital.

In Great Britain and France the diplomatic defeat and the events that followed it produced great dissatisfaction and Cabinet crises. In Great Britain, Sir Edward Carson, the Ulster leader, resigned, but the Cabinet as a whole managed to weather the storm. In France, Premier Viviani resigned, and a new "Ministry of Many Talents" was formed by Aristide Briand late in October. M. Viviani received a portfolio, and the Ministry, as a whole, included eight ex-Premiers. General Gallieni, whose energy had been shown as Military Governor of Paris, was made Minister of War.

From the moment that Bulgaria and Greece declared their intentions, it became apparent that only a miracle could save Serbia. And the miracle was not forthcoming. As usual, the Allies hesitated and procrastinated. There was much talk but little action. At Salonica a few thousand French and British troops had already been landed. The world expected that the number would be rapidly increased and that Italy would throw troops across the Adriatic, while there were rumors of a Russian landing in Bulgaria. A Russian fleet bombarded Varna and other Bulgarian ports on the Black Sea, and an Allied fleet treated Dedeagatch on the Ægean likewise, but troops were sent out with great deliberation.

Detachments from Salonica were pushed northward through Greek territory into Servian Macedonia in the hope of joining hands with the Servians and keeping the Bulgarians at bay, but the attempt proved useless. German and Austrian legions under von Mackensen poured over the Danube, Save, and Drina Rivers, recapturing Belgrade, and driving the Servians before them into the mountains. Again King Peter and his army resisted desperately,



GENERAL GALLIENI

making the most possible of the rugged character of their country; but they were weak in artillery, and though they inflicted heavy losses, they proved unequal to the task of defending both their front and rear against determined attacks. The Bulgarians soon cut the railroad between Nish and Salonica, and their armies pushed westward and northward. Caught between two enemies, the Servians were forced to retreat southwestward toward Montenegro and Albania in order to avoid annihilation. A Russian offensive in Galicia

and the efforts of the French and British from the south failed to effect a sufficient diversion, though both efforts produced victories, that of the Russians resulting in the gaining of much ground and the capture of many prisoners. Late in October, the Bulgarian forces and their Teutonic allies joined hands in the narrow strip of eastern Servia that lies between Bulgaria and Hungary. The news was announced to the world as follows:

enthusiastic welcome by the soldiers of the Central Powers.

"The military commanders and the Duke of Mecklenburg hastened to the place northeast of Brza Palanka, near the town of Milutinovitsk, where the historical meeting of the east and west took place. Later there was a brilliant parade in the conquered Servian fortress of Kladovo.

"Resounding cheering and the national anthems were heard from the opposite



SERVIAN BATTERY IN ACTION

"The Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian, and German comrades have met on the Balkan heights. In the twilight of October 26, in the rugged Dobravado Mountains, where the patrols of the Allied Powers were looking out for each other, there suddenly appeared two Bulgarian officers and twenty-five men.

"All were splendid soldiers and well equipped. A majority of them were veterans who had fought in the Balkan War against Servia. They were led by Lieutenant Gateyev. They were given an

bank of the Danube, where the Roumanian population listened to the celebration of the inauguration of the new passage from Germany through Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria into Turkey."

Munitions of war in large quantities had already been collected in barges on the Danube, and in a few days were on their way down the river to the Turks, whose supplies were becoming very short.

The railway to Constantinople was quickly restored to running order, and soon passengers could go by rail from

Germany to the Turkish capital. The opening of these highways between Turkey and Bulgaria and their Teutonic allies was joyfully celebrated, and there was reason for such celebration. The failure of the attempt upon the Dardanelles was now certain; Turkey, which had been almost at the last gasp, was given a new lease of life; and discouragement and discontent settled like a pall over every Allied country.

Magnificent visions rose before the eyes of the victorious Teutons. The rail-

tages, but knew that Turkish and German victory at Suez would open the road to Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, would strike a tremendous blow to British prestige, and might make the "Holy War" a reality.

But Persia and India were a long way off, the Suez Canal was not yet taken, and time would show how many of these golden visions were to prove mere empty dreams.

The French and British at Salonica were not only hampered by lack of numbers



SERBIAN GUN CREW WATCHING FOR AUSTRIANS

road from Berlin to Bagdad was to become a reality. Oriental trade was to take the place of that cut off by the blockade. Persia was to be overrun, India conquered, and the Suez Canal, which it was fondly believed was the "Achilles heel of Britain," was to be seized. Enthusiasm for the Suez venture was particularly strong, for, ignoring the Cape of Good Hope route, many Germans believed that if the canal could be captured, Great Britain would be cut off from her colonies. The better informed discounted these advan-

but by uncertainty about the attitude of Greece. The moment that Venizelos resigned and Greece declared her intention to remain neutral, the position of the Allied troops on Greek soil became anomalous. The Teutonic Powers at once announced to the world that the Allies were doing in Greece what they had condemned the Germans for doing in Belgium—violating the territory of a neutral. The Allies retorted that their troops had landed on Greek soil at the request of the head of the Greek Government, to assist Greece.

in fulfilling the terms of her treaty with Serbia, that Serbia had been conceded certain special rights in Salonica, and that under the circumstances the Allied troops had no intention of retiring. King Constantine undoubtedly disliked their presence, but, as the great mass of his people were pro-Ally and as the Allied fleet held the Greek coasts and islands at their mercy, he could do nothing more than protest. Relations became very strained, but, under pressure, the new Greek Premier, Stephanos Skouloudis, announced an



GENERAL SARRAIL

attitude of "very benevolent neutrality" toward the Entente Powers. For a time there seemed some likelihood of a rebellion against Constantine, but temporarily the people acquiesced in the situation. The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved and at the election on December 19, as the followers of Venizelos refrained from voting, the existing Government remained in power. The Central Powers were by no means satisfied with a state of affairs that left the Allies in possession of Salonica, but they felt that it would be safer not to push their protests to Greece too vigor-

ously, lest it might precipitate a situation that would result in Greece aligning itself with the Entente. On the other hand, the Allies brought enough pressure to bear upon the King to make him afraid openly to throw in his lot with his brother-in-law.

Meanwhile the Bulgarians and Teutons rapidly pushed the Servians out of their own country, capturing many of their cannon and thousands of prisoners. Aged and feeble King Peter presently left the fragments of his army in the hands of the Crown Prince and fled to Italy, ultimately taking refuge on the Greek Island of Corfu in a palace belonging to the German Kaiser.

Little Montenegro, whose total population was less than that of the city of Detroit, fought with the desperation she had shown in the centuries of battle with the Turks, and for weeks, amid her mountain fastnesses, managed to hold the Austrians in check, inflicting great losses. The world generally expected that Italy would send forces across the Adriatic to assist King Nicholas, who was the father-in-law of the King of Italy; but Italy, for reasons that were not generally understood, contented herself with sending more troops to Avlona, which she had occupied the year before, and ultimately to Durrazo. The overwhelming numbers of the Austrians sufficed to overrun Montenegro. King Nicholas took refuge in Italy and later in France; some of the Montenegrins gave up the struggle; the rest fled southward into Albania.

The turbulent people of this mountainous country were divided in their sympathies. Some took the part of the Central Powers, and Prince William of Wied once more appeared in Albania in behalf of these powers; others, under the leadership of a Turk, Essad Pasha, declared for the Entente. Gradually the Servians, Montenegrins and their supporters were driven toward the Adriatic. Durrazo was captured by the Austrians in February, 1916, but the region further south still remained in the hands of the Allies.

As their armies had fallen back, millions of Servians and later many Montenegrins,

rather than submit to the enemy, had left their homes and fled, a suffering and sorrowful multitude, into Albania. Food and clothing were lacking, and the refugees died by thousands and tens of thousands; nor was the lot of those who remained at home much, if any, better. In the preceding winter the Servians had suffered frightfully from an epidemic of typhus, which swept away a large part of the population and was only controlled by the help of foreign physicians, including many Americans. Altogether the Servian people undoubtedly suffered far more by the war than did the Belgians, and the task of supplying them with food was much more difficult.

The spirit of King Peter and of thousands of his soldiers, however, remained unconquered. Many of the troops were transferred to Salonica, Corfu and other places, and the Allies undertook the task of reorganizing what remained of the Servian and Montenegrin military forces. The coming of spring saw these men fighting valiantly for the recovery of their country and homes.

Meanwhile, the French and British, under General Sarrail, after some successes against the Bulgarians, were forced from Servian Macedonia into Greece. Their situation was perilous, for not only were they in danger of being pursued by the Bulgarians and Teutons, but fear existed that King Constantine might use the Greek army against them. But Russia opportunely inaugurated an offensive against the Teutonic lines, thus making it impossible for Austria or Germany to use many troops against the French and British in Greece; while the Bulgarians and Turks showed little disposition to attempt the task of driving them into the sea.

General Sarrail, aided by General de Castelnau, fortified Salonica and the country north of it most thoroughly; and ultimately a very large force of French and British troops was gathered there, though whether for offensive or defensive purposes was unknown to the world. Bulgarians, Turks, Germans, and Austro-Hungarians stood guard north of the Greek frontier, but throughout the winter confined their

activities to a few aerial raids. The Allies treated Salonica much as if it belonged to them, and arrested enemy subjects and consular representatives and either imprisoned or deported them. It was expected that the coming of spring would see some stirring scenes in this region, though the question of which side would assume the offensive remained in darkness.

Not only did the Allies have large forces in Salonica, but the military camps in Egypt



GENERAL DE CASTELNAU

and on various islands about Greece and Turkey swarmed with veterans from Gallipoli, fresh troops from France, Great Britain, and the British colonies, and escaped Servians and Montenegrins.

The last word had not yet been said about the settlement of Turkish and Balkan questions, and many of the Servian and Montenegrin exiles believed that a few more months would see them in possession of their mountain homes.

Meanwhile diplomatic intrigues in Roumania continued, and all sorts of rumors were afloat as to the intentions of that power. In order to prevent the Teutons from obtaining it, the British purchased many million dollars' worth of Roumanian grain at high prices. The Roumanian army was kept mobilized, and new fortifications were built. For the most part, the troops were stationed on the Bulgarian and Hungarian borders, though the significance of this fact was a matter of uncertainty.

The winter of 1915-16 witnessed less fighting than had the preceding winter, but all the powers were busily engaged in preparations for the spring. To those who were acquainted with the stupendous character of these preparations it was apparent that 1916 would be even bloodier than 1915 had been. Nor was it at all certain that 1916 would see an end to the war.

Nevertheless there was much talk of peace. Most of this talk, when traced to its sources, was found to be inspired by the Central Powers. These states were, in fact, ready to end the war, provided they could obtain favorable terms. They realized that their position was probably better than it would ever be again, and they would gladly have welcomed a move to end the conflict. But their desires struck no echoing chords in the Entente countries. Great

as had been the reverses and disappointments of the year just passed, the Russians, British, and French were united in a determination to fight on until victory crowned their efforts. In all these countries it was realized as never before that their future welfare demanded that Germany be beaten. Talk of peace was frowned upon as being little short of giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

With such a spirit of grim determination abroad in the Allied countries, it was evident that peace was an impossibility. Nevertheless some Americans whose hearts were better than their heads undertook a peace expedition to Europe that was financed by a manufacturer whose purse was larger than his knowledge of history and international relations. The result, of course, was a ludicrous failure.

In the House of Commons Premier Asquith reiterated a statement made earlier in the war that England would never sheathe the sword until Belgium was freed and was given justice, until Prussian militarism was overthrown, and until the possibility of another such attack upon the peace of the world was removed. He undoubtedly voiced the views of the British people and of their Allies great and small.

The war had to go on. The sword must decide.

CHAPTER CLXXXII.—CAMPAIGNS OF 1916.



In the spring of 1916 opened, the war was still undecided. On the continent of Europe the Central Powers had had the best of it; on the seas and beyond exactly the reverse was

true. Of the wonderful military success of the Germans and their allies there could be no doubt. In the east and in the west, the black eagles of Prussia flew over almost all of Belgium, over some of the fairest parts of France, over Poland and other Russian provinces. Serbia and Monte-

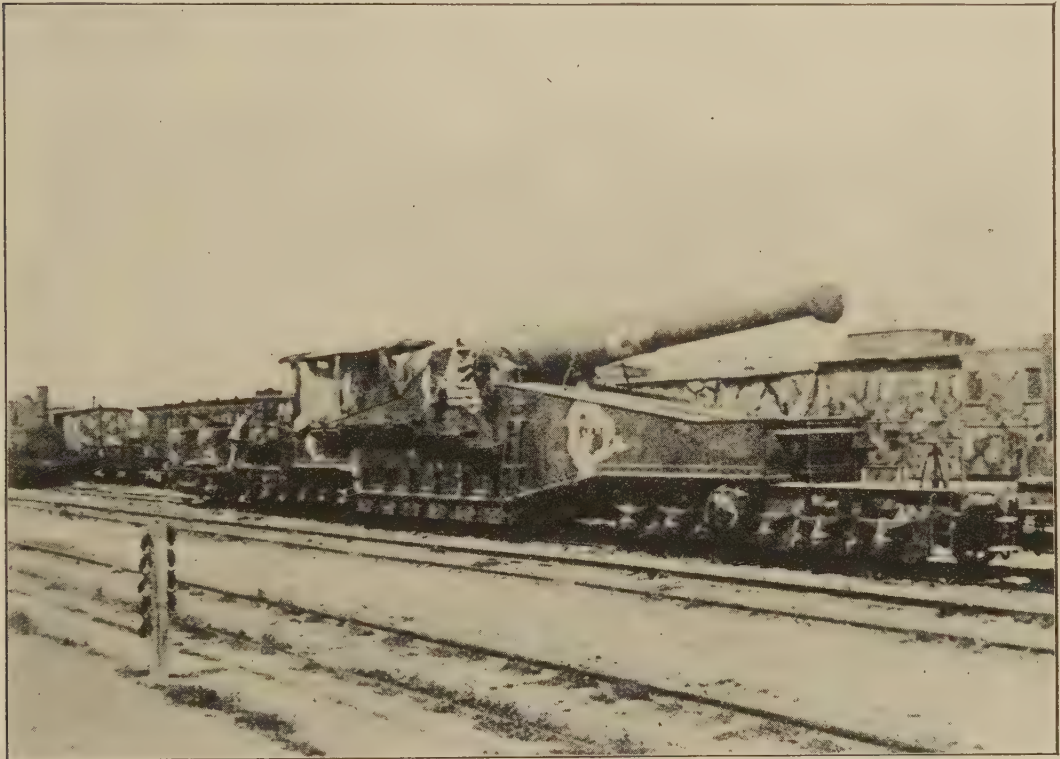
negro had been overrun, and only a small part of Albania remained in Servian and Italian hands. For the time being, at least, wily Ferdinand of Bulgaria had his grasp upon the Macedonia that he coveted; while its Servian claimants, driven utterly out of their domains, could only look longingly toward their possessions from Avlona, Corfu, and Salonica.

Against these conquests in Europe, the Allies could claim only a small segment of Alsace, a fringe of southwestern Austria-Hungary, and a thin slice of Galicia and Bukowina—only a few thousand square miles in all. In Asia, however, the Rus-

sians had overrun much of Turkish Armenia, with the cities of Erzerum and Trebizond; while the British, though unable to relieve their beleaguered comrades at Kut-el-Amara, still retained all of lower Mesopotamia in their grasp.

On the seas and beyond, Allied arms now met with little opposition. Not a German above-water warship or merchant vessel ventured out upon the high seas, and the whole of the once magnificent

Great Britain had triumphed overwhelmingly in her specialty, and Germany had won an advantage, though by no means so overwhelmingly, in hers. Despite the fact that France and Russia were still doing most of the Allied fighting on land, the war was coming to be, in a large degree, a duel between Germany and Great Britain; and it remained to be seen whether military power or sea-power would triumph in a long war. Sparta,



GIANT FRENCH GUNS USED IN MACEDONIA

commerce of the Central Powers had dwindled to trade with each other and to insignificant transactions with the petty neutral states near their borders. With the exception of a portion of East Africa, not a foot remained of the once extensive German colonial domain, amounting to more than a million square miles; and British and Boer troops under the redoubtable Smuts were invading East Africa from the north, Belgians from the west, and Portuguese—Portugal had now declared war against Germany—from the south.

a military power, had defeated Athens, a naval power; and similarly Rome had destroyed Carthage, but in both cases the victor had won only after wresting command of the sea from its opponent. In other great wars, where the naval power had continued to hold control of the sea, it had usually managed to win or at least to fight a drawn war.

Germany was making a bid for supremacy on the sea through her submarines, but Great Britain was also building up a powerful land army and now had fully

four million men under arms, though only about a million and a half had yet been sent to any theater of war. Of the two, Germany had undoubtedly suffered infinitely more from the war, both in men and in finances. Business was not exactly "as usual" in Great Britain, but she was doing much more business than all of her enemies combined. The population of British blood throughout her far-flung Empire was about equal to that of Germany. Her losses in killed, wounded, and captured



GERMAN MINE-LAYING U-BOAT CAPTURED BY BRITISH

had been about seven hundred thousand; those of Germany fully three millions, possibly four millions. Supporters of the Allies asked, "By the time that Great Britain has lost as many men as Germany has already lost, where will Germany be?"

Nor, in considering the probable outcome of the war, should sight be lost of the other Allies. Italy, France, and Russia were undoubtedly much more powerful than Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and would continue to distract and diminish much of the German strength.

In the opinion of the Allies and of many neutral observers, victory, in the event of a fight to a finish, could come to the Central Powers only as a result of some unexpected development or lucky chance. In their view the territory conquered by those powers in Europe did not bulk large, for it could be lost as a result of a few defeats, and they expected that the time would come when the depleted ranks of the Central Armies would prove unequal to the task of holding their immensely extended battle lines in the east and west.

Still, the entrance of Bulgaria into the war in the autumn of 1915 had upset all calculations for the time being, and no one could say certainly what other developments of this or some other sort might be in store. The first submarine campaign had been defeated, but a new one was under way, and until Great Britain knew that she could meet the submarine menace, she could not be safe.

Financially the Central Powers were undoubtedly suffering much more than were their chief antagonists. Their direct expenditures on the war were somewhat less, but they were cut off from the rest of the world by a blockade, with enormous resultant losses as a consequence. Neither of the Central Powers had been on a gold basis since the beginning of hostilities, and, though the Germans had shown much resourcefulness in financing the war, the German mark had depreciated in other

countries more than thirty per cent. Translated into more concrete terms, this meant that in a neutral country an investor who had bought a German bond at or near par would, if he converted it into cash, lose about a third of his investment. Austria-Hungary's credit was at an even lower ebb, while Turkey had been virtually bankrupt even at the outbreak of the war and had been sustained only by German loans.

Exchange on the Entente Powers had also fallen, but to a lesser degree. Great Britain, the financial bulwark of the

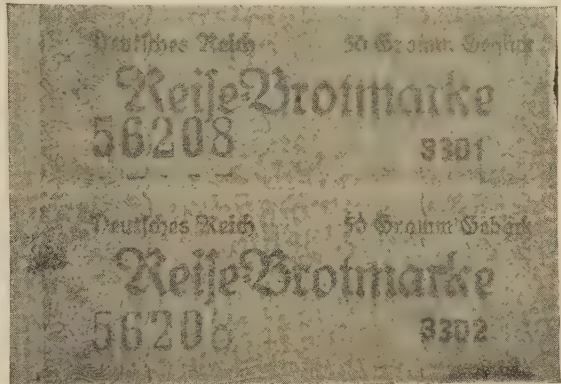
alliance, was still paying gold, and, as she was able to carry on trade with the outer world, was in a healthier condition, in this sense, than any of the Central Powers. American exchange on London was, in fact, much nearer par than it had been in the summer of 1915. France and Russia also still possessed great financial resources.

Their economic condition, however, gave ground for grave thoughts even to Great Britain and France, and there were some neutral observers who thought that the Central Powers, by holding out, would ultimately be able to force the Entente nations to grant them favorable terms, rather than be pulled down with their enemies in common ruin. Allied determination to fight the war to a successful conclusion, however, never seemed stronger than at the opening of the spring of 1916. The British, for example, knew that they were only now beginning to reach a point where they could throw in their real strength on land and the mere mention of peace made them angry. On the other hand, the peoples of the Central Powers were undoubtedly growing weary of the conflict. But repeated suggestions of peace sent out from Berlin awakened no echoes in Rome, Paris, London, or Petrograd.

The Entente Powers realized that some of their past failures had been due to lack of united action. With a view to remedying this weakness, they began to hold conferences at which plans for concerted action were considered and agreed upon. Such a conference was held in Paris in March, and it was generally supposed that it laid down a plan of action for the coming campaigns.

As if endeavoring to give the lie to Allied arguments, the Germans, late in February, 1916, began the most considerable offensive movement they had undertaken in the west for more than a year. For some time they attacked at various points along the line, but ultimately it appeared that their main effort was directed against the great fortress of Verdun.

This French position, which really was in the nature of a vast intrenched camp held by an army, projected far into the German lines and was a constant threat to their own town and fortress of Metz. It was probably the strongest position in the whole Allied line, and that the Germans should direct their efforts against it gave rise to considerable astonishment. In some quarters it was contended that the attack was partly designed to rehabilitate the German Crown Prince in public favor. Since the outbreak of the war he had commanded in the region of Verdun, but his efforts at the time of the advance against Paris had neither been brilliant nor successful, and though he had won some minor successes by an offensive in



GERMAN TOURIST BREAD TICKET

the Argonne Forest in the summer of 1915, his star as a military leader lacked much of being of the first magnitude. It was also thought that the Germans believed that by the capture of Verdun they could encourage their own people, impress wavering neutrals, and vastly discourage their enemies. The need of a victory was heightened by the recent success of the Russian drive in Armenia, resulting in the capture of Erzerum.

The plan for the attack on Verdun was formulated by Marshal Count von Haeseler. This aged officer, who was past eighty, had commanded the German forces in the attack on Antwerp and had been prominent in subsequent operations along the Yser. Von Haeseler was a believer in "hacking through." He held that by

a great concentration of artillery it would be possible simply to blast the French troops out of Verdun and to occupy it. Probably the nearness of the great fortress of Metz, whence the Germans could be easily supplied with re-enforcements, guns, and munitions, was one reason for the decision. Furthermore, the German High Command was undoubtedly aware that the French would be hampered by lack of railway connections, since the Verdun-

of their best troops. The French were not unaware of these preparations, but they did not attempt to concentrate against the assailants an equal number of men and guns. Instead, they held the Verdun defenses with relatively small forces, and trusted to the strength of their positions to assist them in repelling the German attacks.

The attack began on the 21st of February, and at first, took the form of a



CONVEYING FRENCH SOLDIERS TO THE FRONT, VERDUN

Toul-Nancy Railway was cut by the German salient which reached the Meuse River, southeast of Verdun, at St. Mihiel. During the operations the French were, in fact, obliged to make use, in large part, of motor transport along the road which came to be known as the "Sacred Way."

Whatever may have been their motives, the Germans made vast preparations. They brought up thousands of cannons, including several hundred of 12-inch calibre or upwards, and hundreds of thousands

terrific bombardment, exceeding in intensity anything the war had yet produced. The number of guns used was so large that French aviators, flying over the German lines, reported that in some places it was like a display of "fireworks." Says a French officer:

"Such an incessant cannonade came from the little wood of Grémilly, north of La Jumelle, that our observers had to give up marking on their cards the different batteries in action; they were everywhere;

the guns stood almost wheel to wheel. That went on for hours, and at four o'clock in the afternoon, the firing became still more intense; it was as if thousands of rockets were being sent up for the 'bouquet' of the show. In order to make our positions untenable, asphyxiating and lachrymatory bombs were mingled with the heavy projectiles, while six captive balloons floated over the German lines and directed their aim. Our first lines were almost leveled by this avalanche of steel—trenches, parapets, shelters, no matter how well made, were utterly destroyed."

When the German leaders deemed the time opportune, they launched infantry attacks against the French intrenchments to the north of Verdun. From cunningly hidden positions the French infantry, machine guns, and artillery slaughtered the assailants by tens of thousands, but, such was the power of the German drive that, in the course of a few days, the Teutons managed to advance several miles along a considerable front, capturing some thousands of prisoners and even effecting a temporary lodgment in Fort Douaumont, one of the outer permanent defenses of Verdun.

The German General Staff at once trumpeted over the world that "the armored fort of Ft. Douaumont, the cornerstone of the French defense at Verdun, has been carried by the Brandenburg regiment." The gain was, however, in no sense decisive. Fort Douaumont had been dismantled, and the real strength of the French position lay in the intrenchments and underground works and the artillery, the positions of which were carefully hidden and which were changed from time to time.

General Joffre and his advisers, having decided to defend Verdun at all costs, had hurried up reserves. Major General de Castelnau, who commanded the group of French armies in that part of the front, examined the situation in person, while General Pétain arrived on the 24th with his staff to take the active command. This officer, who ultimately became one of the chief leaders on the French side,

was, at the beginning of the war, merely a colonel, but he was a man of remarkable qualities and had risen with great rapidity. A fellow officer describes him at this time as being "tall, slim, young-looking, with an air of extreme distinction, quick, incisive speech and resolute blue eyes."

The French reserves, after bitter fighting, managed to halt the German advance, and though the Teutons, in the next few weeks, made some slight progress around Vaux and near Ft. Douaumont, they were



GENERAL PÉTAIN

unable to make any marked advance in this quarter of the field.

Attacks in this sector were varied by attempts to advance from the east and northwest. The natural strength of the French position to the eastward, however, was so great as to bid defiance to the German efforts in this direction, and, during March, the only noteworthy progress the assailants were able to make was on the west side of the Meuse to the northwest of Verdun.

During all these weeks, the Germans continued to expend their shells most

prodigally, and so great was the sound of the bombardment that it was heard at times for a distance of over 180 miles. The French defenders held on stoutly in their hidden positions, often at a depth of forty or fifty feet below the surface of the ground, and whenever the German infantry attempted to advance, they were invariably met by a terrific "curtain of fire" from the French artillery and a withering hail from the French rifles and machine

countries that whatever successes had been attained had been won at a price that was much heavier than the Germans could afford to pay.

The operations had now taken on the aspect of a race against time. It was expected that the Allies would undertake a general offensive on many fronts as soon as the weather and the ground became favorable for the movement of troops. If, therefore, Verdun could hold out until



TRENCHES AT VERDUN

guns. When circumstances demanded it, the French themselves would take the offensive, and were able repeatedly to throw back the Germans with heavy losses.

By the beginning of April, after five weeks of continuous attack, the Germans had succeeded in virtually destroying the little town of Verdun, but they had reached the main French defenses in only a few places, and had not yet seriously threatened them. It was the general opinion among the Allies and in neutral

about the 1st of May, it would be safe, for the Germans would have urgent need of much of their artillery and many of their troops elsewhere. Unwillingness to confess defeat and the desire to bring prestige to the Crown Prince, however, led them to persist long after it had become apparent that the attack upon Verdun had been a military blunder.

The Germans had undoubtedly hoped that by concentrating such a tremendous attack upon Verdun they could quickly

fracture the French lines as they had those of the Russians in Galicia and elsewhere. But the magnificent defense foiled their expectations, and once more French valor and skill were equal to the task of holding the foe in check.

At the beginning of the attack, the German press had unanimously predicted an early victory. After the taking of Ft. Douaumont, one paper declared that this success, "which breaks the circle of forts

to take Verdun-at all and that any such statement was a malevolent and perfidious invention of the French. The Staff had only attacked at that point in order to prevent the general offensive for which the French were making ready." On the other hand, the Allies tended to exaggerate the German losses. These losses were unquestionably heavy, yet much of the German work was done with artillery, and the figures of German casualties



MOVING UP A FRENCH GUN

at its most vulnerable point, makes it possible to predict the speedy fall of the fortress itself." But as time passed and Verdun did not fall, the German newspapers found it necessary to exhort the public to be patient. The military critics explained to their readers that the delay had been foreseen by the High Command and was really intentional. "Days lengthened into weeks and the fortress still stood; so the press faced about, gravely affirming that the General Staff had never *really* meant

appearing in Allied newspapers went far beyond the facts.

Meanwhile, the British had taken over about fifty miles more of line in the west, thus relieving large French forces for use elsewhere; and, in the middle of April, the world was surprised by the announcement that Russian troops had been landed at Marseilles and that they were fore-runners of a force of a quarter of a million. It was stated that Russia had more troops than she could supply with munitions

and that she had therefore decided to send these to a quarter whence they could be supplied by French and British factories.

Even before the Russians arrived, it was certain that should the Germans succeed in breaking through at Verdun, they would find numerically superior forces confronting them. No military critic seriously thought that the Germans had a chance to fight their way through to Paris. What virtually the whole of the German army could not do in September, 1914, when the French had the assistance of less than a hundred thousand British, had become an impossibility now that there were a million British troops in France, to say nothing of the Russian forces.

Yet, though repulsed, the German losses around Verdun were not wholly in vain. The French, too, had suffered greatly and had been compelled to expend great quantities of the valuable ammunition and shells they had been piling up for offensive efforts. It is possible, also, that the drive had prevented the sending of French and British troops to the Eastern Fronts and thus somewhat disorganized the Allied plan of campaign.

At all events, the Verdun drive, lasting as it did through a period of months, was not only the greatest cannonade the world had yet witnessed, but also, up to that time, the greatest and bloodiest battle. The losses on both sides amounted probably to almost, if not quite, four hundred thousand men.

As the German effort against Verdun languished, the Germans began a series of ventures designed to distract attention from the probable failure and to bewilder their enemies, as they had done so successfully in the spring of 1915. Late in April and early in May, they launched aerial raids against British and French towns and sent a squadron of warships to bombard Lowestoft on the east coast of England. In less than a week, however, they lost three Zeppelins in aerial ventures, while the bombardment of Lowestoft caused comparatively little damage.

More notable was an attempt to raise Ireland in rebellion. A pro-German inde-

pendence party existed in that island, though most of the Irish leaders, like John Redmond, were supporting the war. Great latitude was allowed the malcontents, and, thanks to this laxity, a small faction of extreme radicals known as Sinn Feiners arranged an uprising, which was to have German support. Late in April, a German vessel flying the Norwegian flag and accompanied by a submarine attempted to land arms in Ireland, but the vessel was seized and was sunk by her own crew. Sir Roger Casement, an Irishman formerly in the British consular service, attempted to land from the submarine, but was captured and was taken to London.

On the day after Easter, about the time that Casement's capture became known, the Sinn Feiners rose in several localities. By far the most important of these uprisings took place in the city of Dublin. In the absence of any adequate force to oppose them, the rebels managed to seize the post-office and a considerable part of the city, and proclaimed a "Republic," with P. H. Pearce and James Connolly as provisional "President" and "Commander in Chief." The uprising received little active support among the people; while John Redmond, the Irish Parliamentary leader, denounced it as an "insane movement," whose only important result would be to imperil the triumph of Home Rule. The rebellion had, of course, not the slightest chance of success. Troops in overwhelming numbers were rushed to Dublin, and, after about a week of sharp fighting in which over a thousand persons, many of them non-combatants, were killed or wounded, the rebels surrendered. Meanwhile, small uprisings elsewhere were put down.

More than a dozen of the leaders of the uprising were condemned to death by court-martial and were shot, while others received prison sentences. Sir Roger Casement was tried for treason, was convicted, and was hanged.

Meanwhile, the curtain was slowly rising upon the campaigns that were to make 1916 forever memorable in the history of

warfare. It was probable that the coming months would witness bitter fighting on every front, but it seemed certain that the most stupendous conflict of all would be in the west. France and Great Britain were concentrating enormous forces there, both in men and guns, and even Russians, Canadians, and Australasians were being transported thither in large numbers.

On the last day of May, the main battle fleets of Great Britain and Germany met

seventy miles to southward, and consisted of six battle cruisers, four swift dreadnoughts of the *Queen Elizabeth* class, and many smaller craft. It was commanded by Vice Admiral Beatty.

About 2:20 in the afternoon, one of Beatty's light cruisers, the *Galatea*, reported smoke on the horizon to eastward and steamed in that direction to investigate, the rest of the squadron following. About an hour later, the *Galatea* and other small



GERMAN PRISONERS TAKEN AT HILL 304, VERDUN

for the first time in action. The German fleet, according to the official German report, had left port "on a mission to the northward," but what that mission was the report did not disclose. Meanwhile, two British fleets were cruising in the same waters. One of these, the main fighting force, was near the middle of the North Sea. It consisted of about a score of dreadnoughts, besides cruisers and destroyers, and was under the immediate command of Admiral Jellicoe. The other was about

craft met and engaged a similar force of German vessels, and presently some of the British vessels made out a squadron of five German battle cruisers. This squadron, it is now known, was commanded by Vice Admiral von Hipper, and it formed the advance guard of the main German High Seas Fleet under Admiral von Scheer. This main body was about sixty miles to southward, and it contained about sixteen dreadnoughts, besides smaller craft.

Vice Admiral Beatty hurriedly attacked with his six giant battle cruisers and turned to the southeastward in the hope of cutting off the German squadron from its base. The German squadron changed its course correspondingly, and the two squadrons were presently running on nearly parallel but somewhat converging courses. A little before four o'clock, both sides opened fire, the range being

or had been destroyed by some new and diabolical device. By the two disasters more than a thousand men lost their lives, while the British navy was diminished by about forty-six thousand tons.

The Germans now had five battle cruisers to Beatty's four, but Beatty's four swift dreadnoughts, under Rear Admiral Thomas, came up most opportunely and joined in the battle. Their powerful long-range guns much more than restored the balance. The German ships received fearful punishment, and the destruction of some or all of them would doubtless have followed had not the main German fleet under Admiral von Hipper appeared in sight. Beatty thereupon gave up the chase and turned northward in the direction of Jellicoe's immense fleet of dreadnoughts. Beatty hoped to draw the whole German fleet after him, and he succeeded. He had informed Jellicoe by wireless of what was transpiring, and the whole of Jellicoe's monster fleet was steaming southward as fast as steam would drive it.

The British battle cruisers were swifter than those of the Germans, while their dreadnoughts had the same advantage over the German dreadnoughts. Beatty was able, therefore, practically to choose his distance, and was able to repay some of the damage he had sustained. Von Hipper's flagship, the immense *Luetzow*, of 28,000 tons, received such injuries that he was forced to transfer his flag to the *Moltke*, and the

Luetzow ultimately went down.

A little before six o'clock, Jellicoe's fleet was sighted by Beatty's cruisers. At 6:20, Rear Admiral Hood's Third Battle Cruiser Squadron, which was in advance of the main battle fleet, entered the engagement and approached within 8,000 yards of the leading German ships. Admiral Hood's flagship, the *Invincible*, of 17,250 tons, one of the participants in the Falkland Island Battle, was sunk by a heavy shell, and only six of the 750 men were



ADMIRAL VON SCHEER

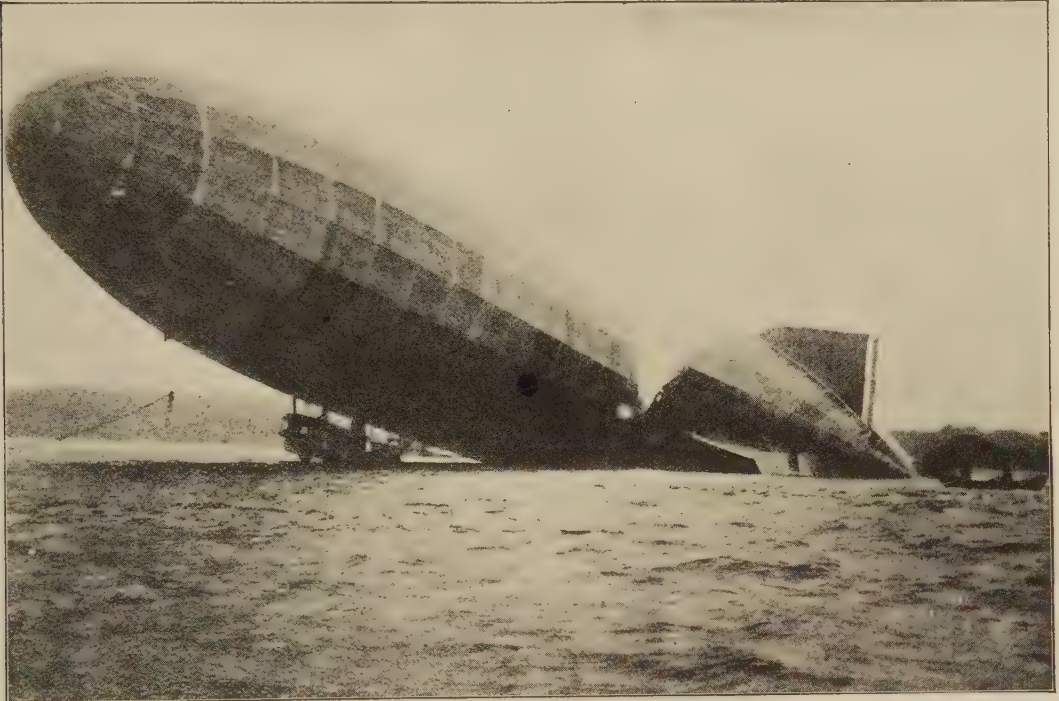
then approximately nine miles. For some time, the battle continued without notable incident when suddenly the great British battle cruiser *Indefatigable* blew up and disappeared. Shortly afterward the superb *Queen Mary* likewise blew up in a great burst of smoke and flame. Exactly what happened to these immense ships was not disclosed; the world at large was left in ignorance as to whether they had been struck by torpedoes from submarines, had been hit in their magazines by shells,

saved. Others of his squadron met a similar fate. It is supposed that Hood was unaware that he was so close to the heavier German vessels.

At this juncture, however, the British Grand Fleet came into action. The British, at last, had what they had for many months been longing for: they had the German fleet out on the high sea. But unfortunately the sun was sinking and an evening mist created a state of "low visibility," what light there was being mainly

British fleet so badly that what remained could be overcome by gun fire. The sea was streaked by the wakes of scores of torpedoes, but the German destroyers were met midway by the British destroyers, while the larger British ships sheered off and thus avoided the danger.

Though the torpedo attack failed in its great object, it, nevertheless, probably saved the German fleet. The attack won for the sorely endangered Germans a short respite of time until darkness settled



GERMAN ZEPPELIN BROUGHT DOWN IN NORTH SEA

in favor of the Germans, as they were facing the sunset. Had a few hours of daylight remained, there can be little question that in view of the great British superiority, very few of the German ships would have ever again reached a home port. As it was, the German fleet "crumpled" and lost some of their vessels. Realizing his peril, Admiral von Scheer sent his destroyers against the enemy, and all the German vessels near the front launched torpedoes at the enemy. This was an act the Germans had often rehearsed, and they had hoped in this way to cripple the

down. Thereafter, confused fighting took place between the larger vessels, while from both sides destroyers made desperate dashes in the hope of using torpedoes to advantage against the enemy's capital ships. The British fleet worked its way round the flank of the German fleet and managed, it was supposed, to get between the Germans and their home port. Jellicoe and Beatty expected in the morning to renew the engagement and destroy their enemy, but in some way the Germans slipped past the British and made good their escape. After searching the sea for a time,

the British turned homeward and, on the following day, reached port.

Both sides claimed a victory. The British admitted a loss of three battle cruisers, three armored cruisers, and eight destroyers, with a total tonnage of 114,110. The Germans, at first, denied having lost any vessels of much consequence, but finally admitted the loss of the battle cruiser, *Luetzow*, of 27,500 tons, of the small battleship, *Pommern*, of four light cruisers,

that managed to escape reached port in a badly battered condition.

The end of the battered *Luetzow* was thus described by a German sailor:

"The *Luetzow* was now a complete wreck. Corpses drifted past. From the bows up to the first 30-centimeter gun turret the ship lay submerged. The other gun turrets were completely disabled, with the guns sticking out in all directions. On deck lay the bodies of the sailors in



GERMAN CRUISER "SEYDLITZ"

and five destroyers, with a total tonnage of 63,015. The British declared that the German losses were much heavier. The Kaiser issued a vainglorious statement claiming a great victory, while German newspapers asserted that British naval supremacy was destroyed. In reality, however, the next year showed that the British command of the sea was fully as complete as before, and the fact that the German fleet did not seek to renew the battle seemed to indicate that the German ships

their torn uniforms, in the midst of the empty shell cases. From the masts fluttered torn flags, twisted signal lines, and pieces of wire of the wireless installation. Had not the lookout man and the three officers on the commander's bridge given signs of life, the *Luetzow* would have truly resembled a ship of the dead. Below, on the battery deck and in the coal bunkers, there still lay innumerable wounded, but there was no longer a doctor to attend to them.

"Night came on and hope was entertained of getting away without a further encounter. But at 3 o'clock in the night news of the approach of two British cruisers and five destroyers was received and just at that critical time the fore and middle bulkheads gave way.

"Orders were given quickly to carry the wounded to the stern. Then the order rings out: 'All hands muster in division order abaft.' A tumult arises on the lower deck, for everybody is now bent on saving his life. It is impossible in that short space of time to bring up all the wounded, for they are scattered everywhere. Eighteen men had the good fortune to be carried up, but all the rest who could not walk or crawl had to be left behind.

"The twenty-seven men shut up in the Diesel dynamo chamber had heard the order through the speaking tube, for many, mad with anguish, screamed through the tube for help, and it was learned that two of their number lay bound because they had become insane. Inspired by their sense of duty, these sealed-up men had continued to carry on their work in order to provide the ship with light.

"The torpedo boats now quickly took off the crew of the *Luetzow*, and those left behind were doomed to death. It was resolved that no piece of the vessel should fall into the enemy's hands. An order was given and a torpedo cleft the waters. Just then seven men were to be seen running like madmen round the rear deck. Over-fatigued as they were, they had apparently dropped off to sleep and only just awakened. As the torpedo exploded, the *Luetzow's* bow quickly dipped, and the stern rose until she stood on end. Then she heeled over and sank, forming a great whirlpool that carried everything within it into the depths.

"When the roll was called it appeared that there were 1,003 survivors of the *Luetzow*; 597 men had perished in the battle."

According to figures published by the *London Times* at the end of the war, the British forces in the battle consisted of 24 dreadnoughts, 10 attached cruisers, 8 battle cruisers, 12 light cruisers, 8 vessels of the First and Second Cruiser Squadrons,

6 vessels of the light cruiser squadron, and 78 destroyers. Many of these ships did not fire a shot. The German force included 21 battleships, some of them pre-dreadnoughts, 16 cruisers, and 77 destroyers. The total German casualties in the battle in killed or missing were 2,414, in wounded, 449; those of the British were considerably greater.

After the close of the war facts came to light which indicated that the number of German vessels sunk was approximately the number officially reported. However, several of their vessels left the battle in an almost helpless condition. For example, the great dreadnought *Koenig* was hit 15 times in all. Five shells struck her main belt in the region of the water line, denting but not penetrating. There were two other direct hits on the main belt, which caused damage but did not necessitate new plates. As a result of hits by two shells, the four compartments forward of the first turret were flooded above the protective deck. The ship went down by the head until the forecastle was only 6½ feet above water and it was found impossible to effect temporary repairs or pump the water out. The crew of one of the torpedo tubes were imprisoned in their flat and could not be extricated until June 5, when the ship was put in dry dock. Meanwhile, they were fed through the speaking tube. However, the *Koenig* was repaired and rejoined the High Sea Fleet about the middle of August.

The battle cruiser, *Seydlitz*, of 25,000 tons, was hit by 28 shells and one torpedo. The men's quarters forward were flooded with water but the vessel managed to stay in the line and to keep up a fire from her forward turret until 7 p. m. She was penetrated by several shells and the foreturret was put out of action. The magazine had to be flooded at once to prevent an explosion. All the crew of both turret and magazine were killed except three or four. The right gun of the starboard turret was put out of action and the electric training gear destroyed so that the turret had to be laboriously turned by hand. Another shell struck

the after-turret. Though badly battered, the *Seydlitz* managed to get back to port.

The truth is that more British ships than German ships were sunk. Yet the battle was a British victory. Even while publishing news of victory and encouraging their people to believe that the British had lost the supremacy of the seas, the German High Command realized that they had been defeated. Their failure in the next two years and a half again to challenge

of their energies upon U-boats, and the above-water fleet was neglected. Meanwhile, the British added dreadnought after dreadnought to their fleet, and, during the last year of the war, had the aid of American dreadnoughts. Thus the odds became more and more uneven. The fact is that the Germans would have had more of a chance of winning had they elected to fight in the early weeks of the war. So long, however, as the German fleet



GERMAN DESTROYER SINKING AT BATTLE OF JUTLAND

the British fleet to action conclusively settles this point. After the armistice was signed, German naval officers confessed that the battle caused the German crews to realize that their fleet was out-classed. Before the encounter, the sailors would have welcomed with cheers the order to go out and fight; thereafter such an order would probably have provoked a mutiny—and in the end did so. After the Jutland Battle, the German naval authorities concentrated more and more

remained in being, it constituted a serious menace to the Allies and rendered necessary constant watchfulness on their part. The Germans well understood the advantage of this fact and were careful not to take any risk of losing it. Furthermore, the War Lords always sought to bolster up the hopes of their people by pretending that some day the fleet would issue from its lair and win command of the seas.

Admiral Jellicoe's book, published after the war, reveals many interesting facts

which the British deemed it proper discreetly to veil at the time. The loss of the *Queen Mary*, the *Indefatigable*, and other ships was due to armor-piercing shells setting off magazines. The German long range, high-angle fire proved particularly effective, and the British experience in this and other battles showed conclusively that their battle cruisers were not heavily enough armored, particularly about the decks. Although the German guns were of smaller calibre than those of the British, they had a very flat trajectory and, furthermore, could be elevated several degrees more than those of the British. The Germans had practiced shooting at extremely long ranges, and made exceedingly good practice in the long-distance duel with the British battle cruisers. The German heavy shells plunged through the poorly protected decks of the British ships and wrought great havoc. This defect in the construction of their ships the British made haste to remedy after the battle. Admiral Jellicoe says:

"The relative values of protection and gun power had frequently engaged my serious attention. It was also a subject of much discussion among writers on naval matters, some of whom went to the length of suggesting that all available weight should be put into gun power, and that ships should be left practically without armor. Their views were based on the argument that the best defense is a powerful offensive. Although this argument is very true when applied to strategy, the war has shown its fallacy as applied to matériel. The loss of the *Good Hope*, *Monmouth*, *Queen Mary*, *Indefatigable*, *Invincible*, *Defense*, and *Warrior*, and the considerations to which these losses gave rise, convinced naval officers afloat, even if they did not convince others less intimately associated with the fleet during the war, that ships with inadequate defensive qualities are no match for those which possess them to a considerably greater degree, even if the former are superior in gun power. The conviction was strengthened by the knowledge which we had obtained that German ships, far

more frequently hit by gun fire, torpedo, or mine than many of our ships that sank, were yet taken safely into port owing partly to their defensive qualities, but partly to the limitations of our armor-piercing shell at that time....A point of considerable interest which should also be mentioned because it was to prove important, was that the Germans possessed a delay-action fuse, which, combined with a highly efficient, armor-piercing projectile, ensured the burst of shell taking place inside the armor of British ships instead of outside, or while passing through the armor, which was the case with British shells of that date fired against the thick German armor."

It seems to be beyond question that German warships were generally capable of standing more punishment without sinking than was the case with the British ships. This fact is noticeable not only in the Battle of Jutland but in other encounters. In the conflict of the Falkland Islands the *Gneisenau* and *Scharnhorst* were battered for hours before they sank. In running fight between the battle cruiser squadrons in January, 1915, the *Blücher* was hit scores of times but did not go to the bottom until after she had been torpedoed. The *Goeben*, in Turkish waters, was repeatedly hit by shells, was mined and also bombed, yet, though once beached, she remained afloat till the end of the war. This, in part, was due to the lack of effectiveness of the British shells but still more to better German armor and construction.

In his book Admiral Jellicoe bluntly admits that his reason for not forcing the fighting after nightfall was because he deemed the risk too great. He says:

"The greater efficiency of German searchlights at the time of the Jutland action, and the greater number of torpedo tubes put in enemy ships, combined with superiority in destroyers, would, I knew, give the Germans the opportunity of scoring heavily at the commencement of such an action."

One of the many brave deeds of this battle is thus described by Admiral Jellicoe:

"The attack of the British destroyers was carried out with great gallantry and

determination, and having frustrated Germany's torpedo attack on the 3d Battle Cruiser Squadron, Commander Loftus Jones turned his division to regain his position on our battle cruisers. At this moment three German vessels came into sight out of the mist and opened a heavy fire, further disabling the *Shark* and causing many casualties on board; Commander Loftus Jones was among those wounded. Lieutenant Commander J. O. Barron, commanding the *Acasta*, came to the assistance of the *Shark*, but Commander

was now wounded again, his right leg being taken off by a shell; but he still continued to direct the fire, until the condition of the *Shark* and the approach of German destroyers made it probable that the ship would fall into the hands of the enemy, when he gave orders for her to be sunk, countermanding this order shortly afterward on realizing that her remaining gun could still be brought into play. Shortly afterward she was hit by two torpedoes and sank with her colors flying. Only six survivors were



BRITISH BATTLESHIP QUEEN MARY

Loftus Jones refused to imperil a second destroyer, and directed the *Acasta* to leave him. The *Shark* then became the target for the German ships and destroyers. Commander Loftus Jones, who was assisting to keep the only undamaged gun in action, ordered the last torpedo to be placed in the tube and fired, but while this was being done the torpedo was hit by a shell and exploded, causing many casualties. Those gallant officers and men in the *Shark* who still survived continued to fight with the only gun left in action, the greatest heroism being exhibited. The captain

picked up the next morning by a Danish steamer."

Naval critics did not hesitate to praise the Germans for the damage they managed to inflict upon a superior force and for their success in escaping from a dangerous situation. In many quarters it was felt that the British had hardly made the most of their opportunity; that they had failed to justify expectations roused by the traditions of a glorious past. Defenders of the British contended that only a combination of bad weather, failing light, and ill luck had prevented a complete victory.

An American journalist who was in Germany at the time says that the early German successes before Verdun had aroused great hopes. When Fort Douaumont was captured, food troubles were forgotten. "The bells rang, the flags were unfurled, faces brightened, crowds gathered before the maps and discussed the early fall of Verdun and the collapse of France." But the magnificent French stand and the checking of the German

pennants and flags; on every trolley pole fluttered a pennant of red, white, and black. Even the ancient horse 'buses rattled through the streets with the flags of Germany and her allies on each corner of the roof. The newspapers screamed headlines of triumph, nobody could settle down to business, the faces one saw were wreathed in smiles, complaining was forgotten, the assurance of final victory was in the very air. Unter den Linden, the decorations on



GERMAN CRUISER SINKING

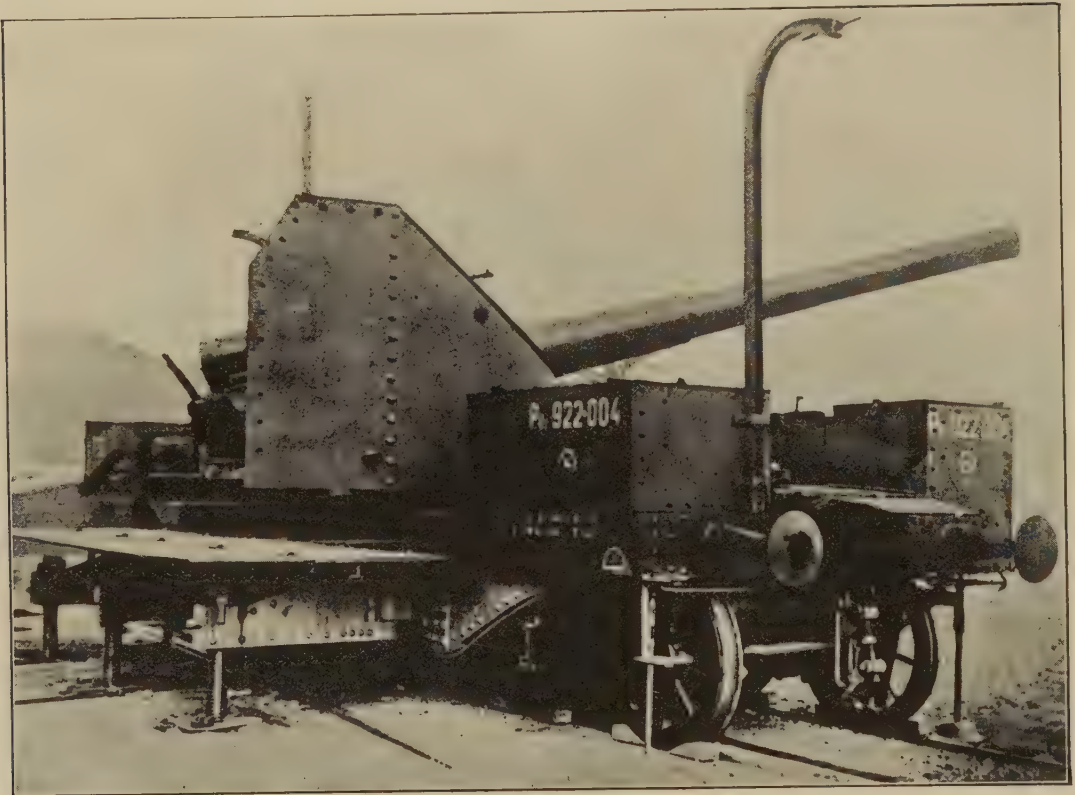
advance produced depression in the fatherland. Hopes leaped high again over the Jutland Battle, which the first German reports represented as being the greatest naval victory in history. Says the correspondent:

"On the third day of the celebration, Saturday, June 3, I rode in a tram from Wilmersdorf, a suburb of Berlin, to the heart of the city through miles of streets flaring with a solid mass of color. From nearly every window and balcony hung

which were so thick that in many cases they screened the buildings from which they hung, was particularly happy. Knots of excited men stood discussing the defeat of the British Fleet. Two American friends and I went from the street of happy and confident talk into the Zollernhof restaurant. With the din of the celebration over the 'lifting of the blockade' ringing in our ears from the street, we looked on the bill of fare, and there, for the first time, we saw *boiled crow*."

Although it was not a fight to the finish, the battle, judged by the power and variety of the fleets engaged, was the most stupendous ever seen. The two fleets united could easily have destroyed all the other warships in existence and all the other warcraft since the beginning of time. It has been estimated that the total cost of the battle, including ammunition expended and ships damaged or sunk, was approximately two hundred million dollars.

authorities. The weather was stormy, with rain, and a high sea was running. Near eight o'clock, when the *Hampshire* was about two miles off the coast of one of the Orkneys, she struck a mine, and, within twenty minutes, she sank with a loss of over three hundred lives. The disaster was witnessed from shore, and, for a considerable time, it was thought that there were no survivors, but two days later eleven men managed, after being buffeted by the sea for forty-eight hours,



ITALIAN ARMORED TRAIN

Seven days after the Battle of Jutland or Horn Reef, as the great sea fight has been variously called, a startling disaster befell the British nation. Late in the afternoon of the 7th of June, the old cruiser *Hampshire* took on board, near the most northern point of Scotland, Lord Kitchener, Secretary of State for War, and a number of other gentlemen of note. Lord Kitchener and those who accompanied him were on their way to Russia to hold a council with the Russian

to reach land. Lord Kitchener was not among them, nor was his body ever found. His tragic fate made a profound impression not only in Great Britain but throughout the world. Opinions differed as to the seriousness of the loss; some contended that his place could not be filled, while others asserted that his great work was already done, and that his passing would have little influence on the course of the war. On the 13th of June, a great memorial service, attended by the King

and Queen and most of the other high dignitaries of the realm, was held at St. Paul's Cathedral, and similar services were held in many other places throughout the empire. Steps were taken to commemorate his services in more durable form, but his most fitting monument was the great new British army which was his creation and which was soon to enter upon a glorious career of victory.

For a long time there was much mystery regarding Kitchener's fate. Rumors long persisted in England that he was still alive. Some said he was in Russia commanding the Russian armies. Others believed that there were traitors in the War Office who knew his plan of departure and had managed to have a time bomb placed on the *Hampshire*. Admiral Jellicoe says in his book: "Between 7:30 and 7:45 p. m. the *Hampshire* struck a mine about one and one-half miles off shore, between the Brough of Bairsay and Marwick Head; she sank in fifteen minutes, bows first.... There was at first doubt in the minds of some people as to whether the loss of the *Hampshire* was due to a mine or a submarine, but these doubts were set at rest by the sweeping operations which were undertaken as soon as the weather permitted. They resulted in the discovery of moored mines of the type laid in southern waters by enemy submarines, these mines being easily distinguishable from those laid by surface vessels."

Meanwhile, Austria-Hungary had aimed a great blow at Italy. The point chosen for attack was the Trentino, and the object of the "drive" was not only to relieve the city of Trent, which was threatened by the Italians, but to break through to the rich plains of Lombardy, capture Milan and Venice, and envelop the Italian forces on the Gorizia front in one vast, cataclysmic disaster. For months the Dual Monarchy had been massing hundreds of thousands of troops between the Adige and Brenta Rivers and had brought thither about two thousand cannons, many of them of the heaviest calibre.

Toward the middle of May, the Austrians began a terrific bombardment of

the Italian positions on this front, and, on the 15th, great masses of infantry were hurled at the positions between the Adige and the upper Astico. The Italians fought bravely and were aided by the mountainous character of the region, but their fortifications had been wrecked by the bombardment, and they were forced to fall back, leaving about 2,500 of their number prisoners. The Austrians followed up their



GENERAL BRUSILOV

success systematically, moving forward their artillery, striking now here, now there, and every day gaining ground and reaping a harvest of prisoners and guns. On the 18th, for the first time since the outbreak of hostilities, the Austrians forced their way over the frontier to Italian soil and established themselves on a ridge of the Monte Baldo in the Lago di Garda region. By the end of May, the drive had not only netted considerable territory but over thirty thousand prisoners and between

two and three hundred cannons. The objects of the great campaign seemed in a fair way to be realized, and the progress of the Austrian offensive aroused grave apprehensions in Rome and the other Allied capitals.

At this critical moment, the Russians once more came forward to relieve their hard pressed Allies in the west. Back in March, the Russians had attacked the Germans vigorously along the front

and had dangerously weakened their forces in that region. It would seem that the belief in Teutonic councils was that the Russians had been so weakened by their defeats of the previous years as to be incapable of launching a formidable offensive. How mistaken this view was, events were soon to show.

On the 2d and 3d of June, the Russian guns heavily bombarded much of the whole southern half of the Eastern Front,



AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN HEAVY ARTILLERY OPPOSING THE RUSSIANS

from the Pinsk Marshes to the Baltic Sea, with the object of relieving the pressure upon Verdun, and had lost many thousands of men without gaining any considerable advantages. They now aimed their blow at the Teutonic forces in Galicia and Volhynia. The offensive was planned and directed by an officer of much ability, General Brussilov.

Circumstances favored the Russian attack. In preparing for the drive in the Trentino, the Austrians had drawn heavily from their Eastern Front for men and guns

and so great was the activity that the Austrian official statement said: "Everywhere there are signs of an impending infantry attack." On the next day, the Russians dashed forward furiously along a front of three hundred miles. Before doing so they resorted to a stratagem. At an appointed moment their guns ceased firing, and the Austrian reserves, thinking that the assault was about to begin, hurried to the front lines, whereupon the Muscovite guns reopened fire and inflicted great carnage among the crowded ranks of the

enemy. Again the firing ceased, and the Russian "waves" charged in earnest.

The Teutonic front was defended by line after line of intrenchments, with networks of barbed wire in front, but in many places nothing availed to stop the onward rush of the brave Russians. Before the day closed, the assailants had taken thirteen thousand prisoners and many cannon and machine guns, and had effected irreparable breaches in the line.

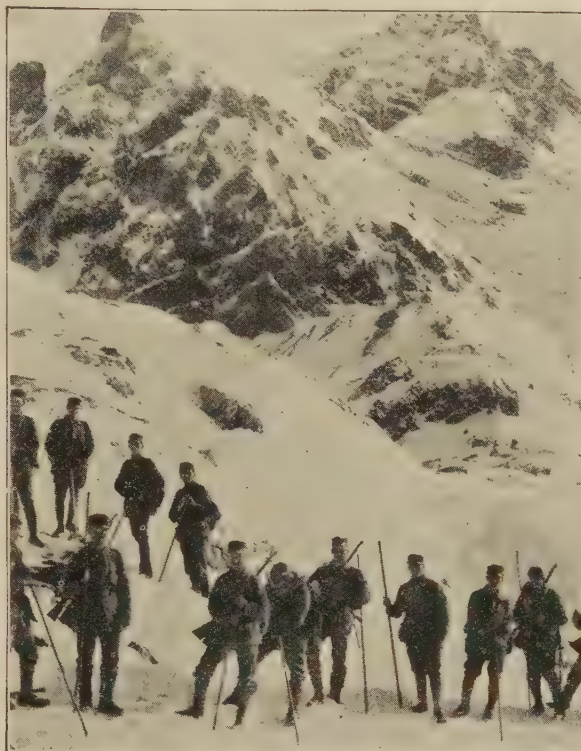
Pushing on with the greatest energy, the Russians, by the end of the next day, had increased the number of captives to twenty-five thousand. In many places the Russians were repulsed with sanguinary losses, but they refused to accept defeat and again and again rushed to the charge, while at other places the assailants, dashing through breaches in the far-flung battle line, made retreat inevitable.

Having weakened their eastern line in order to obtain men and guns for the drives against the French and Italians, the Teutons had not the reserves available to stay the Slavic flood. On the 7th, the great fortress of Lutsk fell with over ten thousand prisoners. Three days later, the town and fortress of Dubno again passed into Russian hands. The whole Austrian line in the east had now crumbled, and the Russians had captured over a hundred thousand men, and nearly two hundred guns and trench mortars.

Meanwhile, the Russian horde pushed into Bukowina, which was presently reconquered, and moved triumphantly westward over the plains of Galicia. In order to effect a diversion in favor of their hard pressed ally, the Germans threw reinforcements to the region of Kovel and also assailed the northern Russian line at various places, but the Germans also had weakened their eastern line in order to feed the fiery furnace at Verdun, and, for a considerable time, they were unable to accomplish much toward staying the disaster. Terrific fighting, in which first

one and then the other army attempted the aggressive, took place around Baranovitchy and other places north of the Pinsk Marshes, but no notable progress was made in this sector by either the Russians or the Germans.

Problems of transport slowed down the Russian advance against Austria, yet still the Bear pressed forward. Czernovitch, the capital of Bukowina, was captured in the middle of June, but most of the Austrian



AUSTRIANS IN THE CARPATHIANS

army in that region managed to escape beyond the Carpathians. By the end of June, the Russian captures totalled about two hundred and seventeen thousand men, more than two hundred cannons, and immense stores of all kinds; and Austrian power was threatened with complete collapse.

The main Russian objectives now became Lemberg and Kovel. The last of these is a great railway center, and its capture would have necessitated a German retreat along the whole northern portion

of the Eastern Front. Realizing the vital need of checking the Russian avalanche, the Germans drew forces from the Western Front and from all parts of their empire, and brought Turkish and Bulgarian forces to help perform the great task. The whole Austrian line was stiffened by sending German forces thither, and the management of affairs was taken over by German generals. Vast numbers of men and guns were concentrated for the defense of Kovel, and for many weeks some of the fiercest fighting of the war took place in that region. Both sides won considerable local successes, but ultimately the Russian drive was brought to a pause, with Lemberg and Kovel still in Teutonic hands.

General Brussilov's offensive had, however, been one of the great outstanding features of the war. It had resulted in the capture of over four hundred thousand prisoners, the killing and wounding of many hundreds of thousands more, the recovery of much Russian territory, and the reconquest of Bukowina and part of Austrian Galicia. The Austrian drive against Italy had been foiled, the pressure on Verdun partly relieved, while the German boast that Russia had been "put out" of the conflict by the campaign of 1915 was shown to be a hollow one.

During the first week in June, the Austrian drive against Italy continued to gain ground and prisoners, but the disasters on the Eastern Front forced the Austrian commanders to detach large forces from the west to meet the irruption of the Russians. The Italians at once took the offensive, and soon managed to regain most of the ground that had been lost. A terrible danger for Italy had been averted.

Meanwhile, the Italians had been steadily pounding away on their Eastern Front against the almost impregnable Austrian fortifications between the Alps and the Adriatic. Early in August, the Italians launched here the most powerful attack they had yet made, and, after terrific fighting, captured Gorizia, with fifteen thousand prisoners, and vast booty in guns and munitions. For a time, partisans

of the Allies hoped that the Italians would be able to sweep on to Trieste, hurl back the Austrian armies, and open the way for a great invasion of the Dual Monarchy, but the Austrian defenses proved too strong, and a state of deadlock was again reached.

The Russian offensive in Volhynia, Galicia, and Bukowina sufficed to relieve the pressure against Italy, but it did not bring to an end the drive against Verdun. The Germans had announced so loudly the certain capture of Verdun, and the military prestige of the Crown Prince was so closely involved with the outcome of the great drive, that the Kaiser and his advisers persisted in the great effort long after prudence dictated that it should be given up.

Through April, May, June, and even during a part of July, the stupendous, bloody drive was kept up. The roar of great guns was almost incessant. Forests were swept flat by shell fire, and even the tops of mighty hills were blown off by the never ceasing hail of projectiles.

In this period, much of the German effort was devoted to attacks west of the Meuse. Here, as elsewhere, they made some progress, for the French policy continued to be to yield a position when its retention bade fair to be too costly, but the moment the Germans occupied the position they would be subjected to a terrific fire from the French guns. For weeks terrible fighting took place on and around the slopes of Le Mort Homme (Dead Man's Hill), and tens of thousands of brave men yielded up their lives in the struggle for its possession.

On both sides of the river the French executed frequent counter-attacks. On the 22d of May, the French even succeeded in recapturing a part of Fort Douaumont, but, three days later, they were again ejected after a desperate, bloody struggle. On the 6th of June, the heroic garrison of Fort Vaux, after being cut off for a long time from communication with the rest of the French forces, surrendered. In recognition of his valor, its commander, Raynal, by order of General Joffre, was made a commander of the Legion of Honor.

On the 23d of June, with forces estimated at seventy to eighty thousand men, the Germans made a supreme effort to beat down resistance. The orders were to stop for nothing and to take the last of the French positions. The great wave of assailants captured Thiaumont and a few other positions but elsewhere were hurled back with frightful losses. The French retook the Thiaumont works on the 28th, lost them again the next day, retook them once more, lost them again. On the 12th of July, the Germans managed to reach the roads to Fleury and Vaux, and, a few days later, captured a position within a thousand yards of Fort Souville, the French key position, but they were still three miles from Verdun, and events elsewhere rendered it imperative for them to weaken their forces and cease their efforts.

The conflict thus brought to an end had been the most stupendous ever fought. Hundreds of thousands on either side had been killed or wounded, while the bombardments had far exceeded in intensity anything ever before known. "They shall not pass!" had been the watchword of the French defenders, and for five long and bitter months they had foiled the most powerful attacks ever launched up to that time in war. Verdun itself had been reduced to a heap of crumbling ruins, but above it the tricolor still waved defiant, triumphant. As long as time shall last, the defense of Verdun will stand with Thermopylæ as the last word in supreme heroism. For months the heart and conscience of Christendom hoped and prayed that the ruthless invader would be turned back; the hopes were fulfilled, the prayers were answered. The world rang with praises of French valor, and men in far away lands thanked God

that the land of Lafayette had risen to heights undreamed of even in a glorious past.

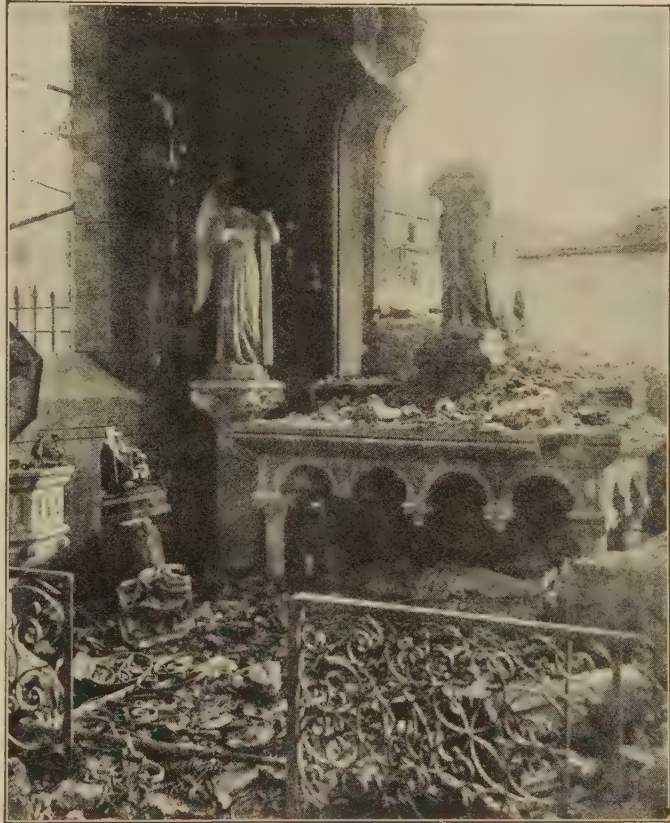
"Once more! The land of arms and arts,

Of glory, grace, romance,

Her love lies warm in all our hearts:

God bless her! *Vive la France!*"

When the attack on Verdun began, the world naturally expected the British to do something to relieve their hard pressed



A WRECKED ALTAR AND STATUE AT VERDUN

ally, and there was much criticism of British inaction. Three courses were open to Sir Douglas Haig, the British commander in chief. He might send reinforcements to Verdun, he might attack the German lines in front of his position, or he might take over portions of the line held by the French and thus relieve French troops for use at Verdun. The first course had many disadvantages, as it would have complicated the situation around Verdun, for the presence of two armies speaking different languages

and using different weapons and munitions would inevitably have produced confusion at critical times. The second course, that of attacking, was undesirable, for the new British army was not yet adequately trained or equipped with a sufficiency of heavy artillery and shells. No doubt the Germans hoped to force the British to undertake a premature offensive, being confident of their ability

British took the place of the oblong helmets of the French along the parapet; British soldiers were in billets in place of the French in the villages at the rear and British guns moved into French gun emplacements."

Meanwhile, however, preparations were hurried as rapidly as possible for a great offensive operation—a "drive" that was to dwarf even the German effort at Verdun. The place selected for the "push" was the



THE KAISER AND STAFF ON THE VERDUN FRONT

to beat it down with enormous losses. For this purpose they massed great forces on the British front and made other preparations to resist an advance. Nevertheless, General Haig offered to undertake such a movement, but wise and canny General Joffre told him to wait until better prepared. The two generals agreed that the third course was most desirable, so, "One morning in place of a French army in Artois a British army was in occupation. The round helmets of the

region of the Somme, where the French and British lines joined. The objects as subsequently summarized by General Haig were as follows: "(1) To relieve the pressure on Verdun. (2) To assist our Allies in the other theaters of war by stopping any further transfer of German troops from the Western Front. (3) To wear down the strength of the forces opposed to us." Neither the French nor the British high commands expected to win any great and sudden victory.

The preliminary preparations for such a movement were literally stupendous. Roads and railways had to be built with which to bring up troops and supplies. Vast stocks of ammunition, from rifle cartridges to immense shells, had to be accumulated within a convenient distance of the front. Trenches had to be constructed, dugouts provided, provisions accumulated, hospitals erected, gun emplacements prepared, telephone wires laid, heavy artillery brought up. Scores of wells were drilled or dug, over a hundred pumping plants were installed, more than a hundred and twenty miles of water mains were laid in order to provide an adequate supply of water for the hundreds of thousands of men and animals of the British army.

"Much of this preparatory work," says General Haig, "had to be done under very trying conditions, and was liable to constant interruption from the enemy's fire. The weather, on the whole, was bad, and the local accommodations totally insufficient for housing the troops employed, who consequently had to content themselves with such rude shelter as could be provided in the circumstances. All this labor, too, had to be carried out in addition to fighting and to the everyday work of maintaining existing defenses."

The German positions to be attacked were of a most formidable character, situated on a high, undulating tract of ground, which forms the watershed between the Somme on the one side and the rivers of southwestern Belgium on the other. They consisted of a series of lines, one behind the other, while villages and strong points were especially fortified. The Germans had occupied the region for almost two years and had spared no pains to

make their positions impregnable. The first and second lines consisted of a series of deep trenches, well provided with bomb-proof shelters far underground, while the front of the trenches of each system was protected by wire entanglements, many of them in two belts forty yards broad, built of iron stakes interlaced with barbed wire often nearly as thick as a man's finger. The trenches bristled with machine



GERMANS CONSTRUCTING TRENCHES ON THE SOMME

guns, and hundreds of cannons, from ordinary field pieces to immense howitzers, were installed in carefully prepared and concealed emplacements. The various systems of defense, with the fortified localities and other points of support between them, were cunningly sited to afford each other mutual assistance and insure the utmost possible development of enfilade fire. The exact distance to every given point was known to the last

meter by the German gunners, while captive balloons and aeroplanes watched the German fire and signaled whether or not it was striking the mark.

The British desired to postpone their attack as long as possible, for every day saw their men better trained and more artillery in place, but the pressure upon Verdun was so great that ultimately the 1st of July was set as the date for the beginning of the attack. Meanwhile, British and French aeroplanes flew over the German



CANADIAN RIFLE GRENADE THROWER

lines, studying the defenses and taking photographs to be used by their leaders. Scores of petty raids against the German trenches were also undertaken in the night time, to capture prisoners, study the defenses, and learn how effective the bombardment was proving against the barbed wire entanglements. These trench raids were an innovation introduced by the Canadians. They were usually carefully rehearsed beforehand by the men who had volunteered to participate in them, and dark, stormy nights were preferred for such enterprises. Stealthy as red

Indians, the raiders would creep through the darkness, crouching low when "flares" sent up by the Germans threatened to reveal their presence. Arrived at the front trenches, they would capture or kill those on guard, drop bombs into the dugouts where the enemy were sleeping, and would disappear before reinforcements came.

Never since the days of Xerxes had such a heterogeneous army been gathered as was now assembled under the Tricolor and the Union Jack to fight the Germans. In the French forces were troops from the East Indies, Arabs from Algeria and Morocco, negroes from Martinique, besides men from every province of France itself. General Haig commanded white men and Maoris from New Zealand, volunteers from Australia, men from the mountains of British Columbia and the plains of Peace River, Newfoundlanders, Nova Scotians, South Africans, Englishmen, Scots, Welsh, Irish—every nook and cranny of the vast Empire had sent its contingent. Even thousands of Yankees had enlisted to fight for civilization in the French and British forces, and one of the French flying corps was mainly made up of bold, gallant young Americans. Many Americans lost their lives, and among these was a young poet of much promise named Alan Seeger, a soldier in the French Foreign Legion, who foretold his doom in some of the most poignant lines in the

English language:

"I have a rendezvous with Death
At some disputed barricade,
When spring comes back with rustling
shade
And apple blossoms fill the air—
I have a rendezvous with Death
When spring brings back blue days
and fair.

And I to my pledged word am true
I shall not fail that rendezvous."

In his *Ode to the Memory of American Volunteers Fallen in France* he may be said to have written his own epitaph:

"And on those furthest rims of hal-
lowed ground
Where the forlorn, the gallant charge
expires,
Where the slain bugler has long
ceased to sound,
And on the tangled wires
The last wild rally staggers, crumbles,
stops,
Withered beneath the shrapnel's iron
showers—

On the 24th of June, a terrific bombard-
ment of the German lines was begun,
while, during the next week, poison gas
was discharged in more than forty places.
On the 25th, the British aeroplanes de-
stroyed nine of the German observation
balloons, using in the work a new form
of missile that proved exceedingly effective.
At 7:30 a. m. on the 1st of July, after
a final hour of exceptionally violent bom-
bardment, the British infantry moved



HEAVY HOWITZERS POUNDING THE GERMAN TRENCHES

Now heaven be thanked, we gave a
few brave drops,
Now heaven be thanked, a few brave
drops were ours."

Aye, heaven be thanked that, when
America still hesitated in an unnatural
and inglorious neutrality, some brave
Americans like Alan Seeger were bold
enough to strike in for humanity and
civilization and to "return the visit of
Lafayette!"

forward, while the French infantry ad-
vanced against German positions farther
south. Just prior to the attack, numerous
mines were exploded under the German
works, while smoke was discharged at
many places along the lines in order to
screen the attack. The German barrage
fire was very heavy in places, and numerous
machine guns that had survived the Allied
bombardment cut wide swaths in the
charging lines. Meanwhile, the Allied

guns kept up a tremendous fire over the heads of their infantry.

The French, being better trained and also less strongly opposed, carried the German front line everywhere, dug themselves in, and steadily smashed their way forward. In the course of ten days, they captured twelve thousand prisoners, eighty-five guns, and considerable other booty. On the British right similar success was

For months, the great battle thus begun continued. To meet the Allied attack the Germans brought up hundreds of thousands of men and thousands of guns, and, day and night, the cannon poured back and forth an unending stream of death. To pound ceaselessly was the Allied policy, and their offensive reminded the observer of the mighty blows of a gigantic steam hammer. Though the Ger-



FRENCH ARTILLERY USED IN BATTLE OF THE SOMME

won, but on their left the works were so strong that initial successes gained at some points could not be sustained. By the 6th of July, however, the British had captured nearly six thousand prisoners, had taken numerous heavily fortified villages and other strong points. French and British combined had established themselves in the German works on a front of about twenty miles and continued to push onward, the former toward Peronne, the latter toward Baupaulme.

mans would counter-attack, and sometimes recapture positions they had lost, they were slowly but irresistibly pushed back. With each success won, the Allies would bring forward their artillery and proceed to bombard the next strong point or line of trenches they desired to take. Scores and scores of times defenders met attackers in close personal combat, and hundreds of thousands of men fell dead and wounded, yet the conflict seemed more like a great enterprise in engineering than a battle.

Early in the great "push," the French and British managed to win control of the air, but, from time to time, this control was challenged and hundreds of aerial combats took place far above the heads of the contending armies. Both sides carried on aerial raids far behind the lines, in efforts to drop bombs on lines of communication, depots of munitions; and repeatedly French and British airmen swooped down close to earth and poured streams

ordinary field guns throwing shells of fifteen or eighteen pounds, six-, eight-, ten- and twelve-inch mortars, to immense fifteen-inch rifles. The last were usually mounted on railway trucks far behind the front lines, and it was not unusual for such guns to bombard lines of communication or other objectives many miles within the territory held by the enemy.

A French artillery observer detailed to watch the results of the bombardment



BRITISH AND FRENCH SOLDIERS CLEANING UP ON THE SOMME FRONT

of bullets into troop trains and columns of marching men.

The expenditure of shells exceeded anything the world had ever seen—even Verdun. The country for miles was transformed into a labyrinth of shell craters. Whole forests were swept down. Villages were transformed into heaps of pulverized stones and bricks. The artillery varied in size from small trench mortars used in the front lines and capable of firing only a few hundred yards, up through

of a certain German trench described what he saw as follows:

"At first there was a series of earth fountains along the trench line, followed by great cones of smoke, which slowly collected over the wood itself, until the latter was hidden. Through glasses I could see that whole sectors of trench had closed up, burying the defenders. Constantly human limbs and bodies were visible among the upthrown earth and débris. At intervals a gray-green form

would leap swiftly backward from the trenches, but the hazard from the incessant rain of steel fragments was too great, and gradually there grew a line of motionless bodies among the brushwood. I counted thirty-seven after three-quarters of an hour.

"After eighty minutes I signaled, 'trench demolished,' and the bombardment ceased. I would have defied any one to point out where the trench had been. There was nothing but a line of hollows, hillocks, and shell holes. As the smoke cleared, I saw how excellent had been the aim on the communication trenches. Two open roads, each twenty feet wide, had been blasted through the wood. It was only the bodies, lying thick along both, that showed they had indeed been communication trenches.

"I continued to watch. Here and there a wounded wretch dragged himself painfully amid the tree stumps. Perhaps a few survived in the deepest dugouts, but as a practical unit the half battalion had ceased to exist. And, remember, that was a tiny sector. Add the total of such cases along the whole front, and you will realize why our victory is certain."

By furious attacks on the 14th and 15th of July, the British captured numerous German prisoners and many guns and pushed their line forward in places. The French also continued to move forward. Trench after trench and strong point after strong point were wrested from the Germans, while the advantages in the kind of ground held became less and less in their favor. On both sides new organizations were being constantly sent in to relieve battered and worn out forces. As time passed, it was noticed that the old German enthusiasm for fighting was visibly abating. In the early phases of the war, when they had enjoyed great superiority in artillery and shells they found much joy in battering their enemies to pulp from comparatively safe distances. Now the shoe was on the other foot, now it was the Allies who were superior in artillery, and Fritz did not enjoy the change.

The 15th of September was a great day for the Allied forces. A big attack was

set for this day, and it was planned that the British should try a new engine of war. This was the famous "tank," of which more and more was to be heard in the later phases of the war.

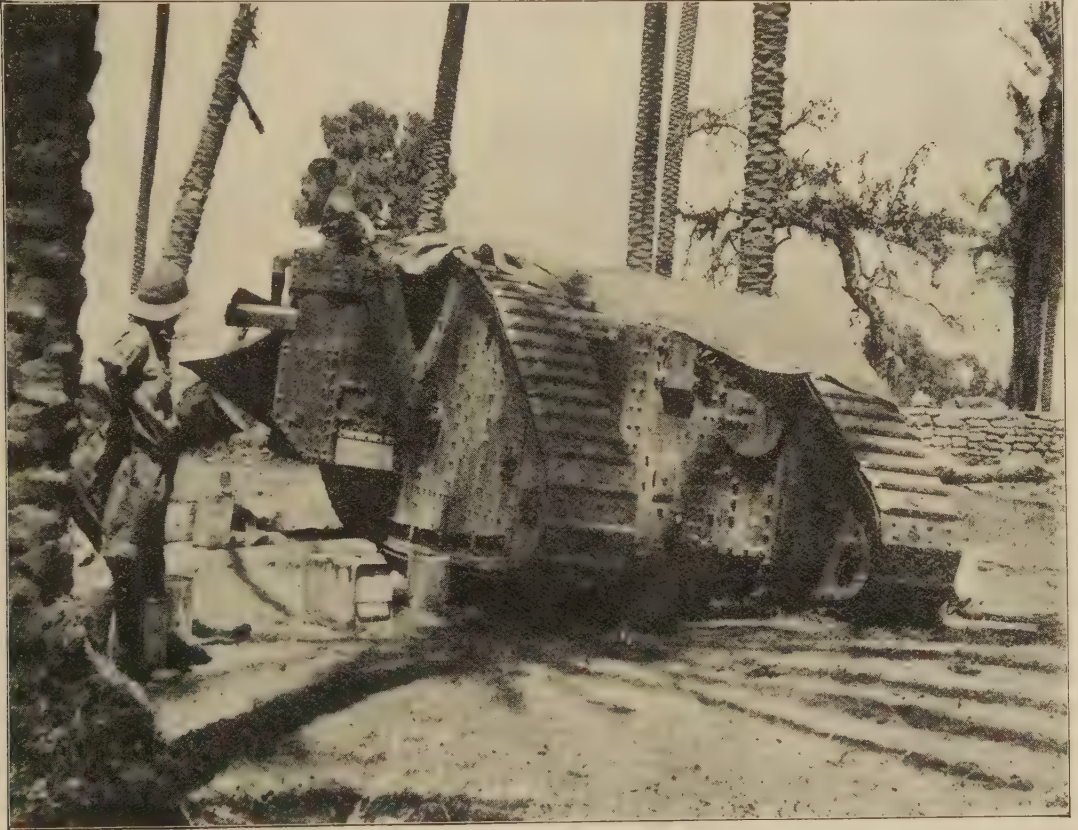
The history of the invention of the tanks is one of much interest. After the conflict in the west had settled down to one of trench warfare, it became clear to the British and French that some method of parrying the danger of rifle and machine-gun fire from the German trenches must be discovered before the infantry could carry out assaults with much success. The bitter experience in early Allied offensives showed that artillery fire was not enough, and the idea of a self-propelled armored car which could move forward over rough ground, tear down wire entanglements, and carry guns with crews to work them, occurred to a number of people in both the British army and navy. In October, 1914, Colonel Swinton suggested that armored cars should be built on caterpillar tractors. A similar suggestion was put forward by officers of the Royal Naval Air Service. Ultimately the idea was taken up. Those having the enterprise in charge decided that the cars must be able to climb a five-foot parapet and cross a ten-foot ditch, must conform to the measurements of standard war office bridges and railway transportation requirements, must not be too high lest they be too large a mark for the enemy's artillery, must be heavily enough armored to afford protection against close-range rifle and machine-gun fire, and must be able to destroy machine-gun emplacements. The caterpillar tractors selected for this work were an American invention and were constructed at Peoria, Illinois. These caterpillars can best be described as a sort of belt and endless self-laid track on which internal driving wheels are propelled by engines.

Construction of the new weapon of warfare was necessarily a slow task, for plans were changed from time to time and improvements were adopted. Every effort was made to keep their construction

a secret from the enemy, and it was out of the exigencies of the situation that the name tank was evolved. This word conveyed no suggestion of the purpose for which the new weapons were really intended, and many of the workers engaged in building the monsters had no idea for what they were intended.

The completed tanks were of two slightly different designs. One, which was

The completed tanks at first sight seemed little more than huge, shapeless bulks of metal. They were very heavy, some weighing more than forty tons. They were armor-plated all over, with small holes at intervals, from some of which peeped out the muzzles of small cannon or machine-guns. They had no visible means of progression except two small wheels attached like a tail behind.



BRITISH TANK

called the "male," was armed with two Hotchkiss quick-firing guns which shot a small shell. These tanks also had a subsidiary armament of machine guns. They were especially designed for dealing with the concrete emplacements which protected the German machine guns. The other type of tank was known as the "female." It was armed only with machine guns and was more suitable for dealing with machine-gun operators and riflemen than with emplacements.

These wheels were intended to act as a steering device. Experience showed that they were not essential, and their use was discontinued in the later types of tanks. Movement was effected by internal and invisible wheels traveling over the long endless metal tracks which extended "in an elliptical shape from the snout to the rump and moved forward as the creature advanced. The pace at which this strange object moved was slow—barely three miles an hour." Says an English writer on the tanks:

"Imagine a narrow cabin some nine or ten feet wide, thirteen feet long, and four feet high, into which had to be crammed an engine of over 100 horse power, two guns, and three or four machine guns, provisions for three days, ammunition and equipment, besides a crew of several men. The noise made by the engine made it impossible to hear an order, consequently every communication had to be made by signs; the armor plating was so effective that one could only see for steering or for aiming the guns through the narrowest chinks; the motion, too, of the tank over rough ground was not unlike that of a ship in a heavy sea, and this motion, combined with the smell of oil, the close atmosphere, the heat and the noise, was at first apt to induce the same symptoms as sometimes afflict those uninured to sea voyages."

In the summer of 1916, some of the tanks were assembled at a secret camp in England and were tried out before officers of the General Staff and the King. The trial showed that the tanks were capable of answering the purpose for which they were designed, and it was decided that they should be given a trial in actual battle. Toward the end of August, fifty were loaded at night on the railway at the camp's siding and were shipped to France. Every possible precaution was taken to secure secrecy. They were landed at Havre, on August 29, and were sent up to the front, some by railway, others by road.

The tanks had been camouflaged with weird patches of colors, and these added to their grotesque appearance. The British soldiers who saw them were usually moved to laughter. They made beholders think of antediluvian monsters. One correspondent wrote: "Unquestionably, the tank resembles an armadillo, a caterpillar, a diplodocus, a motor car, and a traveling circus." Fanciful names were given the monsters by the men, and these names were sometimes illustrated by rough heraldic symbols on the body. Among the names bestowed were *Cyclops*, *Chaos*, *Café au Lait*, *Champagne*, *Cognac*, *Crème de*

Menthe, *Dreadnought*, *Daredevil*, and *Deadwood Dick*.

There was much interest in the experiment among those who were in the secret. Like Ericksson's *Monitor* at Hampton Roads, the tanks were now to receive their first trial, their baptism of fire.

The object of the offensive in which they were to participate was designed to drive the Germans out of the high ground running east and south of Thiepval. The German positions were strongly intrenched and had hundreds of hornets' nests scattered about in the shape of concrete emplacements for machine guns. Bitter experience had shown that even under cover of artillery barrage an infantry attack was often doomed to fail because of concerted fire from these hornets' nests, and it was the chief purpose of the tank to help the infantry by destroying the nests.

The infantry attack made progress at almost every point, and, at the proper time, the tanks moved forward. Their appearance flabbergasted the Germans, who found that their rifle bullets had no more effect upon the monsters than do rain drops on a tin roof. The German big guns had all been silenced or destroyed near the front trenches, and it was, of course, difficult for the guns far in the rear to strike a moving object—all the more so because the tanks had been painted a mottled color that helped to render them difficult to see at a long distance. Furthermore, as a tank was immune against shrapnel, only a direct hit with a shell would disable it. Silencing machine guns was the particular province of a tank. Wherever one of these deadly instruments of death was active there a tank got busy, and reports said that if no other remedy was effective, the tank would proceed to "sit" on the gun. Moving or standing astride a trench, a tank could easily enfilade a long line of Germans, and it is little wonder that the Boches would exclaim: "*Mein Gott!* This is not war! This is butchery!" Whereupon they would take to their heels or would throw up their hands.

At the rear the greatest eagerness existed to learn the results. Finally an

aeroplane signalled that a tank was "walking" up the high street of Flers followed by cheering British soldiers. The message aroused great enthusiasm.

In this engagement and later many strange things happened to the tanks. Some, of course, were destroyed or were stalled in shell craters. Now and then a tank fought large numbers of Germans single-handed. Instances occurred in which Germans charged a tank, hurled bombs at it, clubbed it with their rifles, even climbed on top of it—all to no purpose.

It advanced far beyond the infantry and then turned back to find out what had become of its human companions. It discovered that they were held up by a machine-gun emplacement full of Germans, "so the tank obligingly sat on the emplacement, shot down the Germans, and led the men on to further victories."

"It must not, however, be imagined," says a participant, "that the proceedings of the tanks were quite as amusing to those inside as they appeared to the British infantry, who had barbed-wire



BATTERY OF FRENCH TANKS

It was said that a German officer once found and opened the door to a tank, only to be seized by those inside and hauled in a prisoner!

The tank known as *Crème de Menthe*, on its way to Courcellette, was greeted with showers of bullets which glanced off its armor or fell flattened by its sides. At one place its advance was barred by a wall, but the tank pushed forward against the wall, which fell with a great crash of bricks. The tank then passed on over the ruins and walked straight into the midst of the enemy. Another tank was in action for twenty consecutive hours.

leveled for them and machine-gun emplacements crushed as they advanced. The cramped quarters, the head-splitting noise, and the difficulty of ascertaining what was going on outside made the lives of the tank crew anything but agreeable in battle. Their periscopes were apt to be shot away; the work of steering, never easy, became almost impossible. The mere manual labor of moving the levers of the engines and turning apparatus was enormous, especially in these early machines. The crew had difficulty in communicating with the outside world, and had to rely chiefly on two carrier pigeons taken with

them on the voyage; as for communication with them by the outside world, this was even harder."

The Germans, of course, speedily sought to find a means of dealing with the tanks. They established special observers and aeroplanes to watch for the new machines of warfare and to signal their appearance, and they placed guns in advantageous positions, both in the rear and in the trenches, to deal with them by shell-fire.

progress, while German morale and determination was weakening. The British confidently believed that at last they were "top dog." Rapid and decisive progress seemed certain when bad weather set in and transformed the battle ground into a sea of mud. Small operations, however, were continued, and a considerable attack, in the middle of November, netted considerable ground and over seven thousand prisoners. Further attacks



BRITISH TANK BRINGING IN GERMAN GUN

Armor-piercing bullets were served out to machine gunners and riflemen, and elaborately concealed tank traps were prepared to engulf the monsters. Nevertheless, the tanks formed such an excellent antidote for the machine gun that great numbers were later employed.

In the latter half of September, the British captured Thiepval—long a thorn in their side—and numerous other positions, with almost ten thousand prisoners. Meanwhile, the French also were making

then had to be postponed until the following year.

The losses on both sides had been enormous. The British losses alone were estimated at four or five hundred thousand men, almost all killed or wounded, for they lost few prisoners. The French losses were probably two hundred thousand. The German losses were not made known to the world, but they probably equaled those of the Allies. The Allies captured over 73,000 Germans and over

frontier. Furthermore, the Government secretly impeded the transportation of grain and petroleum to the Central Powers and finally laid an embargo on petroleum.

The Russian victories on the Eastern Front, the capture of Gorizia by the Italians, and the belated declaration of war on Germany by Italy created a great impression in Roumania. On the 28th of August, Roumania formally declared war against Austria-Hungary, and hostilities with the other Central Powers



ROUMANIAN OBSERVATION BALLOON

soon followed. Among the reasons given for the declaration were the aggressions of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans and her oppression of her peoples of Roumanian blood. It was added that "Roumania, from a desire to hasten the end of the conflict and to safeguard her racial interests, sees herself forced to enter into line by the side of those who were able to assure her realization of her national unity."

The entrance of Roumania into the war created a profound impression. The battle line of the Central Powers was thus

lengthened by over six hundred miles, while an army variously estimated at from four to eight hundred thousand men was added to their enemies. It was confidently predicted in many quarters that the Roumanians would be able to strike hands with the Allied forces moving northward from Salonica and thus cut off Turkey and Bulgaria from their Teutonic allies. The partial or total collapse of Austria-Hungary was also expected by many, while it was regarded as certain that the inability of the Central Powers to draw food and supplies from Roumania would exercise a large influence. Some observers even contended that the end of the Great War was at hand.

The danger to the Central Powers was undoubtedly very great. But the Germans had already reorganized the Austro-Hungarian armies and had stiffened them by an admixture of German officers and men. A considerable reserve force had also been accumulated for emergencies, and plans had been laid for meeting the new danger. General von Falkenhayn, who had succeeded General von Moltke as chief of staff in the German army, was deposed, and General von Hindenburg, who was regarded as almost a god, was put in his place. In accordance with Prussian traditions, it was resolved, as soon as possible, to take the aggressive against Roumania.

The Roumanian plan of campaign appears to have been based upon political rather than military considerations. It is now generally agreed that they should have been content to hold the Carpathian passes and to have launched their main drive against the Bulgarians, in order to coöperate with the Allied army pushing northward from Salonica. Instead, they stationed comparatively weak forces along the Danube and in the Dobrudja, and sent their main armies swarming through the Carpathians into Transylvania. If the Roumanian forces had been effective in proportion to their numbers, this plan

might have proved successful, and might have forced the withdrawal of the Teutonic armies operating in Galicia and the Carpathians, but the reverse proved to be the case.

At first, the Roumanians won considerable seeming successes. The Austrian forces in Transylvania fell back without offering much opposition, and the invaders captured Kronstadt and various other places, with considerable territory, in Tran-

siderable successes, forcing the Russo-Roumanian defenders back toward the line of the railway from Bucharest to Constantza. Constantza is a port on the Black Sea, and is notable in history as being at one end of the great wall built by the Emperor Trajan to prevent the incursions of the Dacians. Toward the end of September, the Roumanians sent a small army of perhaps fifteen thousand men across the Danube on an expedition



MOUNTAIN BATTERY GOING INTO POSITION—SALONICA FRONT

sylvania, while far to the westward, near the famous "Iron Gate" of the Danube, they occupied Orsova. They also closed the Danube against vessels carrying goods and munitions between Bulgaria and Turkey on the one hand, and the Teutonic Powers on the other, and thereby caused embarrassment to their enemies.

Meanwhile, however, Teutonic, Bulgarian, and Turkish troops under the redoubtable von Mackensen invaded the Dobrudja from the south and won con-

into Bulgaria. The pontoon bridge by which the army crossed was destroyed by Austrian monitors, and most of the force was killed or captured by the Bulgarians.

The arrival of Roumanian and Russian reinforcements brought Mackensen's army to a pause, but, meanwhile, Teutonic commanders, the most notable of whom was von Falkenhayn, began an offensive against the invaders of Austria-Hungary. It is altogether probable that the Teutonic armies engaged in this effort were inferior

in numbers to the Roumanian armies, but they were better led, they were composed of veteran troops, and they were better equipped with machine guns, heavy artillery, and aerial craft. Furthermore, the Roumanian armies were honeycombed with traitors bought with German gold. In a three days' battle between Hermannstadt and Rothethurm Pass the First Roumanian army was defeated with great slaughter and was almost destroyed.

heavy artillery, and machine guns had played an active part, and it was becoming clearly apparent that the raw Roumanian soldiers were no match for Teutonic veterans and Teutonic leadership. Herein lies the main explanation of the catastrophe that was to befall Roumania.

A panic of fear spread through Roumania, and King Ferdinand implored the Allies to avert from his country the fate that had befallen Belgium and Servia.



KING OF SERBIA AND STAFF

The Second Roumanian army vainly endeavored to assist the First army, but was itself defeated in battles around Kronstadt and was hurled back to the frontier.

The Roumanian forces west of Rothethurm Pass were forced to retreat, while those to the northeast, who were co-operating with the Russians, were forced back into the wooded Carpathians. The Roumanian retreat forced the abandonment of a great Russian offensive that had been launched against Lemberg.

In all these operations Teutonic airships,

As in the case of Servia, however, there was procrastination in Allied councils, and a failure to act in time. It is true that the Russians continued their offensive on the Eastern Front, the French and British on the Somme, and the Italians on the Carso, but the attitude of the Greek King partially paralyzed an offensive that had been undertaken from Salonica, and when quick and drastic steps were needed to scotch the evil, they were not forthcoming. General Sarrail made some progress northward in the direction of

Monastir and, ultimately, captured that place, but the effect was almost negligible. Though hard pressed, the Central Powers managed to spare sufficient troops, guns, and munitions for a vigorous invasion of Roumania.

The Teutonic plan of campaign greatly resembled that by which they had conquered Poland. In the Dobrudja, von Mackensen hurled back the Russians and

crossings of the Danube and moved toward the capital from the south and southwest. The Roumanians, though aided by some Russian troops, were able to oppose no effectual opposition, and, by the beginning of December, it became apparent that Bucharest must stand a siege or be abandoned. Judged by pre-war standards, the capital was one of the most strongly fortified cities in the world, but its forti-



RUSSIAN PRISONERS ON THE MARCH

Roumanians, who had conducted a short-lived offensive, and took Constantza, the railway running from it, and the great bridge at Chernavoda over the Danube. Meanwhile, von Falkenhayn forced his way through the Vulkan, Red Tower, and other passes of the Carpathians, broke the Roumanian resistance in northwestern Wallachia, cut off the Roumanian forces in the region of the Iron Gate, and pressed onward toward Bucharest. At the proper time, von Mackensen's forces effected

fications had been designed by General Birmont, who had constructed those of Liège, Namur, and Antwerp, and it was clear that the defenses could not resist the Teutonic artillery. The capital was, therefore, transferred to Jassy, near the Russian border, and Bucharest was evacuated. Meanwhile, Teutonic Zeppelins and aeroplanes dropped bombs upon the city, causing great loss of life among the civil population, and they even sprayed the fleeing multitudes along the highways

with machine guns. Many thousands of the Roumanian army were captured, but the greater number managed to effect their escape eastward.

All of the Dobrudja was presently overrun, and the Teutonic armies pushed their way eastward, capturing many prisoners; forced their way beyond the line of the Buzeu River, took Rimnik-Sarat, Focsani, Braila, and other important



GENERAL VON LUDENDORFF

towns, but finally were brought to a pause on a line running along the lower Sereth and thence northeastward to the Carpathians. In these later operations the chief part was played by Russian troops, and the Roumanian forces were temporarily withdrawn from the fighting line for rest and reorganization.

Considerably more than half of Roumania had been conquered. Before evacuating the region, the Allies sought to destroy whatever would be of service

to the invaders. Particular attention was given to wrecking the oil wells, in order to prevent the Teutons from replenishing their supplies of petroleum, gasoline and similar products. A correspondent who witnessed the work wrote:

"Destruction of that which has been created by man's energy for the satisfaction of the world's needs, of that which provides profit and wage for hundreds of thousands of people and so enables them to live, must be a hideous, saddening spectacle. That the wrecking was beyond all question necessary made the case no better. It added to it a horrid irony. We were forced to defend ourselves against barbarians by barbarous means. To leave the oil wells untouched would have been a crime. The Germans and their dupes need lubricants very badly. These were the only oil fields from which they could get them in any quantity. They would have benefited by the products of the Roumanian wells for as long as they occupied the oil region. Then they would have destroyed the industry themselves so as to prevent the Allies from making use of it.

"It was therefore an urgent matter, when the enemy flood came pouring over the Roumanian plain, sweeping the Roumanian army before it, to set about destruction with vigor. Fortunately, a very vigorous man was sent out from England to direct it. Colonel Norton Griffiths surprised not only the Roumanians by his energetic methods: he surprised the Americans as well. To see him wielding a big hammer, swinging it around his head and smashing up machinery with it, just to show how the work ought to be done, made one poetical mine manager describe him as being 'in love with ruin.'

"Neither weariness nor danger could daunt him. When the petrol in basins would not light quickly, he took bundles of straw, thrust them into it, and set them alight, escaping just in time. His helpers were worthy of their chief. The task of destruction was worse for them, since they were wrecking what they had

themselves helped to build; but they went at it with a fury of determination to leave nothing of what they had built to aid the enemy.

"'It was pretty hard,' one of them said, on the morning after the finish of the wrecking process of Moreny, the most productive of the oil districts; 'it was pretty hard to break up one's home, furniture, books, grand piano, everything. But we did it thoroughly, by Jove! Millions of pounds' worth of property destroyed in a few days. Oil burned, wells blocked, machinery demolished, refineries put out of action. Some wreck, believe me.' All over the country round about the smoke of the bonfires turned day into night. At Targovistea, twenty miles distant, there rolled over the town, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, a dense black fog which hid the sky."

Notwithstanding this destruction, the invaders had been able to capture much booty of which they stood in need, and it was clear that if they could continue to hold the region they would be able to draw from it great quantities of food stuffs and oil.

Up to the time of the Roumanian campaign, the year 1916 had turned distinctly in favor of the Entente Allies, but the striking Teutonic victories against Roumania threw a dark cloud over the record and created much concern and dissatisfaction in Allied countries. The Teutons made the most of their Roumanian victories both to hearten their own people and to impress the outside world, and they endeavored to create the impression that this was the decisive operation of the war. Though admitting that a great opportunity had been lost in Roumania, Allied commentators refused to consider the overrunning of that country as other than a minor campaign, and most of them insisted that the war would ultimately be decided in the west.

On that front, on the 24th of October the French won a success that was regarded as possessing great significance. The stroke had been carefully prepared, and both the plan and the execution were largely

the work of General Robert Nivelle, who in May had succeeded General Pétain in command at Verdun. Nivelle was the son of a French father and an English mother, and he received thorough technical training at Saint-Cyr and the Ecole Polytechnique in both infantry and artillery tactics. At the outbreak of the war, he was merely a colonel of artillery, but he displayed an almost uncanny skill and adroitness in the management of his guns and performed several wonderful feats in Alsace, at the Marne, and in the Battle



GENERAL ROBERT NIVELLE

of the Aisne, and was soon made a brigadier general. It was he who stopped the unforeseen German drive at Soissons, in January, 1915. Early in April, 1916, he took part in the defense of Verdun as commander of the Third Army Corps and was soon given direction of the defense of that place, a task he performed gloriously.

In the attack of the 24th of October, every detail was carefully worked out in advance. The secret of the plan lay largely in a synchronizing of artillery barrages and infantry attacks. A *barrage*, in the old sense of the term, was a dam-barrier, but the word now came to mean a curtain

of exploding shells. A barrage was sometimes used to stop the advance of a charging enemy. At other times, it was a curtain of fire that would be systematically moved forward in front of one's own infantry when they attacked. The gunners firing the shells rarely saw their targets, their fire being directed entirely by telegraph, telephones, or airplane. For an effective barrage a certain uniformity of calibre was essential. The guns would be carefully trained on a certain line, and would be gradually elevated in order to drop a steady line of shells just far enough ahead of the charging troops to prevent any effective counter-thrust by the enemy. Usually the shell would fall only a few hundred feet ahead of the charging line, and the greatest care must be used to prevent mistakes. The men must not move forward too fast nor must the gunners permit any of their shells to fall in the rear of a given line. Everything was carefully regulated by time. At a given moment, the troops must be at a given place. If they went beyond that point, they would be killed by their own shells. On the other hand, the gunners must not move the barrage forward too rapidly, as this would give the enemy's machine gunners and riflemen an opportunity to creep out of their dugouts and shoot down the assailing troops. Only precision of observation, perfect ammunition supply, and absolute synchrony between the movement of the assailants and of the guns at the rear could render the creeping barrage effective. An infinite amount of care and practice was required. A mistake by the artillerymen might mean the slaughter of hundreds of their own side. Such mistakes sometimes were made.

The French now held almost complete command of the air, and their airships were able to direct the fire of the artillery. The German trenches were first subjected to a devastating fire, and even when the infantry attacked, the bombardment was kept up over the heads of the men until they were almost to the German works. The guns were then slightly elevated, and a curtain of fire was placed in the rear

of the German positions, a curtain of such intensity that it was almost impossible for reinforcements to be brought up through it or for the defenders to retreat through it. The work, in large measure, was, in fact, performed by the artillery, and so successfully was the plan carried out that four French divisions defeated a larger force of Germans, captured five thousand prisoners, many guns, the village and fort of Douaumont, the Thiaumont field works, in fact, practically all the positions which the Germans won on the east side of the Meuse in five months of bitter, bloody fighting. The cost of this ground to the Germans had been hundreds of thousands of men, and millions of shells; the French took it back in a single day, and lost less than four thousand men, many of them being only slightly wounded. Furthermore, the victory soon forced the Germans to evacuate Fort Vaux.

Encouraged by this victory, General Nivelle and his collaborators prepared to take another bite. Realizing that the Germans would offer bitter resistance, the French made every possible preparation, both material and moral. The thrusting columns were largely made up of picked men, headed by officers noted for sagacity and dash. Each soldier was a specialist. Some were riflemen, some carried bombs, others carried rifles that fired grenades, others brought forward light machine guns and even light cannon, the last for use against machine guns that survived the terrific blast of the French bombardment. Every effort was made to raise the men to a pitch of patriotic fervor. In this task a new Joan of Arc was employed. She was Mlle. Marthe Chenal of the Opera Comique, whose singing of the *Marseillaise* has already been described. This glorious woman was brought to the battle front to hearten the men who were to fight and to die for their country against a cruel invader. Some of the soldiers had already heard her; all knew how she had been thrilling the heart of France. Often she sang standing on the steps of a little church—sometimes a church scarred by German shells—her

hearers crowding about in the open air. Sometimes she could scarcely sing for sobbing at the thought of what those who faced her were soon to endure, but always her wonderful voice rang out true and strong, and always she left a weeping throng, exalted by the pure flame of patriotism.

The day fixed for the effort was the 15th of December. Nothing could withstand such a combination of skillful planning

Grand deeds of heroism were recorded of the attacking forces, but most heroic of all, perhaps, was that told of a force of Zouaves under Lieutenant Colonel Richaud at Chambrettes farm. The Zouaves took the farm, but were driven out, and for several days held on near the outskirts in shell craters, suffering bitter torment not only from German fire but from hunger and cold. When relieving forces came,



GERMAN ARTILLERY IN ACTION

and soldierly ardor. With comparatively slight losses, the French retook much ground, over eleven thousand prisoners, 115 cannons, mountains of war material. The victory was a sequel to the recapture of Douaumont, and the two came to be called the "Immortal Sisters"—immortal not merely for the actual concrete results but because in them were tried out plans of which great things were expected in the future.

the Zouaves demanded the right to make one more effort.

"Get up, you frozen feet!" cried Lieutenant Colonel Richaud, "a parody of the famous shout of '*Debout, les morts*' (Get up, you dead men!) with which an officer in a trench full of dead and wounded roused the wounded to repel an attack in Champagne.

"Then occurred what appeared like another miracle. They moved, some of

them using two rifles as crutches. One man only did not budge. 'Here, you,' a comrade said, 'you can't stay here!' And the man, who was unable to hobble, pulled himself forward on his knees!

"It was by these men that the farm of Chambrettes was retaken!"

Two days after this second victory, General Nivelle took leave of the army of Verdun in order to succeed General



ADMIRAL SIR HENRY B. JACKSON

Joffre as active commander in chief of all the armies in France. This step involved no humiliation to Joffre. That general was growing old, his physical forces were proving unequal to the strain, and for some time he had been anxious to find a man able to succeed him. He continued to be the chief military adviser of his Government and of the Entente armies, and as sign of the esteem in which he was held the title of Marshal of France was revived and was conferred upon him.

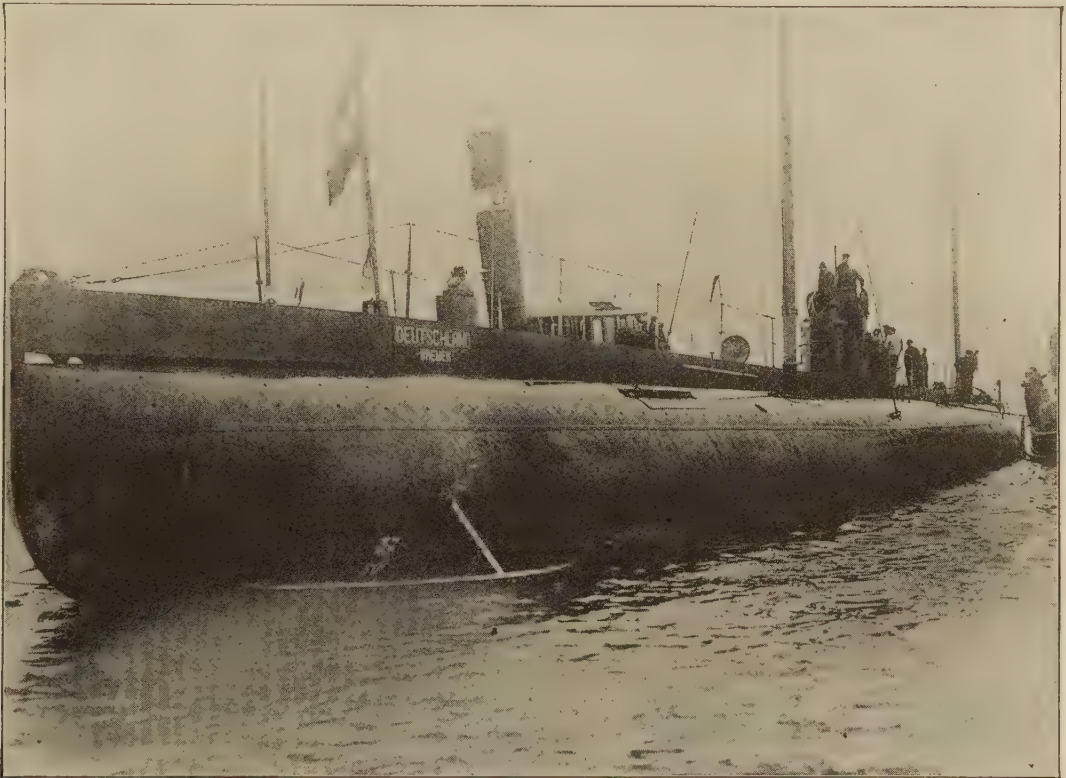
Frenchmen, high and low, regarded him with a veneration comparable to that with which Americans looked upon Washington and Lincoln, and he was worthy of such high esteem. History will say of him that he was the savior of France, if not of the world.

In the months following the Battle of Jutland, the German High Seas Fleet made no effort to follow up its alleged victory, thus furnishing confirmation of the British view that the German fleet had been more badly battered than the Kaiser was willing to admit. The Germans contented themselves, in this period, by continuing their warfare against the merchant ships of their enemies and of neutrals trading with them. Late in 1916, the *Moewe* again succeeded in reaching the South Atlantic and surpassed her former destructive record. Many of the prisoners captured were sent to Germany on board a prize called the *Yarrowdale*, and among these men were about seventy American citizens. After the return of the raider herself, another vessel, the *Seeadler*, succeeded in reaching the high seas, and it was announced about the same time that a German commerce destroyer was operating in the Indian Ocean.

The exploits of these raiders were annoying to Allied commerce, but they lacked much of attaining the seriousness of the submarine warfare. Throughout 1916, the Central Powers continued to conduct a destructive warfare with their ubiquitous "wasps," and the amount of merchant shipping destroyed per month gradually rose until it reached nearly three hundred thousand tons in December. The total Entente losses of merchant shipping for the year approximated two million tons. As the Allied nations had entered the conflict with about twenty-seven billion tons of merchant shipping and were constantly adding new vessels, these losses, though stupendous, were not so decisive as might at first appear. The pledge given to the United States was repeatedly violated, and numerous instances occurred in which merchant ships were sunk without warning. By

the end of the year, so many instances had accumulated in which American lives had been thus endangered or sacrificed that it was clearly apparent that Germany had no intention of living up to the terms of her agreement. Meanwhile, a constantly growing demand was developing in Germany for the government to repudiate all pledges and embark upon an era of ruthless warfare. Secretly Germany was making vast preparations for doing

sengers and crews of some of these vessels were set adrift in small boats far out at sea, but fortunately no lives were lost. Many of these people were rescued by American destroyers, and there was criticism because destroyers witnessed the sinking of some of the ships but did not interfere. Various theories were advanced as to the purpose of this raid in American waters. One view was to the effect that the raid was designed to awe the United



GERMAN MERCHANT SUBMARINE DEUTSCHLAND

this very thing, while constantly re-assuring American and other neutral states as to her intentions.

On the 7th of October, a German submarine, the *U-53*, suddenly appeared off Newport, Rhode Island, entered the harbor, dispatched a message to the German ambassador, remained a few hours, entertained a number of visitors, and then departed. Next day, off Nantucket Shoals, she sank five British and neutral merchant ships, and then disappeared. The pas-

States; another held that the main reason the submarine had come was to try to discover what had been the fate of a merchant submarine, the *Bremen*.

Rumor said that the *Bremen* had started with a cargo for an American port and that she had disappeared. One theory was that she had foundered, another that she had been captured or sunk by the British. She had been preceded by a more famous boat, the *Deutschland*, which created a sensation, early in July, 1916, by reaching

Baltimore, bringing a valuable cargo composed largely of dyes.

These merchant submarines had been built for the purpose of evading the inconvenient British blockade. The *Deutschland* was about 300 feet long with a displacement of some 2,000 tons, had a speed of more than 14 knots on the surface, and carried a crew of twenty-nine men. According to Captain Koenig, her captain, the trip across the Atlantic was made in sixteen days. He stated that the vessel submerged a number of times in order not to be seen by enemy vessels but that, upon the whole, the trip had been uneventful.

News of the *Deutschland's* exploit was greeted with great rejoicings by Germans and pro-Germans everywhere. It was said that she would be followed by a fleet of similar vessels. Captain Koenig stated that another vessel, the *Bremen*, would soon appear on the American side of the Atlantic. Optimistic predictions that these merchant submarines would speedily defeat the British blockade were made by German partisans. The *Deutschland* caused some disquiet in Allied circles and the diplomatic representatives of Great Britain and France filed a formal protest at Washington, holding that the new craft was potentially a war ship and ought not be permitted to sail from an American port. American naval experts examined the *Deutschland*, however, and reported that she was purely a commercial vessel and unarmed; the Government, therefore, announced that she was entitled to all the rights and privileges of a merchant vessel flying the flag of a belligerent country in a neutral port.

After disposing of her cargo, the *Deutschland* took on a new cargo of nickel, rubber, and other articles, sorely needed in Germany, and moved down Chesapeake Bay. A number of British vessels were waiting outside the entrance of the bay at the three-mile limit in the hope of capturing her, but she submerged and succeeded in escaping them, arriving in due time safely at her home port.

On November 1, she reappeared at New London, Connecticut, bringing a

cargo of dyestuffs and securities valued at several million dollars. She took on a cargo of rubber, nickel, and copper, and, on the night of November 16, attempted to get to sea with the aid of tugs to convoy her through the tidal currents to the mouth of Long Island Sound. Before reaching the open sea, however, she collided with one of the tugs and sank it, causing the death of five or six members of the tug's crew. The bow of the *Deutschland* was so badly injured that Captain Koenig was forced to return with her to New London for repairs. About a week later, however, the *Deutschland* succeeded in escaping and ultimately reached Germany in safety.

Thereafter there were repeated rumors to the effect that she would return and also rumors with regard to the *Bremen*. According to some accounts, the latter vessel was captured by the British. According to others, she was lost en route. The outbreak of war between the United States and Germany prevented any further voyages of merchant submarines to America. The net results had been disappointing to the Germans. They had managed to secure two cargoes of goods from America, but each cargo was small, and, of course, the total could have no important bearing upon the outcome of the war. Germany's hope of defeating the Allied blockade through merchant submarines was futile, as many another German hope proved.

As the submarine peril increased, the Zeppelin peril proportionately diminished. British methods of defense against these murderous raids had so greatly improved, that, in a single month (September 2 to October 2, 1916), five of the great airships were brought down. Toward the end of November, Zeppelins attempted a raid against blast furnaces and other industrial establishments in the northeastern counties of England, and two of the raiders were destroyed. In the six months following, the Germans ventured only one raid against England. All the airships engaged in it successfully recrossed the channel, but one of them was brought

down in France. When Count Zeppelin died early the next year, it had already become apparent that his invention was practically a failure against a well equipped enemy. In the spring of 1917, the Germans made a few Zeppelin raids, usually with disastrous results to themselves. They confined most of their efforts to aeroplane raids. One of these over the East Side of London was the bloodiest

The Germans, both the military men and the civilians, had had high hopes of the Zeppelins. The Kaiser had been so enthusiastic over them that he had publicly kissed Count Zeppelin, their inventor, and had declared him to be the greatest man of the century. The German people confidently believed that the Zeppelin would be able to blot out Paris and London, destroy the Bank of England and



BRITISH AEROPLANE BROUGHT DOWN BY GERMANS

of any England had suffered. Those killed and wounded were mostly of the very poorest classes, and the details of the dastardly affair sickened the world. It was believed by many that the purpose of this raid was to force the British to detach some of their aerial forces from the battle fronts in order to protect their homes. Demands arose for reprisals on German cities, but the Government long humanely refused to heed them.

Buckingham Palace, and sink the British fleet. When the Zeppelins began to raid England, the English painstakingly sought to conceal the details of the attacks. The Germans were led to believe that immense damage was being done to the British munitions factories and military enterprises of various sorts. Even high German officials long entertained this view. The destruction of the first Zeppelin by Lieutenant Warneford over Belgium did not

seriously disturb the German confidence in the airships, but further destruction produced a discouraging disillusionment. A correspondent who visited Germany in 1916 says that the "destruction of Zeppelins had almost as much to do with the desire for peace, in the popular mind, as the discomforting illness caused by food shortage and the perpetual hammerings by the French and British armies in the west."

Each day that passed added to the stupendous total of men killed or maimed in the terrible conflict. By the opening of the spring campaigns of 1917, Germany alone had lost over a million men killed and about three million more had been wounded or captured. Russia, Austria-Hungary, and France had also suffered enormous losses, while those of Great Britain were swiftly mounting. Rapidly the flower of European manhood was perishing on the battlefield. Tragic as was the fate of these men, it yet had a brighter side. By no one perhaps has this brighter side been better pictured than by Lieutenant Eric L. Townsend, a London youth of twenty years, who was killed in the Battle of the Somme while leading the first "wave" against a German position. Before the engagement he had written a manly letter designed to comfort his father and mother in case he should fall, and in that letter occurred the following philosophic passage:

"But for this war I and all the others would have passed into oblivion like the countless myriads before us. We should have gone about our trifling business, eating, drinking, sleeping, hoping, marrying, giving in marriage, and finally dying with no more achieved than when we were born, with the world no different for our lives. Even the cattle in the field fare no worse than this. They, too, eat, drink, sleep, bring forth young, and die, leaving the world no different from what they found it.

"But we shall live forever in the results of our efforts. We shall live as those who by their sacrifice won the great war. Our spirits and our memories shall endure

in the proud position Britain shall hold in the future. The measure of life is not the use made of it. I did not make much use of my life before the war, but I think I have done so now....

"To me has been given the easier task; to you is given the more difficult—that of living in sorrow. Be of good courage that at the end you may give a good account.

"Kiss Donald for me.

"Adieu, best of parents. Your loving son.—Eric."

Not to those killed in the conflict but to those maimed for life, to bereaved parents, the widowed, and the fatherless should our chief sympathy go out.

Furthermore, it can safely be said that the economic results of the Great War will ultimately have a more deplorable effect upon humanity than the price in blood. By May 1, 1917, the six main European belligerents had borrowed upwards of fifty billion dollars as a result of the war, and it was estimated that if the war should last a full three years, the total cost would be upwards of seventy billions. Henceforth each one of these nations must stagger under a debt so enormous that merely to meet the interest charge would strain all their resources. Taxation would not only hamper industry, but there could be little money expended for education, for poor relief, for the care of those who had suffered from the war. Civilization seemed at the breaking point, and generations would pass before humanity could again attain the high point reached in the summer of 1914 when the Teutonic War Lords made the fateful decision that plunged the world into bloody chaos.

Suffering in the belligerent countries was vastly increased by lack of food. Partial failure of the crops throughout a large part of the world had united with the submarine menace to render the food situation even in the Entente countries a troublesome one; while in the Central Powers it was far more acute. In Germany the potato crop had been very poor, while the chemical preparation of food-

stuffs had proved to be a farce rather than a fact. In spite of "bread cards" and an elaborate system of conserving supplies, a large part of the population was undernourished. Staple foods had been taken over by the Government and were doled out in small quantities; a few luxuries could still be bought in the open market by those who had money. Among these were chickens and geese, the price of which was well over a dollar a pound. The greatest lack of

other metals needed in the construction of big guns. An observer reported that the whole German system was beginning to "creak."

The greatest suffering, of course, was in the conquered districts, for it was not the German nature to permit a conquered enemy to fare better than the conquerors. America heard most of the necessity of feeding Belgium and northern France, but suffering was far greater in Poland



CANADIAN MOUNTAIN GUN IN ACTION

all was "fat," and the deficit was rendered all the greater by reason of the fact that the Government commandeered most of the fats for making glycerine to be used in explosives. The stock of clothing, also, was running short. Paper shoes, paper clothes, and paper bags for making sandbags to be used in fortifications were being largely used. Rubber was rapidly disappearing, most of the best horses had been taken for army use, and there was a shortage of nickel, molybdenum and

and districts that had been overrun in the Balkan region. Relief to Belgium and northern France was made doubly difficult by the frequent torpedoing of vessels carrying supplies to those countries. The Germans repeatedly promised exemption to such ships, and as often broke their promises.

In the closing month of 1916, the Germans adopted a policy of deporting Belgians and Frenchmen into Germany to engage in forced labor, and they also

compelled many of the inhabitants to labor on fortifications, sometimes even under fire. These things were directly contrary to the laws of war, and drew protests not only from the Entente nations but from many neutral countries, but without avail. As was well said, the Germans cared nothing for the opinion of the world, if they could only terrorize it.

In the hope of winning the support of the Poles, the Central Powers, early in November, 1916, published a manifesto

promising autonomy to the conquered Polish provinces under the name of the Kingdom of Poland. A few of the Poles fell in with the scheme, but most viewed the manifesto with suspicion. Critics of the plan pointed out that the details were vague and that the Polish provinces of Austria and Prussia were not joined with the new state.

Efforts to recruit a Polish army for service against the Entente yielded only a few volunteers.

CHAPTER CLXXXIII.—AMERICA ENTERS THE WAR.



THE Roumanian fiasco caused much heart-burning and dissatisfaction in Allied countries and produced important governmental changes. It was felt in both France and

England that the bodies in charge of the conduct of the war were too big and cumbersome, and agitation began for the establishment of small war councils possessing extraordinary powers. In France such a council was established composed of five men. Some changes were made in the Cabinet, and it was about this time that General Nivelle was made active commander in chief of the armies in France. General Sarraill remained in command of the army at Salonica. In the following March, another political crisis resulted in the resignation of the Briand Cabinet and the formation of a new one headed by Alexander Ribot.

In Great Britain critics of the Government, in particular the newspapers controlled by Lord Northcliffe, had long been urging greater energy and quicker decision in the management of the war. One of these newspapers asserted that the Government consisted of "twenty-three men who can never make up their minds." In a history-making editorial headed "The Limpets, a National Danger," the London *Daily Mail* declared that the chief char-

acteristic of the "twenty-three is indecision. There are at this moment no fewer than seven questions urgently waiting to be decided. Most of them have been 'under consideration' by the twenty-three for weeks or even months. Energy, promptitude, speed are indispensable for success in war. Time has to-day a surpassing value. But our 'Government,' though it has more than 100 committees endeavoring to make up its mind for it, can never decide. It just waits till the press and the Germans have done something which forces it to decide in a hurry—and too late....

"Mr. Lloyd George alone shows foresight and courage. We, the nation, look to him to end this tragedy, for it is a tragedy that these appalling blunderers should be in control of our affairs at this time."

The manner in which men of all shades of opinion turned in this hour of Britain's trial to the son of the Welsh schoolmaster will ever remain one of the most interesting episodes in history. As the exponent of democracy and forward causes, David Lloyd George had been the most hated man in all Britain, and probably few even of his admirers, in the days when he was striving to introduce fiscal reforms and diminish the power of the House of Lords, realized that he possessed abilities fitted for such a crisis as this. Yet as Chancellor of the Exchequer at the outbreak of the

war, as Minister of Munitions, as Secretary of War in succession to Lord Kitchener, he had measured up to every responsibility, and his wonderful mind had grasped the significance of the great struggle and the means that must be adopted to win the conflict. Men in Great Britain and in neutral countries were saying that Lloyd George was the man for the hour, and a constantly growing demand was arising that he should take the helm.

War Council, and in this stand he was supported by Bonar Law and others. Asquith refused to accept the plan, and after repeated conferences and negotiations, Lloyd George and Bonar Law resigned. This action provoked a crisis, which resulted in the resignation of the Asquith Ministry. King George, at Asquith's suggestion, asked Bonar Law to form a new Ministry, but Bonar Law declined. The King then sent for Lloyd George, and,



KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM AT THE FRONT

Though conscious of his own powers, Lloyd George hesitated. For years, in times of bitter political struggle, he had served under Asquith, and he later stated in open Parliament that he had never had "a kinder or more indulgent chief." Yet he was aware of Asquith's weaknesses and limitations, and he felt that personal obligations must give place to public interests in this time of crisis. In the interests of decision and forceful conduct of the war, he insisted that Mr. Asquith must not be a member of the proposed

on the 5th of December, it was announced that Lloyd George, with the coöperation of Bonar Law, would undertake the task.

In view of Lloyd George's past career, it is one of the strangest ironies of history that his chief parliamentary support was to come from his old enemies, the Conservative Unionists. His real support, however, lay in the confidence reposed in him by the general public. The outstanding feature of the Ministry he succeeded in forming was that it represented practically every great industrial interest

in the nation, including labor. Baron Rhondda, one of its members, was the head of a great coal combine in South Wales; Sir Albert Stanley, an American naturalized in Great Britain, was the head of the London underground railway system; Lord Devonport had had a successful business career as a great food merchant; and Sir Alfred Mond was another captain of industry. The representatives of labor, Arthur Henderson and John Hodge, had been workers and leaders in the trade



EMPEROR CHARLES OF AUSTRIA AND WIFE

union movement. Mr. Balfour succeeded Viscount Grey as Foreign Secretary, while Lord Robert Cecil continued to be Minister of Blockade. Lord Derby became Minister of War, and Sir Edward Carson First Lord of the Admiralty.

The War Council was composed of Lloyd George himself, Lord Curzon, Bonar Law, Lord Milner, and Arthur Henderson.

With his customary aggressive fearlessness, Lloyd George proceeded to grapple with the problems that faced his country, and a new spirit was infused into British affairs. Men began to call him the

William Pitt of the Great War, and it was universally recognized that if he brought his country through the crisis his fame would be secure as one of the greatest of British statesmen. Aware at last of their danger, the people acquiesced with hardly a murmur in the exercise of powers that would have been unthinkable in the Great Britain of 1914.

On the night of the 21st of November, in his castle at Schönbrunn, died Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary. He was in his eighty-seventh year, and he had reigned sixty-eight years, the longest reign of any monarch in modern European history. He had ascended the throne in the midst of the chaos of 1848, his private life had been one terrible tragedy after another, and now, at the end, he went to the tomb when his empire was threatened with defeat and dissolution. He seems to have possessed some personal characteristics that were not altogether bad, but he was a Hapsburg, a man out of sympathy with the spirit of the centuries in which he lived, and at his door history will lay a large share of the blame for precipitating one of the most stupendous disasters to humanity recorded since the beginning of time.

Emperor Francis Joseph was succeeded by his grandnephew, Archduke Charles Francis Joseph, younger brother of the prince whose assassination at Sarajevo brought on the war. The new ruler was not yet thirty years of age, and, in 1911, he had married Princess Zita of the Bourbon House of Parma. His accession made no immediate important change in the course of the war.

The year 1916 had been a hard one for the Central Powers. The pressure of the blockade had still further disorganized their industries and had brought them nearer to national bankruptcy. The German attack on Verdun had been beaten off by the French with bloody losses for the assailants. The British push along the Somme had cost the Germans hundreds of thousands of casualties, while the Russians had won a great victory over the Austrians in Galicia. The Roumanian peril, to

be sure, had been avoided, and two-thirds of that country was in Teutonic hands, but the prospects for Teutonic arms did not appear bright. The people of the Central Powers were murmuring over the length of the war, and their masters realized that it was necessary to hold up before them another will-o'-the-wisp. On December 12, the Central Powers created an international sensation by announcing a willingness to enter into peace negotiations, but the language used was vain-glorious, and the statement spoke of their

before humanity and history." No intimation was given in the note regarding the terms which would be acceptable, but it was reported that Germany would expect the return of her colonies, the recognition of Poland and Lithuania as independent states, the annexation of a large part of Serbia to Austria-Hungary, and the settlement of the Balkan situation by a general European conference.

Various theories were propounded to account for the offer. Many observers believed that the Teutons realized that



GERMANS LOADING NEW GUN

"unconquerable strength" and of their "gigantic advantages over their adversaries" despite superiority in numbers and war material. Recent events, the note declared, had demonstrated that a further continuance of the war would "not result in breaking the resistance of our forces, but the whole situation with regard to troops justifies our expectation as to further successes. If, in spite of this offer of peace and reconciliation, the struggle should go on, the four allied powers are resolved to continue to a victorious end, but they disclaim responsibility for this

the military situation was more favorable than it was likely ever to be again, and that they wished to negotiate peace while they were, so to speak, "ahead of the game." Others suggested that the War Lords were anxious to convince their people of their willingness to "make peace" and wished to throw the responsibility for a continuance of the struggle upon their enemies. Some supposed that the Central Powers also hoped to create dissatisfaction among their enemies and perhaps to detach one or two more of them from the combination. Yet others, noting

especially the Teutonic disclaimer of responsibility for further bloodshed, feared that the offer was merely designed to furnish justification for some new policy of frightfulness.

The Allies characterized the Teutonic offer as a "sham proposal" and a "war maneuver" based on the existing war map, which did not represent the "real strength of the belligerents." They declared their unwillingness to treat unless the Central

which we entered upon it would be guilty of the most ghastly poltroonery ever perpetrated by any statesman." He quoted the words of Lincoln under similar conditions: "We accepted the war for an object, a worthy object. The war will end when that object is attained. Under God I hope it will never end until that time." He expressed the view that "to enter on the invitation of Germany, proclaiming herself victorious, without



CLEMENCEAU REVIEWING TROOPS AT THE FRONT

Powers were ready to make adequate reparation for the past and adequate security for the future. In his first speech before the House of Commons as Prime Minister, Lloyd George declared that any man who, wantonly and without sufficient cause, prolonged so terrible a conflict would have on his soul a crime that oceans could not cleanse. On the other hand, any man "who, from a sense of war weariness, abandoned the struggle without achieving the high purpose for

any knowledge of the proposals she intends to make, into a conference, is putting our heads into a noose with the rope end in the hands of the Germans." This was not the first time, he declared, that Englishmen had fought a great military despotism and had helped to overthrow it. They had made a truce with Napoleon but he had taken advantage of the truce to reorganize his forces for a deadlier attack than ever upon the liberties of Europe. Englishmen would feel that Ger-

many might do likewise. It would be useless to discuss peace until Germany was prepared to accept the terms long before put forward by Mr. Asquith, namely, "restitution, reparation, guarantees against repetition."

President Wilson seems to have realized that a crisis was coming, and in an effort to prevent the inevitable he despatched, on December 18, a note to all the belligerents saying that the leaders on both sides contended that they were fighting for virtually the same things, yet the authoritative spokesmen of neither side had ever "avowed the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the war had been fought out." He emphasized the vital interest of the United States in the question of peace and suggested "that an early occasion be sought to call out from all the nations now at war such an avowal of their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded and the arrangements which would be deemed satisfactory as a guaranty against its renewal or the kindling of any similar conflict in the future as would make it possible frankly to compare them." At the same time, he declared that he was not proposing peace or even offering mediation. He was "merely proposing that soundings be taken in order that we may learn, the neutral nations with the belligerents, how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing."

In explaining the note, Secretary of State Lansing said that it was sent because our own rights were becoming more and more involved and we were "drawing near the verge of war ourselves." We were entitled, therefore, to know exactly what each belligerent sought in order that we might regulate our conduct accordingly. Lansing's pessimistic words precipitated a serious stock panic, nor was the country reassured by a second statement in which he declared that the Government was not considering any change in its policy of neutrality.

Although the President had asserted that his decision to send the note ante-

dated the transmission of the peace proposals sent out by the Central Powers, his action was received by them with approval as tending to support their peace proposals in European countries; on the other hand, his note was bitterly criticised as playing into the hands of the Central Powers. In the United States extreme pro-Ally sympathizers emphatically denounced his act as inopportune and ill-advised, but pacifists, pro-Germans and partisans of the President applauded him and prophesied that his step would bring peace.

A feature of the affair which attracted considerable attention was that the President's note in some way had become known several days in advance to certain stock exchange firms and it was charged that various government officials had profited enormously on the stock market as a result of this "inside tip." A letter to a congressman, signed by one "Curtis," named, among others, the President's secretary, Mr. Tumulty, and the President's brother-in-law, Mr. Bowling, as having been beneficiaries of this information. Charges were also made by others against members of the Cabinet and other prominent public men. Investigation failed to substantiate these extravagant charges, but of the "leak" there was no doubt.

The Central Powers replied to the President's note on December 26. They carefully evaded, however, naming their terms of peace and merely proposed "the speedy assembly on neutral ground of the delegates of the warring states." The reply of all the Entente Allies except Belgium was handed to Ambassador Sharp at Paris on January 11, 1917. Unlike the Central Powers, the Allies laid down certain specific terms including the restoration of Belgium, Servia, and Montenegro, the evacuation of invaded territories, and the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Turks. Belgium submitted a separate reply which in part was as follows:

"Previous to the German ultimatum, Belgium only aspired to live upon good terms with all her neighbors. She practiced

with scrupulous loyalty toward each one of them the duties imposed by her neutrality. In the same manner she had been rewarded by Germany for the confidence she placed in her, through which, from one day to the other, without any plausible reason, her neutrality was violated, and the Chancellor of the Empire, when announcing to the Reichstag this violation of right and of treaties, was obliged to recognize the iniquity of such an act and predetermine that it would be repaired.

into servitude Belgian workers by the thousands.

"If there is a country which has the right to say that it has taken up arms to defend its existence, it is assuredly Belgium. Compelled to fight or to submit to shame, she passionately desires that an end be brought to the unprecedented sufferings of her population. But she could only accept a peace which would assure her safety, as well as equitable reparation, security, and guarantees for the future."



CANADIAN TROOPS REVIEWED BY DUKE OF CONNAUGHT

"But the Germans, after the occupation of Belgian territory, have displayed no better observance of the rules of international law or the stipulations of The Hague Convention. They have, by taxation as heavy as it is arbitrary, drained the resources of the country; they have intentionally ruined its industries, destroyed whole cities, put to death and imprisoned a considerable number of inhabitants. Even now, while they are loudly proclaiming their desire to put an end to the horrors of war, they increase the rigors of the occupation by deporting

It was clear that the time for peace had not yet come. Both Germans and Austrians issued contemptuous retorts to the Allied answers and again repudiated responsibility for further bloodshed.

In a speech at the Guild Hall in London, Lloyd George declared that there must be a peace founded "on the rock of vindicated justice." He said that the Allies "were not offered terms; we were offered a trap baited with fair words. They tempted us once, but the lion has his eyes open. We have rejected no terms that we have ever seen. The Kaiser had sent out a

message to his people that the Allies had rejected his peace offers. He did so in order to drug those whom he could no longer dragoon." In the same speech the Premier predicted that in the future, the nations would "band themselves together to punish the first peace-breaker who comes out," thus forecasting a future League of Nations.

On January 22, President Wilson appeared before the Senate and delivered a homily on world peace and methods for obtaining it. He expressed himself in favor of a "League of Peace" but said that the present war must first be ended and proceeded to set forth the principles upon which he thought it should be ended. He declared that, first of all, it must be "a peace without victory" for "victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victory won and imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, with a sacrifice and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which the terms of peace would rest, not permanently but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last." There must also be "freedom of the seas," limitation of armaments, and the avoidance of "entangling alliances." A witty Frenchman characterized the speech as admirably fitted for a world in which there existed no human prejudices, frailties, and inconsistencies!

For two years, the President had been living in a world of theories. Nine days after delivering the above speech, he was forced to face realities.

On January 30, Ambassador Gerard, in Berlin, received a definite intimation that the Germans were about to declare for unlimited submarine warfare and cabled a warning to Washington. On the afternoon of the 31st, Gerard received a note from Zimmermann, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, asking him to come to the foreign office at six that evening. Upon his arrival Gerard was handed a note that Germany would resume ruthless submarine warfare at twelve that night. At four of that same afternoon, Ambassador von Bernstorff handed an announcement

of the same tenor to Secretary of State Lansing, at Washington.

The note asserted that since the attempt of Germany and her allies to bring about peace had failed, "owing to the lust of conquest of their enemies," Germany was forced "to new decisions." Being "now compelled to continue the fight for existence," she must make full employment of all weapons at her disposal. "Barred zones" into which not even neutral ships might enter with safety were created around Great Britain and off the western coast of France and in most of the Mediterranean. As a special concession to America, the United States was to be permitted to send one ship a week to Falmouth in southern England, but such ships must show the American flag and "a large flag checked white and red" and on the ship's hull and superstructure three vertical stripes of alternate white and red must be painted. Furthermore, the American Government must guarantee that no contraband was carried by these vessels. The note expressed the hope that the United States would "view the new situation from the lofty heights of impartiality" and would assist "to prevent misery and unavoidable sacrifice of human life."

"The Germans started this war," comments Gerard, "without any consultation with the United States, and then seemed to think that they had a right to demand that the United States make peace for them on such terms and at such time as they chose; and that the failure to do so gave them a vested right to break all the laws of warfare against their enemies and to murder the citizens of the United States on the high seas, in violation of the declared principles of international law."

"No time was given," says Gerard, "to discuss or negotiate. The forty-eight hour ultimatum given by Austria to Serbia was not, as Bernard Shaw said, 'A decent time in which to ask a man to pay his hotel bill.' What of the six-hour ultimatum given to me in Berlin on the evening of January 31, 1917, when I was notified at six that ruthless warfare would commence at twelve? Why, the German Gov-

ernment, which up to that moment had professed amity and a desire to stand by the *Sussex* pledges, knew that it took almost two days to send a cable to America!"

Various explanations have been made as to why Germany came to this astonishing decision to defy not only the United States but the rest of the neutral world. Beyond question the War Lords realized that their plight was desperate and that

Zimmermann declared that "everything will be all right. America will do nothing, for President Wilson is for peace and nothing else." The Chancellor also said that Wilson "had been elected on a peace platform, and that nothing will happen." At the worst, the German officials believed that the United States would not go beyond windy protests or breaking diplomatic relations. Furthermore, they knew that



MOTORCYCLE MACHINE GUN OUTFIT

only desperate methods could break the stranglehold of the Allied blockade and enable them to win the war. They seem to have hoped that the United States would take no action beyond sending the usual diplomatic notes. Gerard tells us: "The Germans believed that President Wilson had been elected by a mandate to keep out of war at any cost and that America could be insulted, flouted, and humiliated with impunity." He says that

even if the United States declared war, a long period must elapse before we could become a formidable factor in the conflict. The pitiable military weakness of America was much better understood in Berlin than in Washington, and the War Lords knew absolutely that more than a year must pass before the United States could put an army of any consequence at the fighting front. They hoped to win the war in that interval. "Give us two months

of this kind of warfare," said Zimmermann to Gerard, "and we shall end the war and make peace within three months." In a speech soon after he returned to America, Gerard declared, "If we had a million men under arms to-day we would not be near the edge of war."

President Wilson was profoundly moved when he heard the news and at once summoned Colonel House, his confidential adviser, from New York for consultation. He also talked over the crisis with sixteen Democratic Senators and with other persons. A few of the Senators, notably Stone of Missouri, even then, advised against a break in diplomatic relations, but most felt otherwise. The country as a whole was wrought up to a tense state of excitement. There were men so blind to the honor and safety of their country that they vociferously urged submission, but sensible men realized that the time had come when we must take action or endanger our freedom and become the laughing stock of the world.

The President finally decided that he would break diplomatic relations. On the afternoon of February 3, he appeared before a joint session of Congress and announced that he had directed Secretary Lansing to give von Bernstorff his passports, to summon home our representatives in Germany, and to break off all diplomatic relations with the German Empire.

He declared, however, that he could not bring himself to believe that the Germans would "indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them, and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the willful prosecution of the ruthless naval program they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

"If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded: if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contra-

vention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral Governments will take the same course.

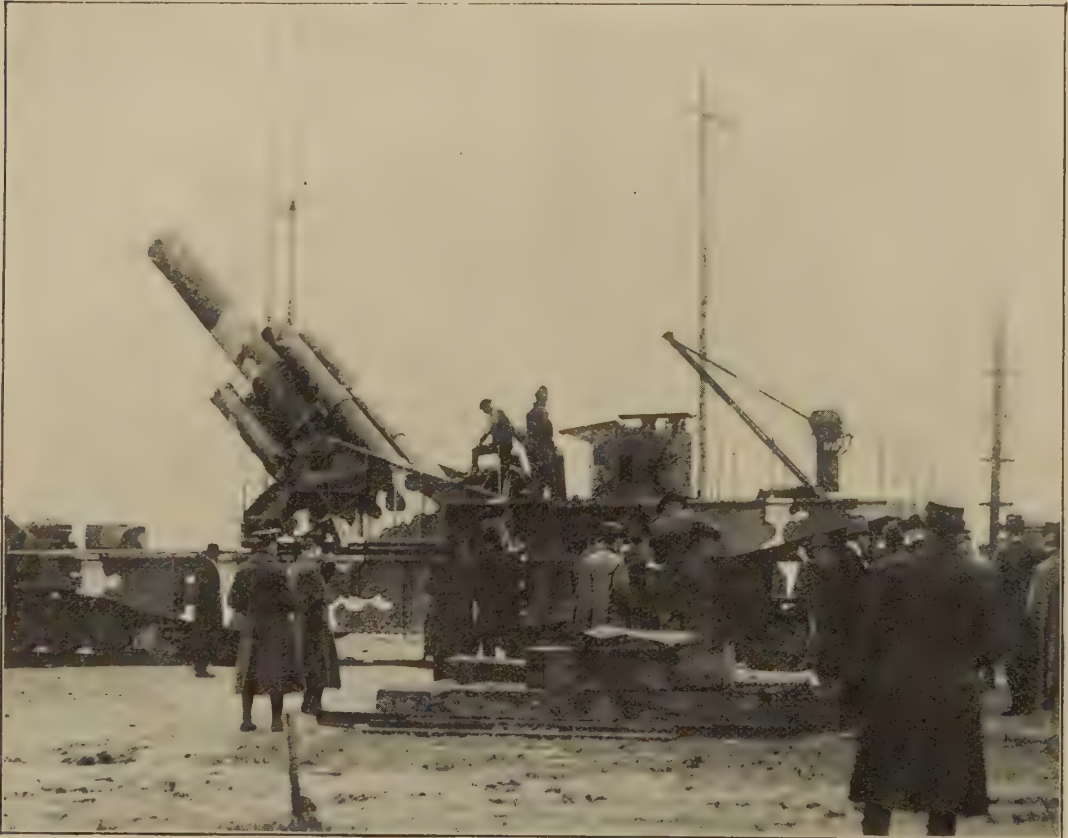
"We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people, and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people, which I have sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago—seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant that we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany!"

American correspondents in Berlin state that when Foreign Secretary Zimmermann heard that diplomatic relations would be broken, he used violent language and displayed great emotion. Gerard assures us that the break came as an intense surprise not only to Zimmermann but also to other members of the Government. By the time Gerard reached the Foreign Office, however, to demand his passports, Zimmermann had had time to compose himself.

The Germans were vastly concerned about the safety of the 600,000 tons of merchant shipping lying in American harbors and also for other German property in America. Accordingly they hatched up a scheme to coerce Gerard into securing

a reaffirmation of an old treaty made between Prussia and the United States in 1799 and to add some sweeping clauses to safeguard endangered German interests. Gerard's passports were withheld, and certain American seamen who had been brought into a German port on the prize ship *Yarrowdale* were detained, though their release was several times promised. A German official named Count Montgelas

Both Gerard and the American consuls experienced difficulty in securing passports, but ultimately all were able to leave Germany. The American seamen were also released, after experiencing much brutal treatment. Gerard and his party left by way of Switzerland and returned to America by way of Switzerland, France, Spain, and Havana. After his return home, Gerard published two books describ-



AMERICAN GUN AT PROVING GROUNDS, ABERDEEN, MARYLAND

called at the American Embassy and, after showing Gerard the proposed treaty stated that unless it was signed Americans would find great difficulty in leaving the country. But Gerard stoutly refused to be bulldozed. He declared: "After your threat to keep Americans here and after reading this document, even if I had authority to sign it, I would stay here until hell freezes over before I would put my name to such a paper."

ing and dealing with his experiences in Germany. Some of these were reproduced on the moving-picture screen and did much to arouse the war spirit.

In public speeches Gerard sought to impress upon Americans the seriousness of the crisis. He declared:

"We are in this war because we were forced into it; because Germany not only murdered our citizens on the high seas but also filled our country with spies

and sought to incite our people to civil war."

Even those persons who for two years had resolutely shut their eyes to realities now, at last, realized that war was almost inevitable. There were hasty, flurried military and naval preparations that should have been made long before. Although the United States had been on the verge of the war for almost two years, the country was really little better prepared for war than when the *Lusitania* was sunk. There were not wanting men who pointed out

placed. Germany persisted in her piratical warfare, and several violations of American rights soon occurred. For a time, however, there was nothing so clear-cut in character that the President chose to consider it an "overt act." But the submarine peril proved so great that most American ship owners refused to send their vessels to European waters unless the Government would furnish the ships protection. In consequence, American docks became congested with freight, and there seemed danger that, even though we



FRENCH TANK IN ACTION

that if the United States had taken warning in time and had prepared to make herself respected, her rights would not have been so ruthlessly invaded. History will undoubtedly have much to say about the heedlessness of men in high station—men in both parties—to the signs of the times. It was certain that if we took a large part in the conflict, our failure to prepare would add billions of dollars to our expenditures and cost tens of thousands of precious lives.

Time showed that President Wilson's "inveterate confidence" was indeed mis-

placed. Germany's right to employ submarine warfare, she might nevertheless succeed in her purpose.

Because of this and other reasons, President Wilson, on February 26, six days before the end of the session, appeared before Congress and announced that, in view of the German course, he deemed it wise for the United States to adopt an attitude of "armed neutrality." He said that he believed he already possessed the power to authorize the arming of merchantmen, but he expressed a wish that Congress would specifically authorize

him to do so and thus back up his action. He also asked for a grant of money to be used "to provide adequate means of protection where they are lacking, including adequate insurance against the present war risks." "It is not of material interest merely that we are thinking," said he. "It is, rather, of fundamental human rights, chief of all the right of life itself. I am thinking, not only of the rights of Americans to go and come about their proper business by way of the sea, but also of something much deeper, much more fundamental than that. I am thinking of those rights of humanity without which there is no civilization."

While the President was on his way to the capitol, word arrived of the torpedoing without warning off the Irish coast of the British passenger steamer *Laconia*. By this outrage a number of persons lost their lives, among them being two American women, Mrs. Mary E. Hoy and her daughter Elizabeth, both of Chicago. From England Austin Hoy, son of Mrs. Hoy, cabled to President Wilson as follows:

"I am an American citizen, representing the Sullivan Machinery Company of Chicago, living abroad, not as an expatriate, but for the promotion of American trade. I love the flag, believing in its significance. My beloved mother and sister, passengers on the *Laconia*, have been foully murdered on the high seas.

"As an American citizen outraged, and as such fully within my rights, and as an American son and brother bereaved, I call upon my Government to preserve its citizen's self-respect and save others of my countrymen from such deep grief as I now feel. I am of military age, able to fight. If my country can use me against these brutal assassins, I am at its call.

"If it stultifies my manhood and my Nation's by remaining passive under outrage, I shall seek a man's chance under another flag."

On March 1, American feeling was further roused by the publication of a German dispatch which had come into the hands of our secret service. It was

signed by Zimmermann, German Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and was as follows:

"Berlin, Jan. 19, 1917.

"On the 1st of February we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this, it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America.

"If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement.

"You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once with this plan. At the same time, offer to mediate between Germany and Japan.

"Please call to the attention of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months."

Some pacifists and pro-Germans professed to believe that the dispatch was a forgery, but Zimmermann admitted having transmitted it. The most skeptical Americans were at last convinced that the War Lords would stop at nothing, no matter how treacherous or dastardly. Mexico formally denied being implicated in the matter, while the Prime Minister of Japan announced that if such a proposal ever came to hand, it would receive the contemptuous refusal it deserved.

A great patriotic uprising occurred in the United States. A bill empowering the President to arm merchantmen and appropriating \$100,000,000 for this and kindred purposes passed the House by 403 to 13. In the Senate a little knot of "willful men," among them Stone of Missouri and La Follette of Wisconsin, filibustered against the measure, and the

session closed before it could be passed. Seventy-six of the 96 Senators, however, signed a manifesto stating that they would have supported the bill had a vote been taken, while eight others would have signed the manifesto if they could have been reached. As a result of the filibuster, many other important measures failed to pass.

Thus ended the first administration of Woodrow Wilson, with the country drawn

war was raging; in each instance America's rights as a neutral were trampled upon. In each instance our Government protested but for a long time did not go beyond protest. And in each instance the United States was finally drawn into the struggle unprepared. Once again America had been forewarned but had failed to forearm.

President Wilson and the country generally were deeply indignant over the



SERBIAN TROOPS IN TRENCHES

irresistibly into the bloody maelstrom of the greatest war in history.

The events leading up to our entering the conflict will doubtless long continue to be a subject of controversy. President Wilson's course in international affairs will be bitterly criticised and as warmly defended. Students of history will not fail to see a close parallel between his policy during 1915-17 and that of Jefferson and Madison in the period preceding the War of 1812. In each instance a great world

success of the Senate filibusters, and he issued an appeal to the country stating the facts and asking for a revision of the Senate rules in order to make it impossible in future for a small minority to block legislation. When the Senate assembled in executive session after the inauguration, a rule was adopted providing for a system of closure of debate.

The 4th of March fell upon Sunday, but President Wilson went through the formality of taking the oath of office at

noon of that day. The formal inauguration ceremonies were held on the 5th. There was no inaugural ball, and, on account of the critical international situation, an air of unusual solemnity marked the occasion. In his address the President warned the country that, though standing firm in armed neutrality, we might "be drawn on, by circumstances, not by our own purpose or desire, to a more active assertion of our rights as we see them and a more immediate association with the great struggle itself."

On March 9, the President called Congress to meet in special session on April 16. Three days later, he formally announced that he had decided "to place upon all American merchant vessels sailing through the barred areas an armed guard for the protection of the vessels and the lives of the persons on board." Naval guns were mounted on such vessels, manned by well-trained naval crews. The instructions were to fire at German submarines on sight. This policy was amply justified by the German policy of sinking without warning vessels entering their "war zone."

Meanwhile, the Germans continued their ruthless warfare. Hospital ships, Belgian relief ships, and vessels of neutrals, whether coming or going, were sent to the bottom; even six grain-laden Dutch ships whose safety the Germans had guaranteed were sunk. Berlin claimed that during February 292 hostile ships and 76 neutral ships, of a total gross tonnage of 781,500, were destroyed. London admitted a total loss of only 490,000 tons, but even these figures were startling. However, as Great Britain, at the beginning of 1917, possessed 3,731 vessels of 1,600 tons or over, and lost only 78 of these in the period from February 1 to March 15, it was apparent that the submarine warfare was not yet decisive. But it was clear to the Allies that more effective means for fighting the U-boats must be adopted or the war would be lost. Drastic measures were taken to cut down freight tonnage to and from Great Britain, while the campaign for raising more food in the British Isles was pushed with redoubled vigor.

In the third week of March, it became known in the United States that three American ships, the *City of Memphis*, the *Illinois*, and the *Vigilancia*, had been sunk. The *Vigilancia*, which was carrying a cargo of provisions from New York to Havre, via the Azores, was torpedoed without warning. She was marked on her sides with the American flag, and her name could be read three miles away. Fifteen of her crew lost their lives.

It was clear that the Germans were determined to carry out their submarine policy. The situation was full of dire possibilities. It was clear to all who had eyes to see that our chief protection was the British navy, but it was suggested that Great Britain might soon be starved into submission and that the Teutons might then use her navy in conquering the United States. It was not improbable that many Europeans would view American discomfiture with sardonic delight. A keen sense of our imperiled and almost defenseless condition swept over the country. Ever since the breaking of diplomatic relations, the war and navy departments had been working feverishly extemporizing defenses. Large orders for submarine chasers and for larger warships were placed, but months must pass before even the smaller of these craft could be ready, while the building of the battleships and battle cruisers would take years.

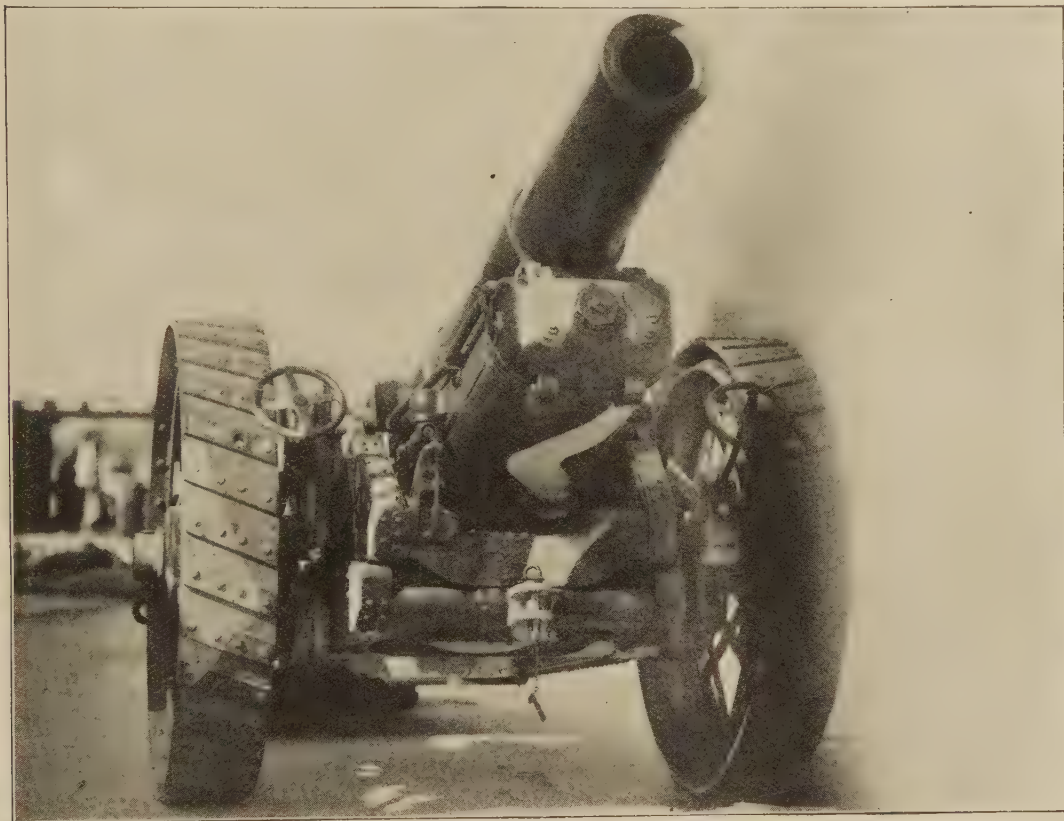
President Wilson realized that his "armed neutrality" did not meet the requirements of the situation, so, on March 18, he summoned Congress to meet two weeks earlier in order "to consider grave matters of international policy."

The final crisis with Germany had come. Pacifists and pro-Germans made a final effort. They flooded the President and Congress with telegrams and letters advocating a policy of supine submission to the wishes of the "All Highest" Hohenzollerns, and thousands hurried to Washington in person to present their views. But America's patience was at last exhausted. The great mass of intelligent people saw that the time for empty words was past, the time for action come. A great surge

of patriotism swept over the country. The real Americans asserted themselves and silenced the pusillanimous outcries of traitors and sickly sentimentalists. The Stars and Stripes were everywhere; even pro-Germans were forced to fly the emblem of freedom. Great bands of militant "Patriot Pilgrims" journeyed to the Capitol to demand that the nation live up to the traditions of a glorious past and enter the war on the side of civilization.

President to hold up his hands in every measure deemed necessary to protect the lives of American citizens and safeguard our inheritance."

In the new House the two great parties were so evenly matched that doubt existed as to which would be able to organize that body and elect the speaker. But a feeling developed that it would be better for the legislative and executive branches to be in accord politically in such a crisis.



HEAVY ARTILLERY, FORTRESS MONROE

When Congress assembled on April 2, the thought of war was in every mind. "Diplomacy has failed," said the chaplain of the House in his opening prayer. "Moral suasion has failed. Appeals to reason and justice have been swept aside. We abhor war and love peace, but if war has been or shall be forced upon us, we pray that the heart of every American citizen may throb with patriotic feeling and that a united people may rally around our

Furthermore, Mann of Illinois, the Republican candidate for speaker, was suspected of having had pro-German leanings, and his course in the preceding Congress had not been notable for stalwart Americanism. Some Independents and a few Republicans threw their votes to Champ Clark, and he was re-elected speaker over Mann by 217 to 205.

By evening of the day of meeting, Congress was ready to listen to the Presi-

dent, and he appeared before a joint session and delivered a solemn and momentous message. He said that submarine warfare had proved so destructive and unrestrained that it had become "a warfare against mankind." Armed neutrality, he confessed, was "impractical" and "ineffectual." A new choice must be made. "There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making; we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated." He therefore asked Congress to declare that the recent course of the German Government constituted war against the United States and to take the necessary steps to employ all of America's resources to force the German Government to terms and end the conflict. This would involve, he said, the closest possible coöperation with the other nations at war with Germany and the extension of liberal financial assistance to those countries. The material resources of the country must be mobilized, and the navy must be strengthened, especially with the best means for dealing with submarines. He recommended that to the armed forces already authorized an immediate addition should be made of at least 500,000 men, "chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service."

He asserted that we had "no quarrel with the German people," but only with their despotic Government. This Government, the Prussian autocracy, "was not and never could be our friend." From the very outset of the war it had "filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began." "This natural foe to liberty" must be beaten, and "the world must be made safe for democracy."

"There are, it may be," he said in conclusion, "many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people

into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other."

Even while President Wilson was on his way to address Congress, word was being passed about the Capitol that the American armed merchantman *Aztec* had been sunk without warning with probable loss of life. This new example of German "frightfulness" helped to emphasize the need for war. A resolution recognizing a state of war, authorizing the President to employ the entire naval and military forces against the Imperial German Government, and pledging all the resources of the country "to bring the conflict to a successful termination" was introduced in both houses. Hoping to secure delay, pacifists and pro-Germans urged that the issue should be submitted to a nation-wide referendum, but patriots saw no good reason why the decision should not be made by Congress, the body to which the power is entrusted by the Constitution. In the Senate the resolutions were opposed by such men as Stone and La Follette, and La Follette made a three-hour speech which brought down upon him bitter charges of disloyalty. In the House, Kitchin of North Carolina, Democratic floor leader, took a prominent part in opposing the resolutions. But all opposition was vain. On the night of April 4-5,

the resolutions passed the Senate by a vote of 82 to 6. In the early morning of the 6th, they passed the House by 373 to 50.

An interesting incident of the vote in the House occurred when, in the calling of the roll, the name of Jeannette Rankin was reached. Miss Rankin had taken her seat in the House only four days before, and, as she was the first woman who had ever sat in Congress, she had attracted great interest. After twice fail-

Many eloquent statements were made justifying America's entry, but none surpassed or perhaps equaled that penned by the editor of the *Oakland, California, Enquirer*, when the first contingent to the army of freedom marched from that place into history. After a reference to the services of the veterans of the Civil War, the article continued:

"The lads that go now, high hearted as were they, go to bleed and do and die in a



GAS MASK OUTFIT, UNITED STATES ARMY

ing to answer to her name on the first roll call, Miss Rankin rose on the second roll call and, in a badly frightened voice, sobbed: "I want to stand by my country, but I cannot vote for war." Still she did not formally cast her vote, but finally in response to insistent demands from some of her colleagues, she whispered, "No," and sank back into her seat.

At eleven minutes past one o'clock, President Wilson signed the declaratory resolution, and America and Germany were formally at war.

war that is fought under water, on its surface, on the land, and in the air above. They go to face the clouds of poisonous gas and the barrage of fire. They go in the face of all these, to give blow for blow, to pit American wits, initiative, and courage against these qualities in the servants of imperial ambition.

"They go to do more. They go to prove that they are the soldiers of a great Republic whose people are civilized. They go to write it into history that humanity, mercy and justice have their place in war

as in peace. They go to win victory, in which the despoilers of the homes of noncombatants shall be punished, the monsters who deflower women shall die wretchedly, the inhuman wretches who condemn noncombatants to slavery shall pass under the rod. They go to compel the Huns who have violated all law, divine and human, to drain to the dregs the bitter cup of sorrow they have pressed to the lips of the weak and the innocent.



COUNT CZERNIN

"They go, God's own avengers of the unspeakable suffering of the people of Belgium, Northern France, Servia, Roumania, and Armenia. As they march, unseen in the clear air above them are the spirits of the American mothers and babies that perished in the roaring sea, murdered in the *Lusitania*. They go to cleanse the earth of the men who began by violating treaties and have progressed by violating the common promptings of humanity which have been held sacred even by the red Indians of America and the black tribes of Africa.

"They are the armed guards of American honor, of the covenants of Almighty God. On this great mission we send them with every blessing, with every ascription of honor. They go to prove that this great Republic is great not only in material things, in its proud cities, its farflung fields and its laden orchards and purpling vineyards, but great in the ineffable things of the spirit, in the courage of its people and its purpose to fling high and far the banners of the best civilization created by man.

"Good-bye, boys, acquit yourselves like men!"

The Teutonic War Lords and their creatures sought to make light of America's entry into the conflict. They sneered at our army and navy. They declared that the U-boats would bring the Allies to their knees before the United States would be ready to take an active part. In reality, however, America's decision to enter the conflict reverberated around the world. It vastly heartened the Allies, put at their service the resources of the richest and potentially the most powerful nation of the globe, and influenced numerous other nations, among them Cuba, China, Brazil, Panama, and Bolivia, either to break diplomatic relations with Germany or to declare war upon her. Nor, disguise their opinions as they would, the Germans and their allies could not view with equanimity the adhesion of so powerful a country to their foes.

At the close of the war, Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated that, in April, 1917, he sent to the Emperor Charles a letter saying that the submarine warfare was certain to fail, that the Central Powers could never win, and that Germany must be induced to make peace. Czernin told the Emperor that a revolution was coming that would sweep both Kaisers from their thrones, that America's entrance into the conflict meant that her influence would soon be felt in spite of the German belief that she could not arrive in time, that nothing was more dangerous in politics than to see things as one wished



GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING

to see them rather than as they were, that there was only one possible way out, namely, the making of a general peace.

Emperor Charles agreed, and an offer was made to Germany of Austrian Galicia and to let her have Russian Poland if only she would cede Alsace-Lorraine to France. Czernin himself went to Kreuznach on the French Front to put the matter before Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, but the Chancellor was obliged to decline. The military party opposed any concession, and Czernin was told that it would be impossible to give up Alsace-Lorraine, for the German people would never understand the cession of territory which had cost so much blood.

When Czernin saw that nothing could be accomplished because Germany was obliged to obey the military party, he tried another way. He sent to Berlin, unknown to the Germans, an Austrian Socialist, who talked with Erzberger, a Clerical leader, and Sudekum, a Socialist. He told them why the war must be brought to an end. Both realized the gravity of the situation and took action in the Reichstag, submitting peace resolutions directed against the military party and also against the pan-Germanists. But the military situation improved for Germany, and the Reichstag did nothing of consequence. According to Czernin, "It was always so. When our chances were very bad the Entente was elated and when ours were good Ludendorff refused to allow peace. I always wanted to use victory as an opportunity to make peace, and several times I had the impression that this would be possible to arrange."

In September, 1917, Secretary of State Lansing gave to the public a secret telegram which had been written by Ambassador von Bernstorff just before the break, asking his Government for \$50,000 to be used in influencing Congress. All the facts concerning the dispatch were not made known, but Lansing allowed the inference to be drawn that it was transmitted through some neutral legation—probably the Swedish. The message was dated January 22, 1917, and was as follows:

"I request authority to pay out up to \$50,000 (fifty thousand dollars), in order, as on former occasions, to influence Congress through the organization you know of, which can perhaps prevent war. I am beginning in the meantime to act accordingly. In the above circumstances a public official German declaration in favor of Ireland is highly desirable, in order to gain the support of Irish influence here."

Publication of the message created a great sensation in Congress. It would seem that von Bernstorff probably intended to use the money to stimulate a popular demonstration against war—perhaps by having Congress bombarded with anti-war letters and telegrams. But it was known that the German Government had spent vast sums in America and that it had no scruples regarding methods. Congressman Heflin of Alabama openly charged that bribery had been resorted to and declared that he could name "thirteen or fourteen members who had acted suspiciously." Congressman Howard of Georgia asserted that he believed he could point to certain persons who got some of it. However, nothing more definite was ascertained. It is known, however, that in 1915 at least two Congressmen received money for activities in promoting what was known as "Labor's Peace Council," an organization through which Germany sought to secure the imposition of an embargo on munitions. Many private Americans were also on the German pay roll—notably William Bayard Hale, who, for a time, had been on intimate terms with President Wilson.

Our example in defying Germany proved contagious elsewhere. Cuba right loyally declared war upon the enemy of Uncle Sam, thus showing a sense of gratitude for the help received in '98. Panama, Bolivia, Brazil, and other Latin American countries, and the Republic of China broke diplomatic relations with Germany, and it was expected that some of them would shortly declare war. Brazil seized German merchant ships having a tonnage of about two hundred and fifty thousand, and opened her harbors to American warships.

A British commission, headed by Foreign Secretary Balfour, and a French commission, headed by ex-Premier Viviani and the immortal General Joffre, speedily visited the United States to arrange plans of coöperation. They were received with great popular enthusiasm. Memories of the days when France had stretched out a helping hand to the weak republic across the sea arose in every mind, while the nation rejoiced that the two great

Viviani pronounced a short and masterly oration, in which he referred to the presence as a member of the French commission of M. Chambrun, a descendant of Lafayette. His best passage was a touching tribute to the private soldier. It was as follows:

"While paying this supreme tribute to the memory of Washington I do not diminish the effect of my words when I turn my thoughts to the memory of so



BRITISH AND FRENCH MISSIONS AT MOUNT VERNON, VIRGINIA

branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, enemies then, were now fighting shoulder to shoulder in a good cause against a common foe.

On the 30th of April, the commissions, members of the President's Cabinet, and other notables visited Mt. Vernon and the tomb of Washington. It was a memorable occasion. After the lapse of almost a century and a half, representatives of the three chief actors in the Revolution—Allies now—had assembled to do honor to the memory of one of the supremely great and good men of history. M.

many unnamed heroes. I ask you before this tomb to bow in earnest meditation and all the fervor of piety before all the soldiers of the Allied nations who for nearly three years have been fighting under different flags for the same ideal. I beg you to address the homage of your hearts and souls to all the heroes, born to live in happiness, in the tranquil pursuit of their labors, in the enjoyment of all human affections, who went into battle with virile cheerfulness and gave themselves up, not to death alone, but to the

eternal silence that closes over those whose sacrifice remains unnamed, in the full knowledge that save for those who loved them their names would disappear with their bodies. Their monument is in our hearts. Not the living alone greet us here; the ranks of the dead themselves rise to surround the soldiers of liberty."

Mr. Balfour followed M. Viviani and spoke a few fitting, gripping words. Governor Stuart of Virginia responded for America. Then Field Marshal Joffre and

he was by birth a citizen and the country which his genius called into existence, fighting side by side to save mankind from a military despotism."

Subsequently the two missions visited numerous cities, and the French mission made a tour through the Middle West. For a long time it was impossible to persuade Marshal Joffre to make a speech. When M. Viviani addressed the Senate, cries arose of, "Joffre!" "Joffre!" But the Marshal merely smiled and answered: "I do



FRENCH MISSION IN PHILADELPHIA

two French officers came forward with a bronze wreath, which one of the greatest generals of the twentieth century laid upon the stone coffin of the noblest man of the eighteenth century. Mr. Balfour then brought the British tribute, a wreath of lilies and oak leaves tied with the colors of the three Allied nations. It bore the following inscription:

"Dedicated by the British mission to the immortal memory of George Washington, soldier, statesman, patriot, who would have rejoiced to see the country of which

not speak English." Then raising his right hand, he cried, "*Vivent les États-Unis!*" With a military salute, he was gone.

But the old soldier was deeply impressed with the wealth and power of the United States, and tears often filled his eyes when some new evidence was given of the aid that this powerful country would render his endangered France. Finally at a meeting at Chicago he was induced to make what was, for him, a long speech.

"My friends," said he, "I am proud to have in my hand the American flag,

which is to the American people what the French flag is to the people of France, a symbol of liberty. I hold in my other hand the flag of France, who has given of her best, her stanchest, and her bravest, and which also stands for liberty. I had the honor to carry the French flag on the field of battle, and I am glad to join the flag of many battles to the flag that has never known defeat. With this flag I bring to you the salute of the French army to the American people, our stanch Ally in the common cause."

As he ended he joined the two flags, having the common colors of red, white, and blue, while the whole assembly mounted on the seats and wildly cheered. And his reference to "the flag that has never known defeat" was prophetic of the future.

Italian, Japanese, Russian, Belgian, and other missions subsequently visited the United States and were well received.

The Teutonic hope that the United States would not take an active part in the war was speedily dispelled. Congress quickly appropriated (April 24) the immense sum of seven billion dollars for war purposes and authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to advance loans to nations at war with our enemies. This policy of aiding our associates financially was continued throughout the war, and, by the end of 1918, about eight billions had been so advanced. This aid took the form almost wholly of extending credits to our Allies for goods purchased in this country. Some such arrangement was vitally necessary if we were to supply such goods in large quantities, for the balance of trade was so much in favor of the United States that the country already had a plethora of gold, whereas our European Allies were being rapidly drained of coin.

During the early months of the war, volunteering for the army and navy proceeded slowly. It was clear that sufficient men could not be obtained in this way and that it would be necessary to resort to some method of conscription. A bill to that effect was introduced in Congress. It met considerable opposition.

Speaker Clark declared against it, asserting that in Missouri the word "conscript" was considered in much the same light as the word "convict." In the House the bill was opposed by Claude Kitchin, the majority leader, and by Congressman Dent, chairman of the Military Committee. Strangely enough, the task of piloting it through fell to the lot of Julius Kahn of California, ranking Republican member of the committee and a German by birth. Ultimately, the measure passed both houses by a large majority and became a law by the President's signature on May 18, 1917.

This Selective Draft Act authorized the President to raise the regular army to the maximum number named in the act of June, 1916, and to draft into the military service of the United States all members of the National Guard and of the National Guard Reserves. It also authorized him to organize and equip an additional force of 500,000 men, and, thereafter, at his discretion, to add yet another force of 500,000 men. To provide the necessary men, a selective draft system was established. All male citizens or male persons, not alien enemies, who had declared their intention to become citizens, between the ages of 21 and 30 years inclusive, were made subject to call and were required to register upon proclamation by the President. The act exempted from service, however, certain classes, including ministers of the gospel, students of theology and members of well recognized religious sects whose creed forbade participation in war, but no such person excused for religious reasons was to be exempted from non-combatant service. The President was also authorized to exempt from the draft certain state and federal officials, pilots, mariners, and persons engaged in other essential industries.

One section of the law was inserted against the wishes of the administration. Even before our break with Germany Colonel Roosevelt had appealed to the Secretary of War for permission to raise a division of troops in case of hostilities, and he later offered to raise two or possibly four divisions. He did not ask for chief

command but declared his willingness to go as a Junior Brigadier. The great success of the Rough Riders in the Spanish-American War, enthusiasm for Roosevelt personally, and other considerations caused more than 300,000 hardy spirits to offer their services—more than had volunteered at that time for the Regular Army and National Guard put together. But some Democrats in Congress thought "that the enterprise, carried through in a character-

viewed the plan with hostile eyes from the outset, and President Wilson, urging military considerations and public needs, speedily announced that he would not make use of volunteer forces for the present. Colonel Roosevelt declared that "President Wilson's reasons for refusing my offer had nothing to do either with military considerations or with public needs."

Another portion of the Selective Service Act forbade the selling of any intoxicating



WASHINGTON GREETS RUSSIAN ENVOYS

istic Rooseveltian fashion, might have an unfavorable result in the presidential election of 1920," and, therefore, opposed it. In the end, however, friends of the plan managed to incorporate into the bill a section authorizing the President to raise not to exceed four divisions of volunteers, none of the men to be under the age of 25 years. The plan was received with enthusiasm, and its supporters urged that the appearance in France of the best known of Americans would greatly hearten the Allied world. But Secretary of War Baker had

liquors to officers or men in uniform and authorized the President to make such regulations governing the prohibition of the sale of alcoholic liquors in or near military camps and to the officers and enlisted men of the army as he might from time to time deem advisable. The Secretary of War was also authorized to suppress and prevent the maintenance of houses of ill-fame within such distance of the army camps as he might deem necessary.

It cannot be said that the Selective Draft Act was received with much enthu-

siasm by those made subject to it, yet the necessity of some such measure was generally recognized. It was considered a fairer measure than the draft system in use during the Civil War, which had made it possible for men of wealth to secure exemption by hiring substitutes. It was attacked by opponents of the war, and its constitutionality was tested in the courts, but it withstood the test. Anyone evading the act or aiding another to evade the act was made subject to heavy penalties.



MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD

The date set for registration was fixed for June 5. The day passed quietly in most parts of the United States. Few arrests were made, and almost the only violent resistance attempted was in a small section of Oklahoma. Twelve questions were asked in the registration blank. One of these was "Do you claim exemption from draft? (Specify grounds.)" Hundreds of thousands of young men declined to claim exemption. The Census Bureau estimated that the number of men subject to registration was 10,264,867. In fact,

the number registered was 9,587,000. This was somewhat short of the Census Bureau's figures, but by this time at least 600,000 men were already in the military or naval service and were not compelled to register, though they were included in the census estimate. Here and there anarchist agitators, pro-Germans, and pacifists endeavored to dissuade men from registering. Some such persons were arrested, convicted, and imprisoned.

So many persons were exempted because of occupation, dependents, or for other reasons, that, in less than a year, it became clear that more men must be obtained. By a joint resolution, approved May 20, 1918, all male persons, who had attained the age of twenty-one years since the registration of the 5th of the previous June, were required to register. The new measure made 735,000 more men available, but this was not enough. By a later act the draft was extended to all male persons between the ages of 31 and 45. The registration of these persons was carried out on September 12, 1918, and the number registered was 13,228,000.

The first registrant was assimilated by the army on July 30, 1917, but the first large quota was mobilized in the training camps in September. Others were called out as rapidly as they could be housed and organized. Meanwhile, volunteering in the Regular Army, the National Guard, and the Navy continued. The Draft Act tended to stimulate volunteering, for many men preferred to volunteer rather than to be conscripted. By November, 1918, the army had been expanded to number 3,665,000. The navy, meanwhile, had been expanded to 540,000.

It had long been clear to those who understood realities that in case the United States became involved in war there would inevitably be a great shortage of officers. A raw recruit can be made a fairly good soldier in a very few months, but to transform a raw man into an efficient officer requires a much longer time. Soon after the Great War began, it occurred to Major General Leonard Wood, then in command of the Department

of the East, that it would be possible to open voluntary officers' training camps. Such a camp was actually established at Plattsburg in the summer of 1915. Attendance was voluntary, but Wood managed to secure the coöperation of prominent civilians, including his friend Roosevelt. "Spend your vacation at Plattsburg," was made the slogan of the enterprise, and many young men, then undistinguished, as well as some prominent

Wood's plan for training the tens of thousands of officers needed in the new army. On May 15, 1917, sixteen camps in different parts of the United States were opened for the training of officers with a total attendance of about 40,000. A second series of training camps was begun on August 27, and yet others at later dates.

The task of improvising an army was a vast one, yet many of the conditions



UNITED STATES TROOPS TRAINING IN FRANCE

citizens, took the training. Each student paid his board and railroad fare and bought his own uniform. Wood provided sleeping quarters, rifles, belts, packs, ammunition, and instructors. Camps were held in May, June, July, and August. In 1916, a new series of camps was held at Plattsburg and also at other places.

Many of the men who took the training subsequently served their country very efficiently in battle, and, when America entered the war, the Government adopted

under which the work must be done were exceedingly favorable. Our armies were not obliged to enter into battle at once, as would have been the case had we been fighting the war independently. We were not compelled to sacrifice our Regular Army and National Guard, as the British had been compelled to sacrifice their Regular Army and Territorials in order to hold back the German tide while "Kitchener's mob" was being trained. Instead we were able to use our Regular

Army and National Guard as *nuclei* for larger forces. Our West Pointers and National Guard officers could be used in training new men. Our troops did not, in fact, do any really serious fighting until over thirteen months after we entered the war. Behind the protection of the British navy and of the French and British armies we were able to build up our armies almost at leisure.

Our Allies gladly offered us the benefit of their experience and advice. We were given an opportunity to profit by their experiences. Many French and British officers came to America to help in the training. Even greater assistance was rendered when our troops landed on the other side. Furthermore, our Allies furnished us with war supplies. In fact, of the material actually used in fighting, all the tanks, most of the aeroplanes and many of the shells were furnished by the French or British.

It was evident that the war would be enormously costly. Not only must the Government expend vast sums on its own military and naval program but it was early decided to advance money to our associates in the conflict. It was certain that most of the money must be obtained by loans. Congress authorized the issuance of certificates of indebtedness, War Saving Certificates, better known as Thrift Stamps, and government bonds. The certificates of indebtedness were designed to run for only a few months and bore interest at rates running from two to three and a quarter per cent. Large sums were temporarily obtained through this plan and over \$800,000,000 was realized from the sale of Thrift Stamps. But by far the greatest amount of money was raised through the sale of bonds.

In all, five great loans were floated and sold after vigorous campaigns. The first four were known as Liberty Loans; the last, which was floated after the armistice was signed, was called the Victory Loan. The First Liberty Loan was announced on May 14, 1917. The bonds were dated June 15, 1917, and were to bear $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest from that date, payable semi-

annually. The bonds were to mature on June 15, 1947, and were made redeemable by the Government on or after June 15, 1932. These bonds were made exempt, both as to principal and interest, from all taxation, federal, state, and local, except inheritance taxes. Holders of these bonds were also given the privilege of converting them into bonds bearing a higher rate of interest to be issued subsequently. The bonds were issued in denominations as low as \$100 for registered bonds and \$50 for coupon bonds. A plan of partial payment was adopted, and other devices were employed to encourage small investors to subscribe. When the lists were closed it was found that over 4,000,000 persons had subscribed and that the total subscriptions amounted to \$3,035,226,850, or more than 150 per cent of the amount offered. Allotments were made in full to those who had subscribed \$10,000 or less. Those subscribing for larger amounts were allotted from 60 per cent to 20 per cent of the amount they subscribed.

A second loan of \$3,000,000,000 was offered on the 1st of the following October. The rate was fixed at 4 per cent, payable semi-annually, and the bonds were to run 25 years, but the Government might at its option redeem them in ten years. They were also made convertible into any subsequent issue bearing a higher rate of interest. These bonds were also made exempt as to principal and interest from state and local taxation except state income taxes, but were not exempt from graduated income taxes and excess profits and war profits taxes levied by the federal Government. The selling campaign was pushed with great vigor and enthusiasm. Nearly 10,000,000 persons subscribed a total of \$4,617,532,300. This was an excess of 54 per cent, but the Government accepted one-half of the excess.

A Third Liberty Loan of \$3,000,000,000 was offered on April 6, 1918, and the selling campaign closed on May 4. The rate was fixed at $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent with about the same exemptions and privileges as was the case with the second issue except that

the bonds were not made convertible into later issues. The date of maturity was fixed at September 15, 1928. The campaign corresponded with the dark days of the German drive in Picardy and Flanders and the result was again a tremendous success. There were 18,376,815 subscriptions for a total of \$4,176,516,850, an over-subscription of 38.61 per cent.

The Fourth Liberty Loan was floated in the fall of 1918 in the midst of the Allied

until two years after the end of the war. Furthermore, the taxpayer who subscribed for \$30,000 of this issue and still held the bonds when he made his income tax return was entitled to a similar exemption upon the interest on \$45,000 of the second and third loans. Holders of less than \$30,000 of the fourth loan were entitled in like proportion to exemption on earlier bonds.

Soon after the Fourth Liberty Loan was closed the Teutons sued for peace



NORFOLK, VIRGINIA, NAVY YARD IN WAR TIME

victories. The offering was for \$6,000,000,000 of $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent bonds and the date of maturity was set at October 15, 1938, but redeemable five years earlier. The patriotic spirit of the nation was now fully aroused and there were 22,000,000 subscriptions totaling \$6,989,047,000. This made it the greatest financial operation of the kind in the world's history. A feature of this loan was that in order to stimulate its sale, interest on \$30,000 of these bonds was made exempt from surtaxes, excess profits, and war profit taxes

but expenses were so enormous that a fifth loan was necessary. It was called the Victory Loan. The sum asked for was \$4,500,000,000. The bonds were for the short term of four years, with the privilege to pay in three, and the interest rate was fixed at $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. By this time war enthusiasm had considerably abated but there were about twelve million subscriptions for a total of \$5,249,908,300. The great success of these loans was in large measure due to the patriotism of the people. While it was generally

considered that the bonds were a safe investment, the interest return offered was comparatively low and a very large number of the subscriptions were made with the primary object of helping to win the war rather than to obtain a financial return. In fact, the bonds soon fell below par, those of the second loan falling as low at times as 92 or 93. Those of the first loan, although for a lower rate of interest, held their own better than any of the other issues owing to their special income tax exemption features. The decline in the bonds was in large measure due to the fact that great numbers of people bought bonds and then found that they wished to dispose of them, sometimes from necessity. This resulted in throwing bonds upon the market in vast sums with consequent fall in prices. It was greatly to the credit of the American people that even when bonds of old issues were much below par they were willing to purchase new bonds in enormous sums.

At the time the Victory Loan was floated, Secretary of the Treasury Carter Glass, who had recently succeeded McAdoo, estimated that when all the war bills were paid the total national debt would be approximately \$30,000,000,000. However, the United States had advanced some \$10,000,000,000 to foreign countries. Subtracting this sum from the total debt would leave a net national indebtedness of about \$20,000,000,000. This meant an average per capita indebtedness of about \$200 for every man, woman, and child in the country. It was very questionable, however, whether some of the nations to whom money had been advanced would ever be able to meet the obligations, so that the total net indebtedness would probably be greater than \$20,000,000,000. This is a vast sum, yet it represents perhaps only ten per cent of the total wealth of the country and should not prove an impossible load for the nation. The war had, in fact, proved to be expensive beyond precedent. By April, 1919, the Government had in two years expended about \$4,000,000,000 more than the National Government had spent

from 1776 down to 1917, including all civil expenses and the cost of all our other wars. In fact, after the armistice was signed, the Government expended more than double what it spent in putting down the Great Rebellion of 1861-65.

It was felt, however, that posterity should not be made to bear the entire financial burden of the conflict, so an elaborate system of war taxation was enacted. The first measure of this sort was the so-called War Revenue Act, which was approved by the President on October 3, 1917. An increased income tax, increased internal revenue duties, new excise taxes, a heavy war excess-profits tax running from 20 to 60 per cent, formed the chief bases of the new act. The individual income tax, which had been increased in September, 1916, was amended. All single persons with a net income of over \$1,000 must pay two per cent on all beyond that sum, while all married persons having net incomes of \$2,000 must pay on the excess beyond that sum, provided, however, that an exemption was allowed for each dependent child under 18 and for other dependents physically or mentally defective. A graduated surtax rising from one to 50 per cent on large incomes was added to the existing income rates. It was estimated that the act would produce \$2,534,870,000 for the fiscal year 1918.

The expenses of the war mounted so rapidly that, in his report of May, 1918, Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo urged that a new measure providing for a revenue of six billion dollars should be passed before the adjournment of Congress. A bill designed to raise \$8,000,000,000 or one-third the estimated expenditures for the coming year, passed the House in September, but the Senate procrastinated in its consideration of the measure. The collapse of the Central Powers led to a change of plans, and the measure finally enacted, in March, 1919, was designed to raise only about six billions, with a reduction to four billions the second year. The measure increased income and other old taxes, and levied many new taxes.

The most pressing need of all was for merchant ships. Fortunately there were in ports of the United States more than ninety German merchant vessels of a total tonnage of over six hundred thousand tons, and these vessels, together with a few interned warships, were seized. The machinery of nearly all the ships had been badly damaged by their crews, who supposed that thereby they had put the ships out of commission for many months. But

for the Germans to sink what had formerly been their own boats!

It early became clear that America could render much help by furnishing larger quantities of food to the Allies.

The cry of, "Food will win the war!" was raised. Like most other slogans this cry was not literally true, but food could undoubtedly *help* to win the war, and without it the war would be lost. The need of the Allies was very great,



AEROPLANE MEET, SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

by skillful use of the new method of electric welding, American mechanics put the ships in working order in an astonishingly short time. Most of the vessels were rechristened. Thus the *Vaterland*, the biggest ship afloat, became the *Leviathan*, while others were named after Schurz, Steuben, Sigel, and other Germans who had played noble parts in American history. Subsequently these German ships carried many hundreds of thousands of men to France. A few of them were torpedoed, but undoubtedly it was a melancholy task

and at the time the United States entered the war the whole world's food reserve was very low. Even in the United States the reserve stock of wheat was said to be lower than at any other time in our history.

The food campaign took two chief forms: conservation and increased production. Congress appropriated large sums to aid in both these objects. The campaign for increased production was carried on with remarkable energy and resourcefulness. Farmers were encouraged to produce more grain and vegetables and to

raise more cattle and hogs; great emphasis was laid upon the importance of good seed; everybody was urged to cultivate a "war garden;" canning clubs were organized; and to a really remarkable extent the public generally and the farmers particularly rallied to the call. For the purpose of stimulating the production of wheat, a minimum price of \$2.20 a bushel was fixed for No. 1 northern spring wheat or its equivalent at the principal interior



ADMIRAL WILLIAM S. SIMS

markets, with a system of differentials between zones and between different grades and classes.

This was done under authority conferred by the Food and Fuel Control Act of August 10, 1917. This act gave the Government sweeping powers over the sale and distribution of foods and fuel.

The building of merchant ships did not proceed so rapidly. Back in September, 1916, Congress had created a Shipping Board of five members to regulate the

rates and practices of water carriers in foreign commerce or in interstate commerce, on the high seas or on the Great Lakes. America's entrance into the war brought to this board new and vastly important duties, among these being the building of ships. For this purpose the Board organized an Emergency Fleet Corporation with a capital of \$50,000,000, all subscribed by the Government, while Congress, from time to time, appropriated vast sums for its use.

The Shipping Board commandeered all ship building in American yards, and a vast program of new construction was undertaken. The need of ships was so vital that plans for building great numbers of wooden ships were made. Major General George Goethals, builder of the Panama Canal, became general manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and the public expected ship construction to move forward rapidly. But shipyards and ways were lacking, the supply of skilled workmen was limited, strikes and other labor troubles were frequent, and optimistic forecasts issued by Chairman Denman of the Shipping Board were not only not realized but even the completion of the ships commandeered was delayed. General Goethals opposed the building of wooden ships, and became involved in a controversy with Denman which resulted in the retirement (August, 1917) of both men.

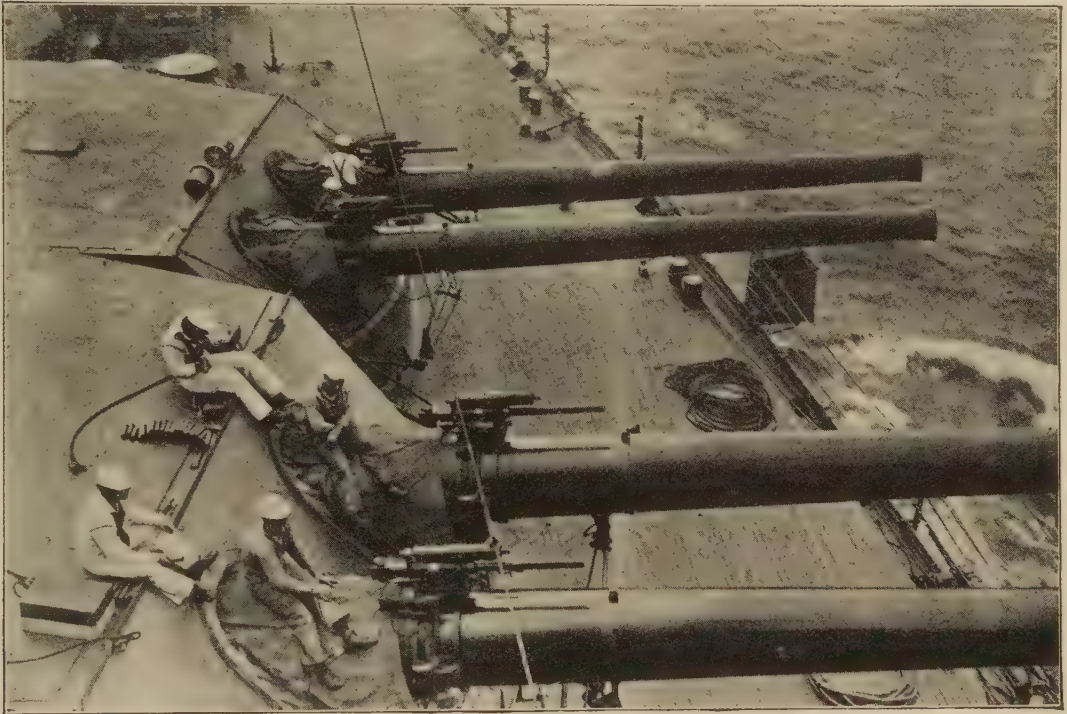
It was important to be constructing merchant ships, but the war on the sea could not be won merely by setting up new targets for German torpedoes. The really effective policy was to fight the submarines. Shortly before we entered the war, Vice-Admiral Sims was sent to England to arrange coöperation between our navy and those of our Allies. Sims was a highly talented officer, who had done a great deal to make the American navy efficient. When still a lieutenant, he became convinced that the marksmanship of our naval gunners was poor and that new methods ought to be adopted. At this time, the navy had no scientific system of gunnery. The targets were stuck up on a floating barrel or fixed to a

buoy and then the battleships steamed off to a proper range and blazed away. Targets were usually not examined but the officers merely estimated from the ships the accuracy of the fire, and any shot that struck in line with the target was considered a hit.

While in Chinese waters Sims became acquainted with a young British officer named Percy Scott who had a device for improving the marksmanship of gun crews and developing expert gun pointers.

crew in its use. In the next target practice this crew easily defeated all others in the Asiatic fleet. Sims thereupon urged his superiors to adopt the plan generally throughout the navy. His recommendations were pigeon-holed by the bureaucrats of the department and finally Sims appealed directly to President Roosevelt.

Roosevelt well understood the importance of accurate shooting in warfare and gave Lieutenant Sims an interview. As a means of proving his contentions,



TRAINING FOR BATTLE PRACTICE, UNITED STATES NAVY

Owing to the great cost of firing a big gun, target practice was, of course, extremely expensive and was rarely indulged in. Scott had devised a plan of fixing a smaller barrel to the top of the big gun. The gun crew pointed the big gun but when the trigger was pulled, the actual shot fired came from the smaller barrel. By means of this device it was possible for the crew to have very frequent practice. Scott explained the plan to Sims, and Sims equipped one of the big rifles on his own ship with such a tube and trained a gun

Sims proposed that the President order a battleship to engage in target practice under conditions which Sims should specify; a target should be set up, larger than the one in use by the navy and if, under battle conditions, the gunners were able to make a reasonable average of hits, then Sims would confess that he was guilty of presumptuous advice. Roosevelt was struck by the suggestion and ordered not one, but five battleships to undertake the experiment. Sims selected an old lighthouse on an old outlying reef and

nailed upon it a canvas target 17 feet by 21 feet. Then for five hours for varying distances the ships sailed back and forth firing at the target. When the target was finally examined, it had not been hit a single time. Convinced of the need of improvement, Roosevelt promoted Sims to the rank of commander and made him official inspector of target practice. Under his able management gunnery in the navy was revolutionized, and Sims became known as the father of target

speech he was reprimanded by the home authorities, but a day came when he was able to remind the British and his own people of his prediction. Admiral Sims held command of our naval forces in European waters throughout the war, and coöperated with our Allies in a manner that won their regard and admiration.

The work of patrolling a large part of the Atlantic was soon taken over by our navy, thereby releasing British vessels for use in the North Sea and other waters



RECEPTION TO BELGIAN MISSION

practice. He also introduced many other improvements, and by cutting out all waste motion, standardizing movements, and synchronizing efforts, he reduced the time required to load and fire a big gun from five minutes to thirty seconds.

In 1910, in a speech in Guild Hall in London, Sims had declared: "I believe that if the time ever comes when the British Empire is menaced by an external enemy, you may count upon every man, every drop of blood, every ship, and every dollar of your kindred across the sea." For this

close at home. Early in May, a considerable number of destroyers was sent to British waters and arrived at Queens-town in such good trim that they were able to set to work as soon as they had taken on fuel. Later, their number was considerably augmented. Many cruisers, converted yachts, and submarine "chasers" were also sent abroad. Hydroplanes and dirigible balloons were provided in course of time.

Meanwhile, American armed merchantmen continued to make voyages through

the war zone. On April 19, the gun crew of the merchant *Mongolia* fired the first American shot of the war against a submarine, and, it was believed, seriously damaged or destroyed the U-boat. Similar duels, mostly at long range, occurred from time to time, in some of which the American vessels were sunk, while in others they drove off or sank their assailants. The U-boat captains speedily discovered that it was hazardous to attack armed American merchantmen with gun fire, and after a few months such conflicts became less common. This was partly due to the fact that the Allies adopted a policy of gathering merchantmen into fleets convoyed by warships. On this subject more will be said hereafter.

It was clear that many months must elapse before the United States could put any considerable force on the firing line. But the collapse of Russia made it necessary for the United States to furnish troops, while the failure of the Allied offensive on the Western Front, in April, 1917, together with the course of events in Russia, had greatly depressed the French and even the British. For the sake of the effect on French and British morale, the Allied commissioners in America, in particular Marshal Joffre, urged that some troops should be sent over as speedily as possible, and our Government agreed that it should be done.

To command the overseas forces the President selected Major General John J. Pershing, the man who had led the expedition into Mexico after Villa. General Pershing was a graduate of West Point, and as a young man had seen active service against the Apache Indians in the southwest. Subsequently he fought in the San Juan campaign and in the Philippines. As a military observer he was attached to Kuroki's army in the Russo-Japanese War and had an opportunity to witness modern warfare on a large scale. His work in the Philippines against the wild Mohammedan Moros was of so high a character that President Roosevelt, a keen judge of military men, promoted him from a captain to a brigadier general,

jumping him over the heads of 862 other officers.

After some preliminary work in Washington, General Pershing sailed from New York harbor, late in May, on the steamship *Baltic*, accompanied by a staff of 63 officers and 146 men, including privates and civilian attachés. At the edge of the submarine zone American destroyers met the *Baltic* and escorted her to British waters. On June 8, General Pershing



MAJOR GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING

and his party landed in Liverpool and were received by a British general, a British admiral, the mayor of the port, a guard of honor and a regimental band, which played the *Star Spangled Banner*. General Pershing issued the following message to the British public:

"We are very proud and glad to be the standard bearers of our country in this great war for civilization and to land on British soil. The welcome which we have received is magnificent and deeply appreciated. We hope in time to be

playing our part—and we hope it will be a big part—on the Western Front.”

The party proceeded from Liverpool to London by special train. While there General Pershing met Lord Derby, Secretary of State for War, General Lord French, Premier Lloyd George, King George, and many other British notables.

After conferences with the British military authorities, General Pershing passed on to France. His reception was most

everyone was waving an American flag, while cries of *‘Vive l’Amérique!’* became a sustained roar on the way from the Gare du Nord to the Boulevards.” Among those who greeted him were Marshal Joffre, M. Viviani, and General Foch. In Pershing the masses in the streets saw symbolized the coming of an army. “Here was America to help them, America, which had always stood in popular imagination as the symbol of incredible wealth and greatness. In the person of the simply dressed American general they cheered the whole American army—millions strong, if need be, to carry the war to victory.”

On June 14, General Pershing was taken to visit the tomb of Napoleon in the Hotel des Invalides. As the Americans entered the grounds leading to the building, they were met by a number of veterans of previous French wars who had their home at this institution. One of them was a grizzled soldier of the Crimean War. Passing into the Invalides, General Niox conducted the American commander within the vast rotunda with its walls hung with battle flags. The party proceeded to the crypt where the sarcophagus of Napoleon is laid. Few persons have ever been admitted to the crypt except crowned heads or former heads of states, as in the case of ex-President Roosevelt on his return from Africa.

General Pershing and his staff were taken to the crypt by Marshal Joffre. A great key was inserted in the brass

door. “Marshal Joffre and General Niox drew aside while General Pershing faced the door alone. He took a deep breath, stepped suddenly forward, and with a single motion threw his arm straight out and turned the key. In a tiny alcove at one side of the crypt the governor of the Invalides unlocked the case, drew out the sword, and raised it to his lips. Then he presented the hilt to General Pershing, who received it, held it at salute for a moment, and then kissed the hilt. The same ceremony was followed



GENERALS FOCH AND PERSHING

enthusiastic. As he stepped ashore at Boulogne, he was greeted by General Dumas, who said, “I salute the United States of America, which has now become united to the United States of Europe.” After a drive through the streets of Boulogne, amid the plaudits of great crowds, General Pershing departed by special train for Paris. His reception in that city was the greatest given to anybody since the beginning of the war. Every housetop, wall, and window was filled with cheering Frenchmen. “It seemed that

with the cross of the cordon of the Legion of Honor, General Pershing holding the cross to his lips before passing it back to the governor. This was the most signal honor France ever bestowed upon any man. Before this occasion not even a Frenchman ever was permitted to hold the historic relics in his hands. Kings and princes have been taken to the crypt that holds the body of the great Emperor, but they only viewed the sword and cross through the plateglass of the case in which they rest. The relics had not been touched since the time of Louis Philippe."

On the morning of June 15, General Joffre, hero of the Marne, and General Pershing stood bare-headed on the balcony of the Military Club before an immense crowd filling the Place de l'Opéra. Their appearance together excited great enthusiasm. "*Vive Joffre, who saved us from defeat! Vive Pershing, who brings us victory!*" cried an excited French girl in the street. The crowd took it as a good omen and burst into applause which did not cease until long after the two generals had withdrawn from sight.

General Pershing also visited President Poincaré, the French Chamber of Deputies, and the French Senate, but perhaps the most touching of all the ceremonies connected with his reception was his visit to the tomb of Lafayette. With him he took a huge wreath of American Beauty roses with which to honor the memory of the man who more than a century before had crossed stormy seas to fight for liberty in America. The service was very simple and very brief but tremendously impressive. With a few officers of his staff General Pershing motored to the cemetery where he was received only by the Marquis and the

Count de Chambrun, lineal descendants of America's benefactor. The Marquis spoke a brief welcome, to which General Pershing replied in a sentence which was caught up both in America and in France because it summed up the immortal past and the hope of the future. It was, "Lafayette, we are here."

The welcome to Pershing and to the



ARRIVAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN LIVERPOOL

troops that followed him was in part stage-managed by the French Government. The failure of the offensive in April had greatly depressed French spirits, and the Government was anxious to emphasize the coming of American aid in order to restore French confidence and morale. It must not be supposed, however, that the greeting was lacking in spontaneous enthusiasm. In fact, the French welcome was so warm that some of "our officers re-

marked with dry American humor that they were received with all the honor due immortal heroism before they had done any fighting."

The first contingent of troops, under command of Major General William L. Sibert, steamed into the harbor of St. Nazaire on the early morning of June 26. Their coming had not been previously announced, but the news that the Americans had arrived spread with astonishing

town itself speedily took on a holiday appearance, and the American colors blossomed forth everywhere. The American troops were speedily dubbed the "Sammies," or, by some, the "Teddies," to distinguish them from the British "Tommies," who were already so well known in France. Delegations of French military and naval men were ready formally to welcome their new comrades in arms, who were soon transferred to a camp not



FIFTY-SIXTH REGIMENT, SEVENTH DIVISION, EMBARKING FOR OVERSEAS

rapidity, and, by the time the steamships drew along the quays, many thousands of people were on hand to extend a welcome. The whistles of the crafts in the harbor kept up an endless din, while every man, woman, and child shouted "*Vive la France!*" "*Vivent les États-Unis!*" with the enthusiasm of those who felt that their deliverers had come. The bands on the warships alternately played the *Star Spangled Banner* and the *Marseillaise* as the American flag was hoisted. The

far from the port of debarkation. New contingents came on the following day, and the last units of the expedition, consisting of ships loaded with supplies and horses, reached port on July 2.

On June 28, General Pershing, accompanied by General Pelletier, visited the camp and inspected the troops. Regulations for maintaining order in the town near which the camp was situated were issued, and the right of maintaining discipline was transferred by the French

authorities to the United States military police. It was highly important that nothing should be done to mar the good relations between the two peoples, and General Pershing himself issued a general order emphasizing the need of good behavior on the part of the soldiers. It ran as follows:

"For the first time in history an American army finds itself in European territory. The good name of the United States of America and the maintenance of cordial relations require the perfect deportment of each member of this command.

"It is of the gravest importance that the soldiers of the American army shall at all times treat the French people, and especially the women, with the greatest courtesy and consideration. The valiant deeds of the French armies and the Allies, by which they together have successfully maintained the common cause for three years, and the sacrifices of the civil population of France in support of their armies, command our profound respect. This can best be expressed on the part of our forces by uniform courtesies to all the French people and by the faithful observance of their laws and customs.

"The intense cultivation of the soil in France, under conditions caused by the war, makes it necessary that extreme care be taken to do no damage to private property. The entire French manhood capable of bearing arms is in the field fighting the enemy, and it should, therefore, be a point of honor to each member of the American army to avoid doing the least damage to any property in France."

The town speedily took on an American atmosphere. "American mules went through the streets of that little port town, drawing army wagons piled high with officers' bedding rolls or sides of beef; motortrucks that had been on the Mexican border ran past them on the way out to the camp; military police began keeping the crowds off the piers; the navy blue of

sailors on shore mingled with khaki on the curbs or in front of the cafés; and under the covering barrages of gestures the vanguard of the expedition was making its first frontal attack on the French language."

On July 3, General Pétain, commander in chief of the French armies in France,



UNITED STATES OBSERVATION BALLOON

issued the following general order to his men:

"Tomorrow, the Independence Day celebration of the United States, the first American troops which have debarked in France will defile in Paris. Later they will join us on the front. Let us salute these new companions in arms who without thought of gain or of conquest, but with

the simple desire of defending the cause of right and liberty, have come to take their places in the ranks beside us.

"Others are preparing to follow them. They will soon be on our soil. The United States mean to put at our disposition, without reckoning, their soldiers, their factories, their vessels, and their entire country. They want to pay a hundredfold the debt of gratitude which they owe to Lafayette and his companions.

"From all the points of the front a single shout on this July 4 will be heard: 'Honor to the great sister. Long live the United States!'"

The Fourth of July was, in fact, celebrated throughout France with great enthusiasm. The chief feature of the celebration was the marching through Paris of a battalion of American troops. Everywhere the Stars and Stripes were flying from public buildings, hotels, and restaurants, and from automobiles, cabs, and carts; horses' bridles and the lapels of pedestrians bore them. Crowds began to gather very early in the morning along the line of march. General Pershing, President Poincaré, Marshal Joffre, and other French high dignitaries viewed the Americans. Endless cheering greeted the men from overseas as they marched through the streets, and the sound did not diminish until the last man in the line had disappeared from view.

The American troops were soon transferred to training bases in Lorraine, though the location was not published to the world. Much yet remained to be done even with the men who were already in France. The First Division was composed, in a sense, of regulars, but the regiments had been greatly expanded, and the great majority of the men had been in the service only a few months or even a few weeks. Compared with the veteran French and British soldiers, they unquestionably looked raw and poorly trained. Yet a veteran American war correspondent who had watched the war from the beginning confessed that when he saw them and attempted to articulate his emotions, something tightened in his

throat and left him silent with a million little needles running a riot of prickles through his veins. For these were the soldiers of his own country coming "to hazard their courage in this greatest of wars." He said, however, that when he saw an American battalion marching through the streets and recollected "the columns of British regulars, every man molded by long training, which had marched out of Boulogne in August, 1914, I almost wished that Staffs were less particular about all-round programmes and that we had sent over a crack division of regulars as an example of the kind of trained soldiers that we could produce." But the raw material was there, the spirit was there, and, a year later, these men were to prove themselves worthy of fighting alongside the finest troops in the world.

It was settled, almost as a matter of necessity, that the American Front should be in Lorraine. This was partly due to the fact that the northern French ports and railroads were used to supply the British and French lines. It would be necessary, therefore, not only to build up an army but to establish railway lines communicating with some of the southern ports such as Bordeaux, La Rochelle, St. Nazaire, and Brest, with the front we intended to take over. Old French railroads were made a basis for the lines, but some new roads were constructed, and many of the old lines were double-tracked. The town of Chaumont became American headquarters, and the region of St. Dizier and Neufchâteau became our main advance base. At a very early date, it was decided that our first great attack would be made on the St. Mihiel salient.

At this time, it was General Pershing's intention to create a purely American force. He planned to train divisions until he had enough ready for an army corps, and then to occupy a separate sector with that. As new divisions arrived and received training, they would be formed into new corps and these corps would take over more of the line.

All this preparation was desirable, but it naturally grew tiresome. The fact that the British and French were fighting the enemy all this time led the men of the First Division to feel that they were not doing their part. One soldier said it was like standing on the bank and watching a man drown without going into the water to help him. The division was inspected by Generals Pétain, Castelnau, and Foch, and President Poincaré, who watched them march past, and, of

the men be given careful training in marksmanship. Time was to show that this was a wise decision. The Allied soldiers had, in fact, become so accustomed to the use of hand-grenades and bayonets that it had come to be so that sometimes troops would try to catch enemies instead of shooting them down as they ran.

The French naturally were anxious for the Americans to begin fighting. The French general public, which, at first, had expected impossible things from the



ITALIAN MISSION IN NEW YORK

course, praised them in high terms to their officers. But still the order to go into the trenches did not come. Another French division took the place of the Chasseurs-Alpins who were coaching the men, and British instructors came to give training in some of their specialties, especially the bayonet. The Americans took all the instruction offered them, and yet, despite the long years of trench fighting and the comparative disrepute into which the rifle had fallen as a weapon in the new warfare, General Pershing insisted that

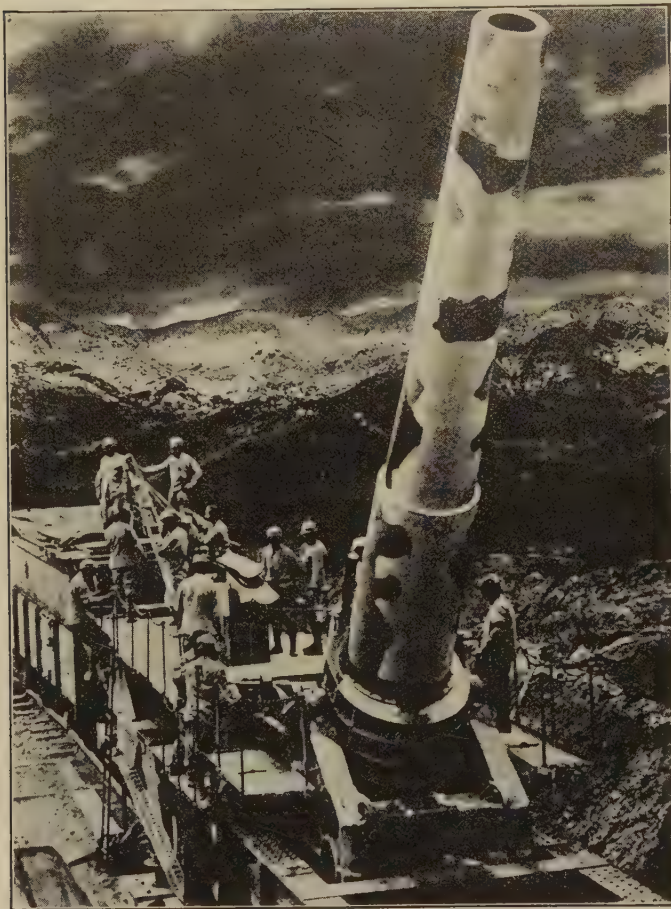
Americans at an early date, gradually changed its opinions, and some pessimists began to doubt whether the Americans ever would go into the trenches. German propagandists naturally declared, of course, that the Americans were only "bluffing" and did not intend to risk their skins in actual warfare.

There were, of course, good reasons why the men did not begin fighting sooner. Though the regiments composing the First Division were all regular regiments, they were in reality only skeleton organiza-

tions which had been filled out with raw recruits. Even the French class of 1918 had a year of training before they were sent to the trenches, and many of the men of the First Division had not been in the service even that long when they were finally sent to the firing line.

The subject of when the division would go to the front was, of course, a matter

Lorraine not far from Nancy. The plan was for our battalions to be placed three at a time between French battalions, while every American battery was to be paired off with a French battery. Thus, even at the front, our men remained under French tutorage, and, for the time being, not even a patrol could be sent out without French orders.



FRENCH GUN TURNED OVER TO AMERICAN FORCES

of endless discussion among the men and officers. Finally General Joffre, the victor of the Marne, visited the training camp and looked over the men. Then there was a sort of dress rehearsal in which the division served for three days in practice trenches under conditions much like the real thing. Finally word came to move. The troops made the journey on trains and presently reached a quiet sector in

trenches first moved forward. The men received an enthusiastic reception from the French troops that they relieved. Every American was shaken by the hand, some were hugged, some were kissed on both cheeks in true Gallic style. The next morning under dripping clouds the men got their first view of the German lines and also had a very substantial taste of mud.

On the night of October 22, the artillery moved up to the front. Naturally the batteries were eager for the honor of firing the first shot on land against the enemy. Early next morning, without going into position or even selecting a target, some men of Battery C of the Sixth Artillery discharged a shell "in the general direction of Berlin." The shot was fired by a red-headed gunner from South Bend, Indiana, who gained much notoriety at home by the exploit. The first shell case was sent to President Wilson and was forwarded to West Point as a relic. It was not of American make, but a French 75. The next day, the French shelled the German battery position, which they had located by sound. The enemy vigorously replied, and some of the shells fell close to the Americans, who joined in the duel.

On the night of October 23, which happened to be rainy and chilly, the battalions which were to occupy the

As has already been said, the sector was a very quiet one in which there had been no fighting of consequence for a long time. It was in a place in which the Germans would not be likely to undertake a serious offensive. In fact, both they and the French used the region as a resting place for tired divisions or for those which were not of first rate character. Still there was no telling what the Germans might attempt. They might, for example,

Desultory artillery firing took place, and there was some scouting in No Man's Land, but, for some time, the only casualties were an officer and one private, who were wounded by fragments of shell.

On November 3, a German war bulletin laconically announced that "at the Rhine-Marne Canal, as a result of a reconnoitering thrust, North American soldiers were brought in as prisoners." The bulletin aroused great interest in America and



AMERICAN AND FRENCH TROOPS SMOKING OUT THE GERMANS

endeavor to strike a blow against the men from beyond seas with the idea of terrorizing those at home.

On the second day, the Americans took their first prisoner. He was a young fellow who was somewhat defective physically and had, therefore, been attached to the landsturm regiment which was facing the Americans. He had lost his way and being suddenly attacked at close quarters was mortally wounded by a bayonet thrust before he was taken.

proved to be true. Being anxious to obtain information, the Germans had planned a raid in force. They concentrated the fire of a considerable number of guns upon a section of trench. They penned some of the Americans in their dugouts with a box-barrage of bursting projectiles, and then about 200 of the infantry dashed into the position. In some places they met hot resistance, and rifles, pistols, hand grenades, knives, and bayonets were freely used. When the Germans had

retired, it was discovered that three Americans had been killed and eleven wounded, and that eleven were missing. The Germans abandoned three rifles, a few helmets, and one wounded German was left behind. Other Germans had been wounded or killed but had been carried off by their comrades.

ors, artillerymen, engineers, and infantry, together with American infantry, were formed in a square facing the graves. As the flag-wrapped caskets were lowered into the graves, the bugler blew "taps," and the batteries at the front fired minute guns. Then General Bordeau, who commanded the division in this sector, stepped forward and delivered a tribute to the fallen.

"Of their own free will," said he, "they left a prosperous and happy country to come over here. They knew war was continuing in Europe; they knew that the forces fighting for honor, love of justice, and civilization were still checked by the long-prepared forces serving the powers of brutal domination, oppression, and barbarity. They knew that efforts were still necessary. They wished to give us their generous hearts, and they have not forgotten old historical memories, while others forget more recent ones.

"They ignored nothing of the circumstances, and nothing had been concealed from them—neither the length and hardships of war, nor the violence of battle, nor the dreadfulness of new weapons, nor the perfidy of the foe. Nothing stopped them. They accepted the hard and strenuous life; they crossed the ocean at great peril; they took their places on the front by our side, and they have fallen facing the foe in a hard and desperate hand-to-hand fight. Honor to them! Their families, friends, and fellow-citizens will be proud

when they learn of their deaths.

"Men! These graves, the first to be dug in our national soil, and but a short distance from the enemy, are as a mark of the mighty land we and our Allies firmly cling to in the common task, confirming the will of the people and the army of the United States to fight with us to a



WINDSOR CASTLE.

Soldiers of the United States, the people of the British Isles welcome you on your way to take your stand beside the armies of many Nations now fighting in the Old World the great battle for human freedom.

The Allies will gain new heart & spirit in your company.

I wish that I could shake the hand of each one of you & bid you God speed on your mission.

George R. I.

April 1918.

GREETING FROM KING GEORGE

The Americans killed were Corporal James B. Gresham of Evansville, Indiana, and Privates Thomas F. Enright of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Merle D. Hay of Glidden, Iowa. On the afternoon of November 4, the first American soldiers to die in battle in France were buried at Bathlemont. Detachments of French sail-

finish, ready to sacrifice as long as is necessary until final victory for the most noble of causes, that of the liberty of nations, the weak as well as the mighty. Thus the deaths of these humble soldiers appear to us with extraordinary grandeur.

"We will, therefore, ask that the mortal remains of these young men be left here, left with us forever. We inscribe on the tombs, 'Here lie the first soldiers of the Republic of the United States to fall on the soil of France for liberty and justice.' The passerby will stop and uncover his head. Travelers and men of heart will go out of their way to come here to pay their respective tributes.

"Private Enright, Private Gresham, Private Hay! In the name of France I thank you. God receive your souls. Farewell."

The American troops naturally were extremely eager to retaliate. They wished to carry out raids themselves against the Germans and to repay the injury with interest, but it did not accord with the plans of the French Staff to arouse any decided activity in that sector, so the American desire for revenge temporarily could not be gratified.

For a long time the Americans did not attempt any independent raids. The first one planned was to have taken place on the morning of the 4th of March and was to have been carried out by 150 men from the First Division, which was then in line on the south side of the St. Mihiel salient. Great preparations were made for the enterprise, but unfortunately the detachment of engineers, which had been instructed to blow up the German wires with bengalore torpedoes, lost their way, and the whole plan had to be given up. Mistakes of this sort were inevitable in the training period, and in the words of a writer on the subject, "No one can appreciate the real accomplishment of the army, who does not realize how unskilled it was to begin with, and how dangerous it was to be unskilled in the presence of a keen and practiced enemy."

Another discouraging experience for the Americans occurred on April 20, 1918,

when the Germans made a raid in force on the village of Seicheprey on the south side of the St. Mihiel salient. About 4 o'clock in the morning, the German artillery became active; then their firing died away. About quarter past five, however, it was suddenly renewed. Shells fell in great numbers on the village of Seicheprey and on parts of the American trenches in front. Soon after, the Germans advanced through heavy fog and succeeded in capturing the trenches in front of Seicheprey and the village itself. Four or five hundred Americans were killed, wounded, or taken. The German losses were slighter, but the Americans subsequently buried 41 dead enemies. The Germans held the captured trenches until near the close of the day, and then, just before the Americans were about to launch a counter-attack, they returned to their own lines. In an effort to dampen American morale, the Germans made much of their exploit, "sending out reports by their wireless and printing in their paper, the *Gazette des Ardennes*, a list of the prisoners with a comment that, as General Pershing was very new at the game, he might like to know what became of his men."

Following our declaration of war on Germany, Austria-Hungary severed diplomatic relations with the United States, but formal hostilities did not immediately follow. Many Americans urged that we should also declare war against Austria-Hungary, but the President and a majority of Congress thought otherwise. One of the reasons put forward for not doing so was that there were many hundreds of thousands of Austro-Hungarian subjects in the United States and that a declaration of war against their country would tend to make them more dangerous.

But the great victory of the Austrians and Germans over the Italians in the fall of 1917 created a new situation. To help redeem the situation the United States hastened to send ships, money, and supplies to the hard-pressed Italians, and the Government considered sending soldiers who would, of course, fight Aus-

trian soldiers. In these circumstances President Wilson, in his annual message of December 4, 1917, asked Congress to declare that a state of war existed with Austria-Hungary. A House Committee drew up a list of grievances against the Dual Monarchy, specifying, among other things, the meddling of Ambassador Dumba with our domestic concerns and the sinking of American vessels by Austrian submarines. A formal declaration of war

It was, of course, necessary for the American authorities to keep close watch on the immense numbers of alien enemies resident in the United States. Acts of Congress required that Germans and Austro-Hungarians must register as alien enemies and carry certificates of identification. They were forbidden to go near army camps, navy yards, and other military and naval establishments without special permits; they were not permitted to reside



ITALIAN TRANSPORTS

passed Congress on December 11. The vote in the Senate was unanimous; in the House the only person who voted against the declaration was Meyer London, the Socialist member from New York.

Turkey and Bulgaria were not included in the resolution, though some persons thought they should have been. The United States was never formally at war with these two countries. Diplomatic relations with Turkey had already been broken, but those with Bulgaria were maintained throughout the conflict.

in or visit certain districts. These provisions at first only applied to men, but it was soon discovered that women subjects of enemy countries were, if anything, more dangerous than the men, and by a bill approved by the President the provisions of the espionage act were extended to them.

The registration revealed the fact that there were about 500,000 German "alien enemies" in the United States and between three and four million Austro-Hungarian alien enemies in the United States. In

addition, there were some Bulgarians and Turks, to say nothing of millions of naturalized citizens from the Central Powers and millions more of their descendants. There had been much uneasiness lest trouble might be caused by this population, particularly by the German alien enemies. As already described, Germans in Germany had boasted that the United States dare not go to war because

the beginning of the war. Secondly, a considerable number of alien enemies were imprisoned because they were found guilty of treasonable activities or were suspected of such acts. A few German sea raiders including, for example, the *Prinz Eitel Frederick*, had taken refuge in American ports prior to our entering the war, and their crews had been interned under international law. Very many of



TEDDY ROOSEVELT, JR., LEADING HIS COMPANY TO MESS, PLATTSBURG

to do so would provoke civil conflict at home, and a German official's statement to that effect to Ambassador Gerard had drawn from him his famous retort regarding the 501,000 waiting lampposts.

It was deemed necessary to imprison two classes of enemy subjects. The first of these consisted mainly of members of the enemy military and naval forces and officers and seamen of enemy merchant vessels in American ports at

the Teutonic prisoners were officers and crews of the German steamships seized by the Americans in 1917. The remainder were aliens whose activities were considered dangerous at the time of their arrest. Some were men who had attempted, or were suspected of attempting, to destroy munition plants, etc. In this class were included a considerable number of Germans who had been prominent figures in financial and commercial circles or in art and learning.

The treatment accorded these interned persons was very lenient. Large and comfortable camps were established for their use. The prisoners were not compelled to work at anything contributing to the Government's military activities; they were permitted to communicate with friends; and, if they chose to work, they were paid wages. Furthermore, they were allowed various amusements, and stores and canteens were placed at their disposal. The food served them was good, and they were allowed to have it cooked in their own way. At Hot Springs in North Carolina the prisoners built a German village which resembled one of the picturesque corners in the Black Forest of Germany.

Such treatment was all very well for interned soldiers and sailors and persons of that sort, but a great many Americans felt that the Government dealt too leniently with spies and enemy propagandists. Not a single spy or person active in the work of destroying American lives and property was executed during the entire war, though some of them were undoubtedly guilty of compassing the death of many Americans.

Beyond question there were many disloyal utterances, and some actual damage was done by German spies and sympathizers in the way of blowing up munition plants and causing accidents of one sort or another. Still there were fewer such outrages than most people had expected. In fact, there were not so many after we entered the war as there had been before. That this was true was due, in large measure, to the effective work done by the United States Secret Service, which nipped in the bud many dangerous plots of which the general public remained in ignorance.

There were also hundreds of "fake" stories regarding the work of Teutonic spies and sympathizers. Many of these, considered in the cooler atmosphere of post-bellum days, seem too absurd to have gained credence. That they were accepted by millions is evidence of the hysteria that developed in those exciting

times. Perhaps the most ridiculous of all was a story to the effect that President Wilson's private secretary, Tumulty, had been found guilty of furnishing secret intelligence to Germany and had been shot as a spy. Every day Mr. Tumulty performed his duties at the White House, yet for weeks the story of his supposed execution passed from person to person over the country. In the words of George Creel, Chairman of the Committee on Public Information:

"Every fire, every explosion in a munition plant, every accident on land or on sea, was straightway credited to the 'spy system'; if the cut in a child's hand didn't heal quickly, then the 'Germans' had put germs in all the court-plaster; if any experiment in submarine or aircraft factory failed, it was undoubtedly because the 'spies' had tampered with delicate mechanism or dropped acid on the wires; if a woman's headache didn't yield to remedies, then the 'Germans' had 'doped' the particular pill or powder. I am not saying that none of these things happened; but what happened was out of all proportion to the dimensions of the mad rumors that swept the country; yet through it all the great, splendid majority of America's 'aliens' stood fast, discharging their full duty to the United States in a manner that shamed the patriotism of many an heir to the traditions of Plymouth Rock."

Altogether it was found necessary to arrest only 6,000 persons under personal warrants. Many of these persons were arrested on suspicion rather than because actual proof had been obtained that they were dangerous. Some were eventually released from internment camps on parole. In the way of criminal prosecutions, 1,532 persons were arrested under the Espionage Act, which prohibited disloyal utterances, propaganda, etc. Sixty-five persons were arrested for making threats against the President, ten for committing sabotage, and 908 indictments were returned under the penal code with relation to conspiracy, most of these against the Industrial Workers of the World.

Among the 6,000 alien enemies interned there were "many Germans as full of disloyalty as an adder is full of venom;" beyond question there were thousands more alien enemies and even citizens of the United States who sympathized in secret with the Central Powers; but when the final pinch came it is to the credit of the citizens of Teutonic origin that the great majority, whatever their sympathies may have been before the United States entered the war, finally whole-heartedly decided that America was their country and gave her their loyal support. Hundreds of thousands of men

April 5, April 12 and on April 21, 1918. On May 4, 1918, he destroyed two German machines and on May 21 he destroyed his eighth enemy plane." Lieutenant Baer was subsequently captured by the Germans but was released after the war.

Another example was that of Sergeant John Blohm. He was cited for the following act of heroism: "From a shell hole in which he had taken shelter while returning from a successful daylight patrol across the Vesle River, Sergeant Blohm saw a corporal of his patrol dragging himself through the grass and bleeding profusely from a wound in his neck.



ALIENS TAKING OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

of German or Austro-Hungarian birth or origin enlisted in the American armies, and few made better soldiers. Many such soldiers were cited by General Pershing for distinguished services. For example, witness the case of First Lieutenant Frank Baer of Ft. Wayne, Indiana, a member of the 103d Aero Pursuit Squadron. General Pershing's citation ran:

"For the following repeated acts of extraordinary heroism in action, April 5, 12 and 13, May 8 and 21, 1918, Lieutenant Baer is awarded a bronze oak leaf to be worn on the Distinguished Service Cross awarded him April 12, 1918. Lieutenant Baer brought down enemy planes on

He unhesitatingly left his shelter, carried the corporal behind a tree near the river bank, dressed his wounds, and using boughs from a fallen tree as an improvised raft, towed the injured man across the river and carried him two hundred yards over an open field to the American outpost line, all under continuous rifle and machine-gun fire."

Another distinguished fighter of foreign origin was Private Shimanski. "Having entered a cellar to install a telephone, he was attacked by eleven of the enemy, of whom he killed two and took nine prisoners, single-handed."

Not only were alien enemies made

subject to special wartime laws and regulations, but the Trading with the Enemy Act of October 6, 1917, provided for the taking over by the Government of all property in the United States belonging to enemy subjects or subjects of nations allied with the enemy. Enemy subjects residing within the United States were, however, excluded from the terms of the act, and might, unless interned, continue, under certain restrictions, to conduct their business. On the other hand, Americans residing within the enemy lines were made subject to the act. One of the main objects of the act was, in fact, to prevent our enemies from controlling or deriving any profit from property in America.

The act created the office of Alien Property Custodian, and to this post President Wilson appointed A. Mitchell Palmer of Pennsylvania, a former member of the House of Representatives. Palmer displayed great energy in this work and managed to unearth and seize many hundred millions of dollars worth of bonds, stocks, real estate, merchandise and other forms of alien-owned property. The final disposition of this property was to rest with Congress. Some of it was sold and the proceeds were invested in Liberty Bonds! The property of well-behaved alien enemies resident in the United States was generally left unmolested, however. By the close of the war German financial influence in the United States had been almost wholly eliminated. That influence had often been used in ways detrimental to the best interests of the country.

A good example of the extent to which German interests had developed in the United States was revealed in the investigation of the activities in America of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin. This great financial institution had played a large and important part in German imperial expansion throughout the world. The investigation revealed a number of schemes, one of them being a plan to corner the wool supply of the United States for after-the-war consumption in Germany. The importance of German woolen interests in this country was further disclosed when

the Alien Property Custodian seized six great German-owned woolen mills in New Jersey, valued at more than \$70,000,000. German firms and individuals were also largely interested in cotton, and several large groups of corporations which had engaged in a scheme to supply Germany with cotton were taken over.

The effect of the operation of German interests upon the conduct of the war was shown in the case of a corporation referred to as the "L. C. Company," which was capitalized at more than \$50,000,000. It was one of the largest coke concerns in the United States, and, until America entered the war, the Germans represented in the ownership were able to keep all of its trinitrotoluol (TNT) by-products out of Allied hands, although the stockholders lost a huge sum of money by doing so. The company was reorganized under American control, and its TNT by-products were made available for the Allies and the United States. Another great concern, the Transatlantic Trust Company, was taken over on the ground that the majority of the stock was owned by the Austro-Hungarian Government, which acted through three Budapest banks.

From the beginning of the war and even before, German propagandists had been active in all parts of the world. They were often clumsy, and their falsehoods were often too obvious to deceive any but the most credulous, and yet they accomplished a great deal for the German cause, especially in some neutral countries. For example, the extent of pro-German feeling in the United States before our entering the war was in no small measure due to German propaganda and to their shrewd and unscrupulous use of certain organizations such as the German-American Alliance.

According to statements given out in Washington in the summer of 1918, the sum of \$30,000,000 was set aside by Germany and Austria-Hungary to influence public opinion in the United States. A sensational phase of Teutonic activities in such matters was revealed

in connection with the arrest of Dr. Edward A. Rumely on charges of buying the New York *Evening Mail* with money furnished by the German Government and of later making false statements concerning its ownership. The *Mail* subsequent to its purchase had been notable for its pro-German activities.

After the United States entered the conflict German propaganda sought to

influence those who saw them in favor of Germany.

The Americans were described as a nation of dollar-grabbers wholly destitute of ideals and thoroughly selfish. In Mexico we were represented as desiring to conquer the country. Pershing's expedition in pursuit of Villa was pictured as having had for its purpose the seizure of Mexico, an attempt that failed because



PORTION OF SHIPBUILDING PLANT

discredit our aims and to make light of our power, both in neutral countries and even among the Allied peoples. The Germans were particularly active in such countries as Mexico, Spain, and Russia. They continued to spend millions of dollars and hesitated at nothing that would help to accomplish their end. They bribed newspapers, lecturers, and public men, purchased moving picture theaters and supplied others with films designed to

we had been intimidated by the "dauntless" courage of President Carranza. In Spain the memories of the War of 1898 were revived, and every effort was made to cause the Spaniards to distrust and hate America. In France we were represented as being the secret agent of Great Britain; in Great Britain, as playing the game for France. In Italy an attempt was made to convince the Italians that we were neglecting them, and newspapers

asked why more troops were not sent to aid the Italian armies. In Russia we were represented as a nation of plutocrats, wholly out of sympathy with ideals of liberty.

Partly in order to counteract such enemy efforts, the United States established, in April, 1917, the Committee on Public Information, of which a journalist named George Creel was made executive head. This committee had two chief functions, namely, to act as a censorship board on news inside the United States and to furnish information regarding matters, military and otherwise, both to Americans and to peoples abroad. Its activities in regard to the censorship consisted largely in appealing to the press of the country voluntarily to refrain from publishing information that might be of value to the enemy or embarrass the Government at home. Control of communications between the United States and other countries was vested in a separate censorship board. As an aid to this board Congress passed, in June, 1917, the so-called Espionage Act, which was subsequently amended and strengthened.

As an organization of publicity the committee's activities on public information were exceedingly varied. It furnished information to thousands of newspapers, published and distributed millions of pamphlets, employed hundreds of historians and specialists to write articles setting forth the historical background of the war, employed thousands of speakers to address audiences in various parts of the country, furnished moving picture films and lantern slides to theaters, mobilized artists to paint posters and other pictorial means of appealing to the country, published a daily newspaper except Sundays and holidays, giving information regarding the military and civil operations of the Government, and also carried on vigorous propaganda in various parts of the world.

Offices of the committee were opened in the chief neutral countries as well as in the countries of the Allies. Pamphlets and information were furnished to set

forth America's war aims and the national ideas. Emphasis was also laid upon America's war efforts. Extensive use was made of moving pictures. Immense sums were spent in such work, but our agents were instructed to refrain from bribery or from the use of any methods that were questionable. A great deal of attention was bestowed upon preserving confidence and morale in the Allied countries. The French, the British, the Italians, and other Allies were urged to hold fast for America was coming in such force that the issue could not be doubtful. After the Italian disaster in the fall of 1917, when it seemed that Italian resistance might break down, the committee stirred up the millions of Italians living in the United States to write to their former homes words of hope and cheer. "For weeks the cables were loaded down with messages, and the mails were filled with letters, all telling of the preparation of America, and calling for courage and redoubled efforts."

Every effort was made to undermine the enemy's morale. Getting facts into the minds of the inhabitants of the Central Powers would convince them of the uselessness of the struggle, but this was no easy matter, for "a censorship cunningly conceived and rigidly enforced not only guarded the frontiers, but crushed every internal attempt to speak or write honestly. Soldiers and civilians were drugged with lies about 'Germany's defensive war,' the 'cruel purposes' of the enemy, the collapse of the Allies, the utter inability of America to train or transport troops, and the near approach of a tremendous victory that would mean world mastery. These lies had all the force of divisions and it was as necessary to destroy them as though each had been a machine-gun nest. And while it was easy enough to write and print the 'shrapnel,' it was difficult to determine the most effective way to fire it."

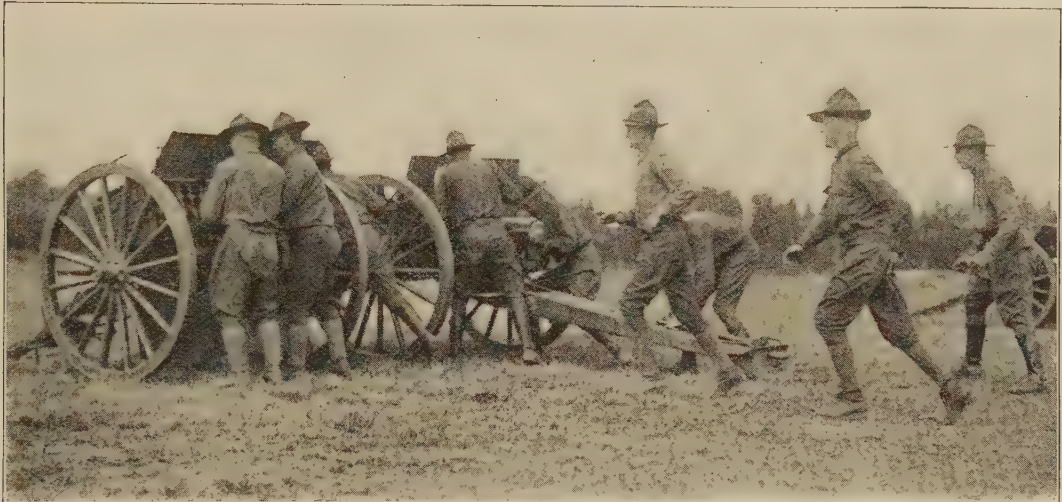
The French and British had, of course, long been active in such work as well as in propaganda in neutral countries. They and the Americans perfected many ingenious devices for getting information beyond the enemy's lines. Some truths could be

gotten into Germany by publishing them in newspapers in adjoining countries. Resort was also had to rockets, shells, balloons, and aeroplanes. Aeroplanes were most successful, but they were in such demand for other purposes that few could be spared for use in this less important warfare of words. Furthermore, the work of distribution by this means was dangerous.

The French sometimes used rifle grenades that would carry pamphlets several hundred feet in a favorable wind, also a 75 shell that would take them four or five miles. The Italians used rockets for close work. The British manufactured

wind. One paper balloon intended for Alsace came down, instead, in Kent.

Great emphasis was laid upon the causes that had driven the United States into the war and upon the responsibility of the German War Lords. America's disinterestedness and high ideals were duly set forth. Much use was made of President Wilson's speeches. Furthermore, the vastness of America's preparations and the mighty resources which she meant to fling into the war against autocracy were dwelt upon. The idea was to convince the Teutons of the inevitability of their defeat. At home the committee was frequently accused of using its power



YALE STUDENTS IN TRAINING

a 6-inch gun, the shell of which would go ten or twelve miles and would then explode throwing out thousands of pamphlets. Paper balloons were also employed. On a certain Belgian holiday, 400,000 pamphlets were thus sent as greetings to the Belgians. Larger fabric balloons, capable of carrying 17 or 18 pounds, were also employed. One American balloon carried a tin container which held about 10,000 pamphlets. A clock mechanism could be set to drop the pamphlets in bunches or one at a time at regular intervals, "the whole business blowing up conclusively with the descent of the last printed bullet." All work with balloons naturally was uncertain, being dependent upon the

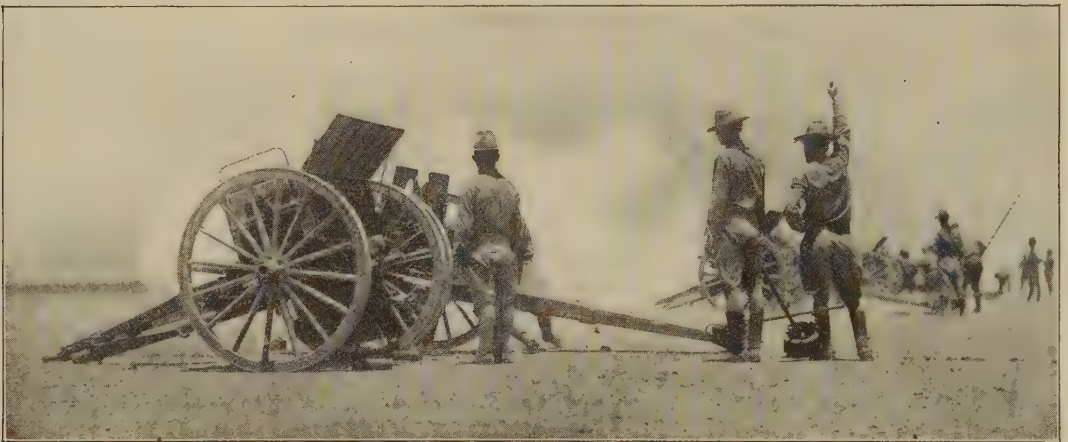
for political ends. It made some sad blunders regarding America's aeroplane achievements. In Russia its rosy accounts of Allied prospects had an unexpected reaction, for the Russian soldiers said to each other: "If things are going so well, we may as well go home." In neutral and Allied countries, however, the work of the committee was undoubtedly of value. As regards the Central Powers, its efforts were of little avail so long as German arms were successful. When a turn in the tide came, however, the information which had been sent by the committee into Germany perhaps did something to break down German morale and may, possibly, have hastened

the end slightly. But too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the fact that the war ended when the German army was beaten in the field. When the armistice was signed, the Germans were facing absolute military disaster. Allied soldiers and not makers of clever phrases were the men who forced Germany to sign the armistice.

The entrance of the United States into the war caused a split in the Socialist party. The more sensible leaders, like John Spargo and Charles Edward Russell, realized that the war must be won, and energetically supported it. Certain radicals, however, did all that they could to weaken their country and secure German

Some leaders, however, persisted in their unpatriotic course, and a few were ultimately convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary for seditious utterances. Most prominent among these offenders were Eugene V. Debs, several times candidate for President on the Socialist ticket, and Victor Berger, former Congressman from Milwaukee, who was re-elected to Congress in the fall of 1918, shortly before his conviction.

Another set of men who caused the United States much trouble in this crisis were the Industrial Workers of the World. The ideas of these men were to the last degree anarchical. In Europe they were usually known as Syndicalists. They



FIELD ARTILLERY, FORT HARRY I. JONES, DOUGLAS, ARIZONA

victory. This was due in part to the fact that the Socialist party in America was largely German in origin, and many of its leaders were of German birth or descent. At a meeting held in St. Louis on April 14, 1917, Socialist delegates addressed an open letter to the Socialists of belligerent countries declaring "that the people of the United States have been forced by their ruling class into this world cataclysm, as you have been heretofore by your own rulers." They pledged themselves to make any sacrifices which might be necessary "to force our masters to conclude a speedy peace."

Such disloyal outpourings naturally aroused much resentment. Many Socialists energetically disavowed the statement.

advocated the idea that workers should compel the owners of factories to turn their possessions over to the workers. As a means to this end, they advocated strikes and all manner of damage to property—in other words, what is known as sabotage. The origin of this word is in dispute, but one explanation is that it is derived from the custom of French Syndicalists of throwing their wooden shoes (*sabots*) into machinery in order to destroy it. A favorite form of sabotage in recent times is the putting of emery dust or carborundum into the bearings of machinery.

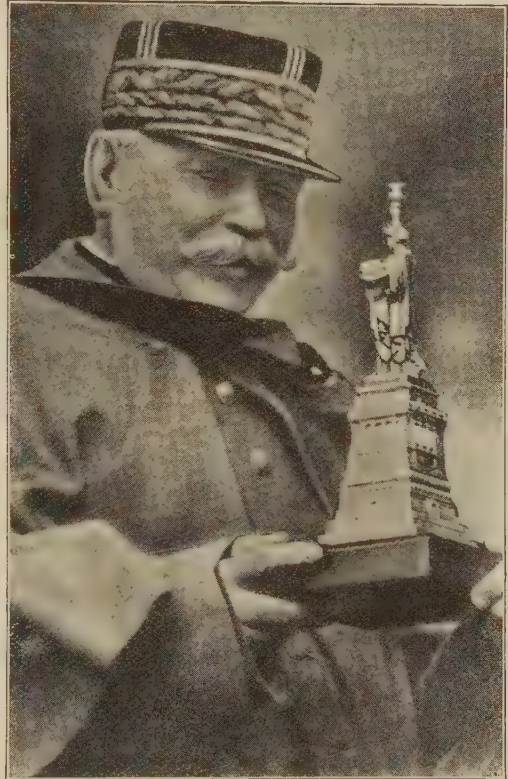
Many of the I. W. W.'s were really in German pay and did everything they could to hamper American war efforts.

They placed bombs in factories, injured machinery, incited strikes of workmen, especially of ship builders, and set fire to forests, grain elevators, and crops. Many of the I. W. W.'s were arrested, and some of them, including their chief leader, William D. Haywood, long prominent as a labor agitator, were sentenced to the penitentiary. Others were interned as dangerous to the peace and safety of the country. Many of the I. W. W.'s were really foreigners, and after the armistice was signed hundreds of these undesirables were rounded up and were deported from the country, to the satisfaction of all true Americans.

The railway situation in the United States had long been bad. Railway magnates had too often been interested in manipulating the stocks and bonds of their roads in such ways as to rob the general public and even their own stockholders, while their attitude toward the public was often the reverse of obliging. In consequence a feeling of hostility had developed toward the roads and this was sometimes translated into restrictive legislation that fixed passenger and freight rates at so low a figure that the roads were unable to make needed repairs and extensions. Furthermore, the roads for a long time had found it difficult to borrow or otherwise obtain sufficient money for this purpose. The railway stock had deteriorated in consequence. The situation grew worse after the United States entered the war, and there was great congestion of freight and inability of the roads to perform the transportation work of the country.

The traffic congestion ultimately became so great that, on December 26, 1917, the Federal Government abruptly assumed full control of the railroads under an act of August 29, 1916, which authorized such a step in time of war. Over 400 separate corporations, 650,000 share holders, 260,000 miles of road, property valued at \$17,500,000,000, and about 1,600,000 employes were affected by this order. To manage the roads the President designated his son-in-law and Secretary of Treasury,

William G. McAdoo, as Director-General of Railroads. The property rights of stockholders and others were guaranteed, and in a message to Congress, January 4, 1918, the President recommended as a basis of compensation the average net income of the three years ending June 30, 1917, which, according to the returns of the Interstate Commerce Commission, was \$1,049,974,977. Legislation for managing and financing the railroads and com-



MARSHAL JOFFRE IN NEW YORK

pensating the owners was passed by Congress. The step was defended by President Wilson as a war measure and as necessary to increase the efficiency of the roads and the handling not only of domestic business but also of war supplies.

Various steps were taken to render the railroads more efficient. Unnecessary trains were taken off, competition between different lines was reduced, and the most direct lines were used in transporting

freight, irrespective of the ownership of the lines. The experiment proved less successful, however, than had been hoped. Wages were greatly increased, and from this and other causes the cost of operating the roads rose to unheard of heights. Passenger and freight rates were greatly increased, but, though the roads did an enormous business, receipts lacked much of meeting expenditures, and it was necessary for the Government to expend hundreds of millions of dollars to meet the deficit. Thus the general public was forced to pay out of both pockets. Out of one they paid the in-

1917, a committee on coal production was appointed by the Council of National Defense. Conferences were held with coal operators, and an agreement was reached regarding fixed prices per ton at the mines. On July 1, Secretary of War Baker, Chairman of the Council of National Defense, repudiated the agreement on the ground that the prices were exorbitant. Two months of delay ensued, and not until late in August did President Wilson finally fix prices. In the interval many consumers delayed making purchases in the hope that prices would be reduced; in consequence production of coal by the mines



BAYONET DRILL, PRINCETON

creased price of passenger and freight rates; out of the other they paid taxes to be used in meeting the extraordinary railroad expenses. Much opposition to Government control speedily developed.

The seizure of the railroads was in large measure due to an alarming shortage in the supply of coal. Several causes contributed to this shortage. The coal production for 1917 had showed considerable increase over 1916, but the lack of cars made it difficult to move coal from the sources of production to centers of consumption. Furthermore, there had been an unfortunate complication with regard to the price of coal, and this had contributed to keep down production. In May,

was greatly curtailed in this period. Late in August, Dr. Harry Garfield, President of Williams College and a son of a former President of the United States, was appointed Fuel Administrator. It was then too late to make up for lost time, nor can it be said that Dr. Garfield handled the situation with any great ability. Late in September, he lowered the prices somewhat, but failed to secure very rapid production and movement of coal.

The vast expansion of industry in the country as a result of the war necessitated the use of much more coal than in the past. Furthermore, the winter of 1917-18 proved to be the most severe for generations. During much of December, Jan-

uary, and February, the country suffered from excessive cold, a cold so great that not only was more fuel required but the actual mining of coal and the transportation of coal were greatly impeded. At times some of the northern railroads were virtually unable to transport freight owing to damage done to their engines by the freezing weather. Furthermore, many of the engines and cars had long been in need of repair; under the strain they now broke down. All over the land it was difficult for people to obtain the fuel necessary to keep them warm, and all sorts of makeshifts were resorted to. In country districts where forests still remained, more wood was burned than in any winter for many years.

Toward the middle of January, the situation became so serious that drastic measures had to be resorted to. In many places the people were in actual danger of freezing, while in New York harbor two score ships were unable to sail for France with needed food and munitions of war because of lack of coal. Fuel Administrator Garfield, with the approval of President Wilson, ordered a general shutdown of industry throughout the United States east of the Mississippi for five successive days, and the limitation of the working week to five days during the nine weeks following. This order caused much criticism and resulted in the loss of hundreds of millions of dollars to manufacturers and other business men, but bore hardest, of course, upon the working class, several millions of whom were rendered temporarily idle. Some exceptions were made for industries engaged in war work. The five days passed, and, for several Mondays following, the "heatless" order was carried out, but the order was suspended before nine weeks had elapsed.

By this shutting down of industry much fuel was saved, and the coming of milder weather also helped to relieve the situation. Dr. Garfield and the administration were bitterly criticised for the step, but it is difficult to see how some such measure could have been avoided. The real blame rested upon the shoulders of those who

were responsible for delaying the adjustment of the coal situation in the preceding summer. In this, as in many other matters, the Government displayed lack of foresight and became involved in difficulties because of failure to do needed acts in time.

The work of mobilizing the resources of the country was one of the most tremendous that had ever faced any nation. It would have been difficult enough under the most favorable circumstances. It was rendered doubly difficult by reason of the fact that although the country for two years had been facing war, comparatively little of a practical nature had been done by way of preparation. In consequence, nearly everything had to be improvised at a time when haste was necessary in order to get American troops in the field in time to play their part. Even plans were lacking, and precious time had to be used in formulating them. Nor were the men upon whom this task fell always those best fitted for the work. Not only were aeroplanes, motor trucks, artillery, tanks, and other paraphernalia lacking, but the authorities responsible had not decided upon the types to manufacture.

Congress appropriated money in sums undreamed of. The country displayed a commendable eagerness to help in the great work, and thousands of business men gave up their private enterprises and offered their services free of charge, but in the War Department, especially, a state of chaos developed, due in large measure to failure to take time by the forelock. Conditions in that department reached such a state before the end of 1917 that in the middle of December the Senate Committee on Military Affairs began an investigation into the alleged shortcomings of the department. The investigation revealed many instances of mismanagement such as failure to provide uniforms, blankets, adequate hospital facilities, and arms. The leadership in this investigation was taken by Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, a member of the President's own party. The investigation received the support of many of the

newspapers of the country and of such men as Colonel Roosevelt, who insisted that our military activities must be speeded up. The responsibility for the existing situation was placed, in large measure, upon Secretary of War Baker and bureaucrats in his department, but, of course, the ultimate responsibility rested upon the shoulders of President Wilson.

In January, 1918, Secretary Baker defended his department and painted a

the United States. We are trying to work it out. I speak not as a Democrat, but as an American citizen."

Soon after, President Wilson issued a counter-statement defending Mr. Baker as an exceedingly capable administrator and denouncing Senator Chamberlain's statements as an "astonishing and unjustifiable distortion of the truth." He declared that "as a matter of fact, the War Department has performed a task



EARLY GERMAN GAS MASKS

glowing picture of the progress that had been made. Secretary Baker's statement was an exceedingly plausible one, but Senator Chamberlain and other members of the committee declined to accept it and declared that it created a wrong impression. In a speech delivered in New York City, Senator Chamberlain stated that the military establishment had "almost stopped functioning. Why? Because of inefficiency in every bureau and in every department of the Government of

of unparalleled magnitude and difficulty with extraordinary promptness and efficiency."

Senator Chamberlain declined to be suppressed, and, on January 24, repeated his charges in a three-hour speech in the Senate. Though admitting that much that was creditable and satisfactory had been done, he charged that the United States troops were almost without ordnance, were insufficiently supplied with rifles, that the cantonments were suffering

from shortage of clothing and were without adequate hospital facilities, and that many of the deaths from illness could have been avoided.

Next day, Surgeon General Gorgas, before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, confirmed some of Chamberlain's charges regarding inadequate hospital equipment. A few days later, Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, like Chamberlain, a Democrat, severely attacked the administration for short-sightedness and failure to coördinate the nation's war activities. In part he said:

"Nine months after we entered the war and three months after our men were gathered in cantonments we found in the dead of winter tens of thousands of men without overcoats, tens of thousands lacking woolen breeches, tens of thousands without woolen blouses, and other serious shortages. We found most of the machine-gun companies unable to drill two months after they were formed because they had no machine guns. Even in December we found 1,200 still kept in storage for some foolish and inexplicable reasons, while each camp had only been supplied with eighty machine guns.

"We found hundreds of thousands of men drilling with wooden sticks for weeks and months because of mistakes and delays in ordering rifles last spring. We found men sent to France without opportunity for rifle or machine-gun practice. We found a distressing amount of sickness in most camps and an unnecessary mortality, due to lack of clothing and to overcrowding. The overcrowding we found due to a failure to provide an adequate number of tents. We found camp hospitals without drainage, plumbing, or heat, and sick men without nurses.

"We found that we must depend on overworked and overstrained France for machine guns for ground use until nearly the end of this year, and that not over one-tenth of the new Browning machine guns on which we are to rely can be delivered before August. We found that the first heavy artillery of American make cannot be received till July, and

not much before 1919 can we expect to use in France American heavy artillery in any great quantity. What we get before this fall we must buy from England.

"We found that we are only now, nine months after entering the war, just beginning work on two great powder plants, to cost \$60,000,000, although it was evident last summer that we must have a million pounds a day more powder than America can now manufacture. We cannot get powder from these plants before next August.

"We found that, though the Medical Department asked for hospital ships last July, they have not yet been ordered, though sick and wounded men are now already beginning to come home, and it will take three months to equip the ships."

To remedy the existing situation Senator Chamberlain brought forward two bills, one to create a new Department of Munitions and another to establish a War Cabinet to coördinate and direct our war activities. There were some Democrats besides Senator Chamberlain, for example, Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, who favored the measure and joined with the Republicans in supporting it. But the President and Secretary of War Baker considered it an effort to take the direction of affairs out of their hands and bitterly opposed it. However, the President finally recognized that something must be done and appointed Edward R. Stettinius, a capable business man, as Surveyor General of Army Purchases, and procured the introduction of an Administration Bill for re-organizing war activities. This measure, which was known as the Overman Bill, was passed in the following May. Upon the whole it must be said that the agitation had been worth while and had galvanized the Government into action.

The aeroplane situation was one of the subjects of deepest concern among those anxious to win the war. In July, 1917, the Government had unfolded an ambitious plan for the building of a fleet of 22,000 aeroplanes. The proposal appealed to the imagination of the country and writers pictured vast fleets of American planes

passing high above the redoubtable line of the enemy and carrying desolation and destruction to the heart of Germany. By some it was said that aeroplanes furnished the key to winning the war, and another slogan was added to the many already in existence. Congress, without a dissenting voice, appropriated \$640,000,000 for aeroplane construction, and it was confidently asserted that, by the opening

results seemed so encouraging that Secretary of War Baker, always prone to be optimistic regarding the achievements of his department, issued on September 13, 1917, a long statement which in part was as follows:

"The United States aviation engine has passed its final tests. They were successful and gratifying. The new motor, designated by the Signal Service as the



AEROPLANE WRECK, KELLY FIELD, TEXAS

of the campaign in 1918, thousands of American planes would be at the front.

By some it was advocated that the United States should at once proceed to manufacture in immense quantities the best type of planes produced in Europe, and the Allied Governments cheerfully offered us all their assistance and secrets. The War Department, however, decided to develop a purely American type. Engineers set to work evolving a new aircraft motor. The work was hastened and the

'Liberty Motor,' is now the main reliance of the United States in the rapid production in large numbers of high-powered battleplanes for service in the war. In power, speed, serviceability, and minimum weight the new engine invites comparison with the best that the European war has produced.

"I regard the invention and rapid development of this engine as one of the really big accomplishments of the United States since its entry into the war. The

engine was brought about through the coöperation of more than a score of engineers, who pooled their skill and trade secrets in the war emergency, working with the encouragement of the Aircraft Production Board, the War Department, and the Bureau of Standards. The story of the production of this engine is a remarkable one. Probably the war has produced no greater single achievement.

contributed the services of approximately 200 of their best draftsmen."

He stated that parts of the first engine were turned out at twelve different factories, located all the way from Connecticut to California, and that "when the parts were assembled the adjustment was perfect and the performance of the engine was wonderfully gratifying. Thirty days after the assembling of the first engine prelimin-



FIRST KEEL OF AMERICAN BUILT EMERGENCY FLEET

"An inspiring feature of this work was the aid rendered by consulting engineers and motor manufacturers who gave up their trade secrets under the emergency of war needs. Realizing that the new design would be a Government design and no firm or individual would reap selfish benefit because of its making, the motor manufacturers nevertheless practically revealed their trade secrets, and made available trade processes of great commercial value. These industries have also

any tests justified the Government in formally accepting the engine as the best aircraft engine produced in any country. The final tests confirmed our faith in the new motor." He also asserted that the parts of the motor had been standardized and that production could proceed with great rapidity in many factories.

Subsequent developments showed beyond question that in reality the Liberty Motor was still in an experimental stage. A great number of changes had to be

made to correct weaknesses that developed, and many months elapsed before the motor was really completed. Furthermore, it was soon learned that the Liberty Motor was not suited for battleplanes but merely for bombing planes and other heavy craft. At the close of the first year of the war, the Senate Committee on Military Affairs reported that the aerial situation was "gravely disappointing." A great outcry arose throughout the country. A well-known sculptor, Gutzon Borglum, was permitted by President Wilson to make an informal investigation of aircraft production and his report was most disquieting. He attributed the failure in part to incompetence, in part to dishonesty and pro-Germanism in certain quarters. A later investigation made at the President's instance by Ex-Justice Hughes also showed that there had been grave mismanagement, but the Hughes report was less sensational in its charges.

American feeling regarding the aircraft situation was stirred late in February, 1918, by the following dispatch from an Associated Press correspondent with the American army in France:

"German aeroplanes come and go over the American lines almost at will. The chance of hitting an aeroplane with anti-aircraft shells is so remote that the enemy aviators calmly fly along as if on a pleasure tour. They take pictures, make observations, and do virtually whatever else they desire. It would be possible to carry quotations from virtually every officer at the front, urging a speedy appearance of large numbers of American aeroplanes with American pilots. There is only one way to wrest control of the air from the enemy—that is to fight him for it in the sky and to relieve him of it by force of overwhelming numbers.

"Any officer will say that the safety of individual soldiers depends upon keeping the enemy from doing as he pleases overhead. For days the Germans have been flying over some towns where American troops have been resting after periods in the trenches. Once or twice these daylight observation tours have been followed the same night by visits by

enemy bombing planes. So free and unrestricted are the German airmen that in some towns the commands are under strict orders to disappear under cover the moment a German aeroplane is sighted. Moreover, officers say, more and more German aeroplanes are appearing in the sky, and in various quarters there is a growing belief that these are the first of the machines which the Germans have been building to offset the large number of expected American aeroplanes in accordance with plans announced in the United States. Whether this belief is true or not, the fact remains that American troops are holding the sector and are endangered daily because there are no American aeroplanes with them. The question most asked from one end of the American front to the other is: 'When are some American planes coming here?'"

Just before this dispatch was published, Secretary Baker announced that the first American built battleplanes were then en route to the front in France. These planes, he said, were equipped with the first Liberty Motors, and he declared that "engine production, which began a month ago, is now on a quantity basis, and the peak of production will be reached in a few weeks." His language was optimistic, but he refused to deny or confirm the statement in the dispatch.

On April 12, 1918, a majority report of the Senate Military Affairs Committee painted a more gloomy picture. It declared that the evidence showed that the twelve-cylinder Liberty Motor was "just emerging from the development or experimental stage." Many changes had been found necessary. "Within the last two months changes of considerable importance have been made which, it is hoped, will make the motor serviceable for combat planes of the defensive type and for bombing and observation planes. Of the 22,500 Liberty Motors ordered, only 122 had been completed for the army and 142 for the navy. The shipment of motors to France, which Secretary Baker had announced, numbered only four. Of the engines already finished, some

were being altered to remedy defects. "The production of combat planes in the United States for use in actual warfare has thus far been a substantial failure and constitutes a most serious disappointment in our war preparations."

A minority report did not dispute the figures given above but emphasized the magnitude of the task and the difficulties encountered. It also brought out the fact that 6,100 combat planes had been ordered in France and that to aid in this foreign manufacture the Signal Corps had shipped to France 11,000 tons of various materials and had sent 7,000 mechanics to release for French factories making planes for American fliers an equal number of French workers on motor transports. Critics of this program insisted, however, that the plan involved "robbing Peter to pay Paul," and that, although it might ultimately produce planes for our fliers, the number of planes fighting the Germans would not actually be greatly increased.

The requirements for aeroplanes fell into two classes, those for training purposes and those for actual fighting. The production of training planes and engines proceeded without much difficulty, and the general public was often confused regarding the aeroplane situation by the publication of figures on the production of planes and engines fitted only for training purposes.

The plans for the Liberty Motor were changed so much that its production was greatly delayed. However, in the summer and fall of 1918, production attained large dimensions and by the end of the war 15,131 had been built. About as many other engines, most of them for training purposes, were constructed during the war. Some of the Liberty Motors were supplied to foreign governments while others were used for American planes. However, comparatively few American built battleplanes actually took part in the fighting. Most of the battleplanes on the American Front were French or British built, and, up to the very end

of the fighting, the American supply of planes was inadequate.

As finally developed, the Liberty Motor was an excellent engine for certain purposes. It was capable of delivering 440 horsepower and weighed, without water or oil, only 860 pounds. Had the war lasted a year longer, it would doubtless have played a considerable part in the conflict. As it was, its name will always call up thoughts of mismanagement, inefficiency, and controversy.



RUTGERS COLLEGE BOYS AT DRILL

Fortunately, the training of American aviators proceeded more rapidly than the building of engines and planes. With the assistance of foreign aviators and of Americans who had been in the Allied air service, thousands of America's young men were trained to fly and to fight in the air. Some of these men won high distinction by their exploits. When the armistice was signed the total strength of the air service was over 190,000 men, including about 20,000 commissioned officers and over 6,000 cadets under training.

A somewhat similar situation developed regarding machine guns. At the beginning of the war our army did not have a satisfactory weapon of this sort, nor had the War Department even decided what type of weapon to adopt. The Lewis gun, which was the invention of an American officer, was being used extensively by the British and its adoption was urged upon our own War Department. However, for reasons that have never

make use of the Lewis gun while developing the Browning, but, for a time, all dependence was placed on the Browning guns. Tests of the two Browning guns, late in February, 1918, were deemed highly satisfactory, but, as might have been foreseen, their production was greatly delayed. By the end of the war, 47,000 of both types had been built, but most of these had been produced during the late summer and fall, and comparatively



MARINE CORPS MACHINE GUNNERS

been entirely made clear, the Department decided to attempt to produce an entirely new weapon and at first declined to use the Lewis gun at all. An American inventor named Browning, who had produced many successful automatic rifles and pistols, designed two types of machine guns; one a heavy weapon, weighing about 34 pounds, and the other a lighter one, weighing only 15 pounds, which could be carried and operated by one man. In some quarters it was urged that the Department should

few ever reached the firing line. Meanwhile, under pressure of public opinion and of necessity, the War Department had begun to produce the Lewis gun also. The troops actually on the firing line used weapons supplied by the British or the French. As in the case of aeroplanes, production on a large scale of the Browning gun began too late for this weapon to play much of a part in the winning of the war.

At the beginning of the war, the United States had some 600,000 New Springfield

rifles. This weapon had been adopted in 1903, but the cartridge used in it had been somewhat improved in 1906. By many experts it was considered the best military rifle in use in the world. It was not, however, an American invention, being an improved Mauser, and the United States was under obligation to pay the German inventor a certain sum for every weapon used. In addition, the United States had several hundred thousand Krag-Jorgensens of the sort used in the Spanish-American War. This weapon was a reasonably good rifle, being better, in fact, than some in use by the European powers.

The need for rifles with which to arm the expanding army was very great, and, unfortunately, the United States arsenals had a productive capacity of only about 700 a day. Had the War Department begun, in time, the making of additional machinery with which to build rifles would have been comparatively inexpensive, but in this, as in many other matters, the War Department had displayed lamentable lack of foresight. The making of the necessary machinery for rifle production is a long process. To have waited for new machinery with which to construct the New Springfield rifle would have meant many months of lost time.

However, there were certain great American arms companies which had been engaged in the construction of the British Enfield rifle on a very large scale. It was ultimately decided by the War Department to make use of this machinery and construct great numbers of Enfield rifles modified to fire the Springfield cartridge. Two thousand of these weapons were produced in August, 1917, 12,000 in September, 62,000 in October, and production reached over 200,000 a month late in the following summer. A large part of our army was armed with this rifle. For bayonet use it was excellent, but, after all, it was an improvised affair. It lacked the accuracy of the New Springfield and in other respects it proved somewhat unsatisfactory.

The Germans confidently boasted that their U-boats would make the transportation of American troops to France virtually impossible, and much uneasiness existed in the United States lest the boast might be made good. Every effort was made to protect the troop ships on the way over. They were convoyed all the way by warships, and as they drew near European shores, where the danger was greatest, they were surrounded by destroyers and other craft on the alert for submarines, while hydroplanes and balloons kept a careful watch from aloft.

Convoys were repeatedly attacked, but months passed before a single loaded troop ship was sunk. On the homeward voyages, however, the transports were not so fortunate. In part this was due to the fact that less care was taken to safeguard empty ships, the main effort being directed to protecting ships loaded with troops. The transport *Antilles* was sunk, on October 17, 1917; while on the way back from France, and seventy persons were lost.

Three other transports, the *Tuscania*, *President Lincoln*, and the *Covington*, were subsequently sunk, and two others, the *Finland* and *Mount Vernon*, were torpedoed but were able to make port. By far the most serious loss of life on a transport occurred in the sinking of the *Tuscania* on February 5, 1918. The vessel was under charter to the Cunard line and was carrying National Guard troops, mostly from Michigan and Wisconsin, in all 2,179 soldiers. She was torpedoed off the north coast of Ireland while under British convoy. British destroyers and trawlers displayed great skill in taking off the troops, and most of the casualties were caused by the capsizing of life boats in attempting to lower them. Many of the men perished from exposure even after they had been taken aboard rafts or other boats. The survivors were hospitably cared for in Ireland and elsewhere. The total loss of life amounted to over 200. Most of the bodies were washed ashore on the west coast of Scotland and were buried there with appropriate services. The disaster

did much to arouse the American fighting spirit, and on all sides men said that the Germans would be made to pay bitterly for that day's work.

The regular naval vessels did not escape unscathed. On October 16, 1917, the destroyer *Cassin*, while on patrol station in the submarine zone, was struck by a torpedo from a submerged submarine. Fortunately the explosion disabled only one engine, and the *Cassin* was able to

fighting ship to go down during the war. One officer and twenty men were lost.

On December 6, 1917, the United States destroyer, *Jacob Jones*, was sunk by a submarine in European waters. She was commanded by David W. Bagley, a brother-in-law of Secretary of the Navy Daniels. The torpedo, which was fired by a submerged submarine, struck the destroyer abreast of the fuel oil tank with the result that three large compart-



HARVARD GRADUATES IN COLLEGE YARD

cruise about in search of its assailant. After about an hour, the submarine exposed its conning tower long enough for the gunners on the *Cassin* to fire four shots, probably without effect. Later the *Cassin* reached port safely and was repaired.

Early in the morning of November 5, 1917, the patrol boat *Alcedo*, formerly a steam yacht belonging to George W. C. Drexel of Philadelphia, was torpedoed and sunk. She was the first American

ments were flooded and the ship quickly settled astern. It was seen almost immediately that the vessel was doomed, and every effort was made to launch boats and provide the crew with life belts. After the boat settled her commander ran along the deck and ordered everybody to jump overboard. Those who had not been killed by the explosion, got clear of the ship, and, eight minutes after the explosion, the destroyer sank by the stern. A short time later, the

German submarine came to the surface within a half mile of the boat and picked up two survivors. She then submerged and was not seen again. After a long period, the other survivors were rescued by patrol vessels. Sixty men were lost in the disaster.

One of the most regrettable losses occurred when the coast guard cutter *Tampa*, on service in the war zone, was torpedoed and sunk, on September 26, 1918, with a loss of its entire complement of 118 officers and crew. The largest vessel lost by the navy during the war was the armored cruiser *San Diego*. On July 19, 1918, she struck a German mine laid by a submarine in home waters. All but six of her crew were saved, and, as the vessel was an old one, the loss was not great.

Two destroyers, the *Chauncey* and the *Shaw*, were sunk in collisions. The accident to the former occurred on November 19, 1917; that to the latter on October 9, 1918. In addition, there were a few minor naval losses, due either to accidents or the activities of the enemy.

The most mysterious episode of the war from an American point of view was the disappearance of the naval collier *Cyclops*. She was returning from Brazil with a cargo of manganese. She put in at Barbados, but, after leaving that island on March 4, 1918, neither she nor any of the 293 persons on board were ever heard of again. For a time, it was supposed that she had been seized by the Germans and taken to a German port, and this view was considered likely because the Germans were sorely in need of the mineral with which she was laden. She may have been blown up by an infernal machine which some German sympathizer had managed to smuggle on board.

The total number of American vessels sunk by German raiders and submarines during the war was 151, of a total of 315,588 tons. The total loss of lives on these vessels was 409. Twenty-one of the vessels, of a total of 67,815 tons, were sunk before the United States entered the war. Sixty-seven Americans lost their lives as a result of these ante-bellum outrages.

The enemy submarines did not escape unscathed. On November 24, 1917, the destroyers *Fanning* and *Nicholson* were convoying merchant vessels when Coxswain Loomis of the *Fanning* sighted a periscope a few hundred yards away. He gave the alarm, and though the submarine dived immediately, the *Fanning* steamed over the spot where the U-boat had disappeared and dropped a depth bomb. The explosion shook the submarine, but there was no inrush of water, and the German commander concluded that no damage had been done. Soon, however, the motors balked, and it was evident that something was wrong. The commander let his boat sink to a depth of over two hundred feet, hoping to find bottom on which she could rest while repairs were effected. But after going down over two hundred feet the pressure became so great that signs of leakage appeared, and as the boat would not obey the rudders, there was nothing to do but rise to the surface. Meanwhile the *Nicholson* had also dropped a bomb, but it had done no damage save to give the Germans a second shaking up.

The crews of the destroyers were beginning to fear that the U-boat had eluded them when suddenly she came to the surface. The nearest destroyer at once opened fire, but before the range could be found, the submarine crew boiled up out of an open hatch, flung high their hands, and began bawling: "*Kamerad! Kamerad! Kamerad!*" Meanwhile, the commander, who had remained below, opened the sea valves, and the submarine began to sink again. He did this because he was determined that the boat herself should not be captured. Then he, too, rushed on deck.

Before boats could be lowered from the destroyers, the submarine sank, carrying one of the crew down and leaving the rest floating in the water. The *Fanning* steamed slowly among the floundering Germans, and the American bluejackets threw lines for them to grasp. One of the Germans was too weak to help himself and was sinking when two bluejackets dived after him, brought him to the surface, and got him aboard the destroyer. But

he was exhausted and half-drowned, and he died soon after. The other prisoners, over thirty in number, were taken to England and were placed in a prison camp.

A few months after our entry into the war, it was deemed desirable to send some of our dreadnoughts to reinforce the British fleet. Six vessels, the *New York*, *Texas*, *Nevada*, *Wyoming*, *Arkansas*, and *Florida* were sent under command of

and as one of the two so-called fast wings would take station at the head or rear of the battleship force. On one occasion the Grand Fleet came within a few miles of cutting off from its base and engaging the German fleet, and the disposition of the vessels was such that the American Battleship Division would have led in the action had not the Germans avoided battle and taken refuge behind their



GERMAN U-BOAT CAPTURED BY U. S. S. FANNING

Rear Admiral Hugh Rodman. These vessels were incorporated in the British Grand Fleet under command of Admiral Sir David Beatty.

Thereafter, these dreadnoughts coöperated with the British fleet in patrol work, the protection of convoys and other activities. In a very short time, the Americans were assigned to one of the two places of honor and importance in the battle line. They were known and designated as the Sixth Battle Squadron,

defenses. In the words of Rear Admiral Rodman:

"It was our policy to go after him every time he showed his nose outside of his ports; no matter when or where, whether in single ships, by divisions, or his whole fleet, out we went, day or night, rain or shine (and there was mighty little daylight and much less shine in the winter months), blow high or blow low, and chase him back in his hole. So persistent was this performance on our part,

so sure were we to get after him, that, toward the end, he rarely ventured more than a few miles from his base."

The American vessels were frequently attacked by submarines and had several narrow escapes. On one occasion, a submarine unintentionally rammed the flagship *New York* and dented her bottom and demolished the starboard propeller. It was thought that the blows from the propeller sank the submarine. On the way to drydock to make repairs three torpedoes were fired at the *New York* by hostile submarines, but she was not hit. Once when some of the American ships were guarding and supporting a convoy of 30 or 40 vessels off the coast of Norway, hostile ships fired six torpedoes at the vessels but not one was struck.

Upon the whole, the duty of the fleet was monotonous and it was subjected to many hardships. The main base of the Grand Fleet was in the bleak harbor of Scapa Flow in the Orkneys. The weather in that region, especially in winter, was exceedingly bad, with cold, sleet, snow, ice, and heavy seas.

The American ships formed, of course, only a small part of the whole fleet. According to Rear Admiral Rodman, on entering or leaving port the column of ships of the Grand Fleet, excluding destroyers, was on an average 65 miles long. On one occasion it was 76 miles long.

Three other battleships, the *Utah*, *Arizona*, and *Oklahoma*, were sent over in the early summer of 1918, under command of Rear Admiral T. S. Rodgers. These vessels operated from a base at Berehaven, Ireland, protecting convoys and keeping guard against enemy raiders and other craft.

The work of transporting troops to France was put in charge of Vice Admiral Albert Gleaves. Up to the time of signing the armistice 2,079,880 men were transported overseas, with a total loss of less than three hundred. Men said with truth that the crossing through the submarine zone was made safer than going motoring on Sunday afternoon.

By no means were all these men carried on American ships. According to Admiral

Gleaves, 48½ per cent were carried in British ships, 46¼ per cent in American ships, and the rest in French and Italian vessels. The United States furnished, however, 82¾ per cent of the convoys.



ADMIRAL HUGH RODMAN

A very great many of the troops were carried over on former German liners. The giant *Leviathan*, formerly the *Vaterland*, alone made ten trips and transported over 94,000 men.

In a speech in London in October, 1918, Admiral Sims revealed some interesting

facts regarding America's part in the warfare against the submarines. He said that some misapprehensions existed in America regarding the matter. Some Americans had an idea "that the American navy was doing the bulk of the business over here

—at least a half. That was not correct. There were about 5,000 anti-submarine crafts operating day and night, and the American craft numbered 160, or 3 per cent. The figures were about the same in the Mediterranean."

CHAPTER CLXXXIV.—CAMPAIGNS OF 1917.



OVERNMENTAL changes in France and England were quickly followed by a firmer policy with regard to Greece. In the previous September, a Bulgarian army had crossed the Grecian frontier and had seized the town of Kavala and other places, taking several thousand Greek soldiers prisoners. In accordance with instructions from Athens, the Greek commander made no resistance. The Greek soldiers were transported to a sort of "honorable captivity" in Germany, while their cannon and arms were confiscated for the use of the Central Powers.

It was believed that King Constantine was privy to this transaction, which aroused much indignation in Greece. Late in September, former Premier Venizelos and Admiral Condouriotis began a revolutionary movement in Crete and established a Provisional Government, whose authority was soon recognized by various other islands and by some places on the mainland. The Entente Allies recognized this government and aided it to obtain control over most of the Greek fleet, and landed troops and marines in Athens. The Provisional Government raised an armed force and formally entered the war on the side of the Entente. Civil war threatened, and, in order to put an end to Teutonic intrigues, the Allies, late in November, expelled the diplomatic representatives of the Central Powers from Greece. As a set-off against the artillery seized by the Bulgarians, the Allies demanded that the King turn over ten mountain batteries. The King

refused and armed clashes took place in Athens, in which about two hundred combatants were killed or wounded, after which the King agreed to deliver six mountain batteries. Imprisonment of Venizelists, mobilization of troops, and other threatening demonstrations led the Allies to institute a blockade of Greece and to make various demands which culminated in an ultimatum framed by a war council at Rome, in which Premiers Briand and Lloyd George participated. This brought the matter to an issue, and the Royalists, who had been playing a waiting game in the hope of obtaining Teutonic assistance, were forced to liberate the Venizelists and to transfer the army to the Peloponnesus. As the Isthmus of Corinth, which connects the Peloponnesus with central Greece, was dominated by the guns of the Allied warships, it was believed that the danger of Constantine and his followers striking a blow at the rear of General Sarraill's army was reduced to a minimum.

Early in June, the Allies brought such pressure to bear that King Constantine was forced to abdicate in favor of his second son, Prince Alexander. The de-throned monarch, Crown Prince George, the Queen, and many other German partisans were driven into exile. The Zaimis ministry soon after resigned, and Venizelos was restored to power as Premier. The entrance of Greece into the war on the side of the Allies was not long delayed.

Meanwhile, Great Britain had directed a new blow at Turkey. Material aid was given to a revolt that had broken out in Arabia against Turkish rule, and this uprising culminated in the estab-

lishment of an Arabian kingdom, which was headed by Grand Sherif Hussein Ben Ali of Mecca. In December, General Maude, with an army of upwards of a hundred thousand men, began a strong offensive in Mesopotamia. After severe fighting, he defeated the Turkish army in that region, and, late in February, 1917, recaptured Kut-el-Amara. The Turkish forces fled northward in disorder, closely pursued by the British, who captured much booty and many prisoners. The

March, defeated a Turkish force of twenty thousand near the ancient city of Gaza, within fifty miles of Jerusalem. Further successes were presently won in this theater of operations and there seemed a possibility that Palestine, after centuries of Mohammedan rule, would fall into Christian hands.

These various events deprived the Turks of control over the sacred city of Mecca, involved the loss of about half of their Asiatic dominions, restored British pres-



GREEK ARMY ON THE MARCH

Turks repeatedly endeavored to make a stand but without success, and, on the 11th of March, the British entered the famous city of Bagdad, renowned in history as the capital of the Caliphate, the "City of the Arabian Nights." The Turks were driven far up the Tigris toward Mosul and suffered repeated defeats. In the meantime, Russian forces took the offensive to northeastward, drove the Turkish forces out of Persia, and joined hands with General Maude's army.

Pushing northward from the Isthmus of Suez, another British force, late in

tige in the Orient, and struck a staggering blow at the German "Berlin to Bagdad" dream. It was clear that British efforts were beginning to bear fruit, and that their armies were coming to be decisive factors in the war.

Events in other fields soon confirmed this impression. At a military conference of all the Allied powers, held in November, 1916, at French general headquarters, a plan of campaign for the coming year had been agreed upon. This plan included a series of offensives on all fronts, so designed as to prevent the enemy from

weakening any one of his armies in order to reinforce another. Let us first consider events on the Western Front.

During the first two months of 1917, the British and French on that front were constantly engaged in preparing for their offensive. The British big guns continued to roar along the line in order to harass the enemy and to give the raw artillerymen of the British army needed practice under war conditions. Vast stocks of munitions and stores of all kind were assembled and



GENERAL SIR STANLEY MAUDE

extensive mining and tunneling operations were carried out in favorable places. Scores of trench raids served to train the infantry as well as to annoy the enemy, and, on February 15, it was officially stated that these raids had resulted in the capture of about 2,000 Germans at the cost of very slight losses to the Allies.

The Germans knew that a storm was preparing and shrewdly made dispositions to avoid its full force. The British gains in the Battle of the Somme had so weakened the German defenses that the High Command realized that it would be unwise

to attempt a defense along the whole battle line. Accordingly, in the first week of February, the Germans began a retirement in the Somme region and systematically fell back to what became known as the Hindenburg Line, running from Lens through St. Quentin and La Fère to the Aisne River near Soissons. The retreat was conducted deliberately and with much skill, and the French and British, hampered by the muddy, shell-torn battleground of two former campaigns and by German destruction of the roads, were unable to inflict very heavy losses on the retiring foe.

By this retirement the Germans surrendered over a thousand square miles of French soil, but they systematically reduced it to virtually a desert by destroying the towns and villages, filling up or polluting the wells, and even cutting down the vines and fruit trees. Nearly 400 towns and villages were wrecked, and everything of value was carried away or destroyed. Hidden mines and infernal devices of all sorts were left behind to be set off by unwary pursuers. Even explosive "fountain pens" were left lying temptingly about in deserted quarters, and more than one British soldier was mangled by them. Many of the inhabitants were carried off, while tens of thousands of others were made homeless by the devastation of their country.

A correspondent of the *Berlin Lokalanzeiger* who had been "taken into confidence by the German High Command" gloatingly described in the following words "the empire of death" which the retiring army left behind them: "In the course of these last months, great stretches of French territory have been turned by us into a dead country. It varies in width from 10 to 12 or 15 kilometers ($6\frac{1}{4}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ or 8 miles), and extends along the whole of our new position, presenting a terrible barrier of desolation to any enemy hardy enough to advance against our new lines. No village or farm was left standing on this glacis, no road was left passable, no railway track or embankment was left in being. Where once were woods

there are gaunt rows of stumps; the wells have been blown up, wires, cables and pipe-lines destroyed. In front of our new positions runs, like a gigantic ribbon, an empire of death."

At Nesle the Germans prepared for their retreat, as early as February 17, by deporting 423 women and girls. The Germans took all able-bodied females over fifteen years of age, as well as all able-bodied males over sixteen, and decreed that all women must go who were capable

months before the baby was born, her husband had been deported into the interior—to Belgium or Germany—and she had had no news of his fate. Her eldest son, a child of 12, was paid a sixpence a day by the Germans for the work they compelled him to do.

"To give you a picture of our situation," wrote a German soldier to his home, "I will go back in my mind a few days to Trescault. It is 8 p. m. The company has just returned from trench-digging.



BUILDING MILITARY ROADS ON THE MACEDONIAN FRONT

of working in German factories and on farms and had no children dependent on them. On the other hand, they left the aged and infirm in the abandoned zone and collected others from St. Quentin and places further behind and marooned them there for the Allied armies to salvage if they could. The correspondent of the American United Press met a woman with a six-months-old baby in her arms; she had four other children dependent on her, as well as her grandmother, transported from St. Quentin according to this German device. Three

A beautiful scene is presented to our eyes. A little later there suddenly arise flames, and Trescault is doomed to destruction. Everywhere explosions are heard and a terrific heat reaches us. Then we, too, are seized with the madness of destruction and set fire to everything. All Trescault is in flames, and a marvelous spectacle, one that I shall never forget, meets the eye. On a little hill stands a wonderful castle spared by us until the last moment. We spared it because we were quartered there. But the castle must go too, and quickly

the flames envelop it, and this building as well is burnt to the foundations and Trescault laid level with the earth. Where before was a flourishing village and a peaceful people is now a heap of ruins. Far indeed did the destructive fury of the 230th extend. The Russians themselves have wrought no worse havoc than this, and we can scarcely be looked upon as soldiers. When we are up at the Front, it is as if we were the greatest of criminals.

forget. Well, enough of it. It is possible that I shall not be able to write again for a long while. You must forgive me, and if God will that I come back safe, I shall write at once. All the same, my mind cannot dispel dark thoughts and fears that I shall not return."

The giant trees along the highways were felled and thrown across the roads. Farm implements were collected in heaps and burned, or essential parts were broken.



GERMAN CAMP NEAR RIBECOURT

Thus it is that we do our work of destruction in France on the Somme.

"Picture to yourself how we live now—not like men, but like beasts. Far and wide there are no trenches, only bare fields and stumps of trees growing where once Man, the chosen of God, ploughed his fields and worked for wife and child. That is our retirement, and our part in it—not as you will see it written—for these are observations founded on experiences of my own, experiences which I can never

Wagons were sawed in half and the spokes hacked out of the wheels. At one place the Huns even broke into a sarcophagus and scattered the bones.

"It is as terrible as anything on the battlefield," wrote a *Times* correspondent, "to see children who have been slowly starving for a year wandering about amid the ruins of their home. They are wan little ghosts, with bluish faces and heavy-lidded eyes.... There were so many such children. I saw one frail woman load a

barrow with what she could find in the ruins the Germans had made of her home—the last article was a doll without a head—and trundle the cargo away with four shy, weak little figures clinging to her skirts, who made as painfully sad a group as I have ever seen.”

The people were starving because the Huns had despoiled them of their poultry, livestock, and agricultural products. “We shall never forget the American relief,” they said to the war correspondents. “It saved us. Almost from the beginning of the German occupation we had nothing else.” These

supplies would have kept them adequately nourished had they received all that was landed at Rotterdam for their use. But the Germans broke their solemn pledges to let this food pass through for the benefit of those for whom it was intended. They took much of the white flour for themselves, and adulterated what remained, so that what was issued was a sticky, black substance. In some

places, toward the end, they appropriated three-fourths of the Committee’s ration for their own use. By thus stealing the supplies furnished by neutrals and by confiscating the food produced locally, the invaders reduced the unhappy people to a state of semi-starvation. The last cows had been seized and there was no milk for the babies.

“Hundreds of villages have been pillaged and burnt,” cabled the correspondent of the United Press on March 31; “fruit orchards have been leveled; the room-walls in houses spared in the retreat have been clotted and smeared with filth, mirrors

smashed, friezes pick-axed. But most tragic of all are the human wrecks left behind—staring at the incoming British and French troops with eyes made mild by suffering. Their faces wear blank expressions, because behind them are brains dulled by lack of proper sustenance. The faces of the babies and younger children are especially pitiful—colorless, with black circles under the eyes.”

At Noyon there was continual robbery throughout the whole period of occupation. Many houses were looted of all valuables, and the interiors were defiled in an un-



GERMAN AEROPLANE BROUGHT DOWN BY
FRENCH ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUN ON THE SOMME

speakable manner. Safes in private houses and in banks were blown open, and the money and securities were stolen. At Candor soldiers were seen breaking open tombs and vaults in the hope of finding valuables. The church was pillaged, and the silver figures of Christ on the crucifixes were torn off. At another place the soldiers broke into the vault of a chapel and left a gaping hole through which a coffin and human bones could be seen.

Though the Germans sought to justify this destruction on the plea of “military necessity,” it is clear that the desire for wanton destruction and perhaps to terrorize their

enemies were essential motives in much of what was done. The cutting down of fruit trees was particularly reprehensible. To the inhabitants some of the Germans frankly declared that henceforth they would respect nothing. "You would not accept peace, so now we have orders to make war on civilians," said a German professor to the Sister Superior of a convent at Noyon.

In spite of their sufferings, the inhabi-

inhabitants raised a triumphal arch for the entry of the French soldiers." "We forgot our sorrows when we saw French soldiers again!" declared one of those delivered.

This destructive policy drew bitter protests from France and other powers but was defended by the Germans as a war measure. Many Germans exulted in the damage done by their armies, but the more moderate view summed it up as



CAPTURED GERMAN MACHINE GUN USED BY THE ALLIES

tants who were permitted to remain greeted the Allied soldiers with enthusiasm. "They were entirely possessed by the joy of recovering their country, that sweet and kindly France which we love each day the more because of all she suffers," said a French legislator in relating the story to the Senate. "They brought out the tricolor they had carefully concealed for thirty months, and promptly hoisted it over the ruins of church or mairie. The children waved little flags. At the entrance to the town of Roye the

"a war measure." "We were compelled to take it," declared a high German military authority, "to carry out a military plan to meet the big offensive the Entente had planned. We have destroyed nothing except out of military necessity. We have saved everything we could. We did not wish to destroy homes or other structures which offered no military advantage to the enemy, but we had to make a battlefield out of the territory we were giving up, for in it fighting will now take place and we could leave nothing in the hands

of the enemy. So we were forced to destroy roads, railroads, wells, buildings of value for military purposes, depots, even whole cities. It has been hard, too, for the French population, but that is the fault of their Government. All the men of military age we took back with us. The remainder we have turned over to their countrymen, and they are now in French hands. I know we will be accused again of barbarism, but we are fighting for our existence. We were compelled by the refusal of the Entente to make peace to defend ourselves against their promised offensive. We have done everything we could to avoid needless suffering, but what happens is their fault, not ours."

In order to quiet uneasiness at home the German War Lords declared the move was a great stroke of Hindenburg strategy. The inspired press insisted that the retreat had disorganized the French and British plans for a spring offensive and that now the enemy would be compelled to advance over a zone which had been prepared as a battlefield. It was even hinted that Hindenburg would soon deliver a heavy counter-stroke at the French and British and that he had prepared a battleground for that purpose. There could be no question that the German retreat was a shrewd move, but it was retirement that resulted from the great British and French offensive of the previous year. The German High Command realized that they could not hold the whole line against the battering to which it would be subjected when the weather moderated, and they prudently retired to escape disaster. They were in the position of a delinquent tenant who has been warned to quit on the first of the month and anticipates the date by removing his belongings a few days earlier. The retreat was a play for time. The Germans knew that it would take the French and British some weeks to build roads and bridges up to the new lines, bring up their guns, ammunition, and other supplies, and make the necessary approaches.

In reality, the Allies carried out this stupendous work more rapidly than the

Germans probably deemed possible, and soon their guns were thundering at the new line. Early in April, the British began their great "push" of 1917 by striking at the point where the new line joined the old, namely about Lens and east of Arras. The attack was preceded by the most tremendous bombardment ever yet seen in warfare, and by a great aerial campaign in which the British lost scores of planes but gained almost complete control of the air and obtained many valuable photographs of the German works.

The new artillery and infantry tactics so successfully employed by the French in regaining ground at Verdun were used, as were many "tanks" and various other devices. When the assault was finally launched on the 9th of April, it proved more successful than many of the assailants had dared to hope. Canadian troops carried the works on Vimy Ridge, the chief buttress of the German line, and many other positions were taken elsewhere. In two days' fighting, the Germans lost eleven thousand prisoners and more than a hundred cannons, many of them of large calibre, besides vast quantities of other material. Their counter-attacks were hurled back with great slaughter. In a few days more, the British were squarely astride the Hindenburg Line, which the Germans had boasted was invulnerable, and the Germans in this quarter were forced back upon a reserve line, which the British proceeded promptly to attack. In a week's time, the British had captured more territory and more guns than in the whole of their last year's offensive.

The finest exploit of this offensive was the taking of Vimy Ridge by the Canadians. The attack began in the early morning when the light was still obscure and flurries of snow drifted over the battlefield. The Canadians in three waves of attack left their trenches behind a rolling barrage. The assailants were subjected to terrific fire and had to overcome not only barbed wire and trenches but also to attack the Germans in caves and tunnels in the Ridge. By one o'clock

in the afternoon the enemy's second line had been overrun, and the third line had been taken in most places. In one place what was known as Hill 145 still remained in German hands, but it was taken on the 12th. Nearly 4,000 prisoners were made in the capture of what was undoubtedly one of the strongest points in the whole German line. The possession of Vimy Ridge was subsequently to be of

but resistlessly, the British pushed onward, alternately blasting the way with their guns and thrusting forward with their infantry. By the end of April, they had captured nearly twenty thousand Germans, nearly three hundred cannons, and immense quantities of other booty.

On the 16th of April, General Nivelle's French armies struck a tremendous blow against the German line along the Aisne,



KING GEORGE KNIGHTING GENERAL ARTHUR CURRIE

great value to the British, and the fact that they held it played no small part in the successful defense which the British made in the spring of 1918 at the time of the "Kaiser's Battle."

Von Hindenburg threw in reserves by hundreds of thousands, but he found that fighting British and French armies was a different affair from that of engaging Russians and Roumanians, over whom his great triumphs had been won. Slowly

on a front of over twenty miles between Rheims and Soissons, advancing an average of two miles and capturing ten thousand prisoners. By the end of the month, the French had captured over twenty thousand prisoners and nearly two hundred cannons, but they had fallen short of compelling a general German retirement and had suffered immense losses.

The difficulties they had had to face had been, in fact, enormous. The country

in which the attack was made was rugged and full of quarries and caves, and the Germans had exhausted all their art in strengthening what were naturally strong positions. The French concentrated the heaviest artillery fire the world had yet known upon the positions, but with comparatively little effect. In the words of a correspondent, the "Germans were quite as safe as in a submarine far below

blackness. The officer and I stumbled down, fumbling at solid rock walls. A soldier came up to meet us with an electric lamp, and below we could see a line of wooden steps, at least a hundred of them. Then we came into a great arched cavern that led into another similar one, and then to another, and then into long galleries and through dark, narrow passages, where we had to stoop low, only to come into



FLEET OF FRENCH BABY TANKS

the surface of the sea," and the positions, almost intact, had to be "taken by storm by the French infantry going upon the hillsides wave after wave, driving out the Germans with bayonets and gas bombs." In some of these assaults the French suffered extremely bloody losses, being simply mown down by thousands. One of the quarries, after its capture, was described as follows by a correspondent:

"The opening was a tiny hole in solid granite. I went down and down in pitch

other caverns with exits leading in various directions, and so on until, at least half a mile toward the German rear, from where we entered, we walked out again into daylight. That quarry alone was big enough to secrete 5,000 German soldiers, who poured from a dozen similar exits when the French infantry advanced. Every gallery of these underground fortresses the Germans raked with machine guns when stormed. The artillery positions were so constructed that the guns

could be whirled behind granite walls whenever necessary to avoid destruction by the concentrated French fire. They were the strongest defenses I have ever seen. They made every other fortress, every trench line, every concrete *abri* I have visited seem weak."

According to one account, the French failure was due to political interference. The story runs that some French politicians who were unacquainted with the actualities of war were permitted to view the battle and were so horrified by the French losses that they persuaded the Government to stop the offensive. The losses had, indeed, been heavy, but the gains were great, and many Germans had been killed or captured. It is said that Premier Lloyd George and General Haig implored the French Government to persevere in the attack, pointing out that the German reserve was almost exhausted, and that, in a short time, the Teutons would be compelled to retreat. The German situation was, beyond question, hazardous, and the German newspapers of the time revealed deep apprehension. A retirement would have involved tremendous losses. Had the French been willing, at this time, to sacrifice a small fraction of what subsequent battles cost them, it is not improbable that a great victory could have been won and the war materially shortened. The Allied forces considerably outnumbered the Germans on the West Front, but this advantage was subsequently lost.

But the French Government decided to call off the offensive. For reasons that were not explained, General Nivelle was removed from command, together with some subordinates, including the celebrated General Mangin. General Pétain was substituted for Nivelle, and General Foch became Chief of Staff. General Pétain had won his chief reputation by stopping the force of the first German drive at Verdun. He was an able officer, but his taking command meant that France had abandoned the effort to force a decision that year. A pall of gloom settled down over the country. Some French units informed their officers that

they would not attempt another offensive and would fight only on the defensive. "Defeatism" reared its head, and probably only the hope of American assistance prevented, at this time, a French collapse.

By the French and British offensives the whole German position in France had been dangerously imperiled, and if the Russians had been doing their part at this juncture, it is entirely probable that the war could have been brought to a speedy end. But Russia was torn by dissensions, and her army was so badly demoralized that it could not attempt a real offensive. The Germans were able to send hundreds of thousands of men and great numbers of guns from the Eastern to the Western Front. In order to gain time to build new lines, they hurled immense forces against both the British and French positions, but were almost invariably thrown back with tremendous slaughter. Some of the most bitter fighting of the whole war took place in and around the village of Bullecourt, possession of which would threaten the German hold on their reserve "switch line" running from Drocourt to Queant, but, in the middle of May, the Germans were finally expelled from the village. In this fighting Australian troops greatly distinguished themselves.

The British advance also recovered some of the French coal mines which had been occupied by the Germans since 1914. By holding these mines the Germans had caused immense embarrassment to their enemies. The coal mines in the unoccupied parts of France were inadequate to supply the country with fuel, and not only was industry greatly hampered but the population in the winter suffered greatly from cold. The amount of coal that could be sent from England to France was limited, and the French consequently were forced to use it in sparing quantities. Prices of coal rose to incredible heights, and Paris and other French cities shivered throughout the winters. It had been hoped that the whole of the Lens coal district would be recovered, but though the British managed

to reach the outskirts of that town the Germans held on doggedly and could not be expelled. They realized the importance of holding these mines in order to embarrass their enemies, and it was not until near the very end of the war that they finally evacuated Lens. Even the mines that were recovered had been so badly damaged that much time and a vast amount of work were required to put them into operation.

The obstinate German resistance made it clear, in the words of General Haig, that "many months of heavy fighting would be necessary before the enemy's troops could be reduced to a condition which would permit a more rapid advance." The later operation in front of Arras and in the neighborhood of Bullecourt had for its object partly the weakening of the German armies, partly to attract the German forces while the French carried out operations against the long plateau north of the Aisne, traversed by the celebrated road known as the *Chemin-des-Dames*. The French offensive in this region was conducted slowly and systematically, and in an attack made on May 5 the French made decided progress, clearing much of the Craonne Plateau and most of the *Chemin-des-Dames*. Bitter fighting continued in this region all the summer. The Germans launched many determined counter-attacks in order to drive back the French, for a further advance would have threatened Laën, one of the main bulwarks of the German line.

Early in June, the Kaiser announced that the Allied offensive had been definitely defeated. In a sense, this was true. The British and French had taken many thousands of prisoners and nearly a thousand guns, but they had failed in their great object—that of forcing a general retreat of their foes. Von Hindenburg's shrewd retirement, the strength of his defensive lines, and the stubborn fighting qualities of the German army, had enabled him to foil the Allied efforts.

It had been a part of the British plan to launch another offensive in Flanders.

The positions held by the British in the Ypres salient had always been unsatisfactory, being dominated by higher ground which was in the hands of the enemy. The Germans were able to watch every movement of their foe and to harass them with a fire which entailed heavy losses upon the troops occupying the salient. General Haig was anxious, therefore, to improve these positions by capturing the



GENERAL MANGIN

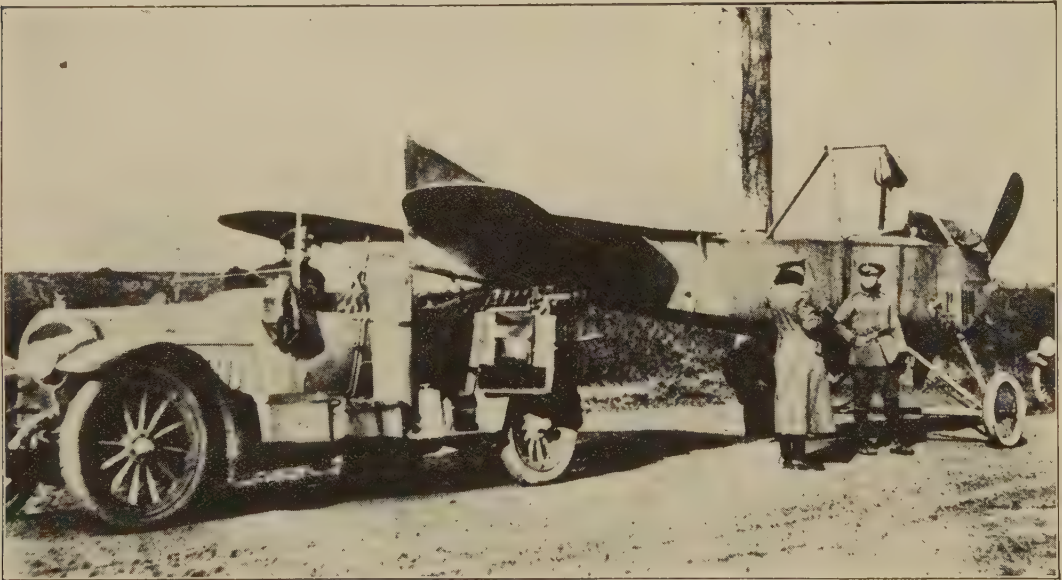
Messines-Wytschaete Ridge and the high ground to the northeastward in the region of Broodsiende-Passchendaele. Elaborate preparations were made for the attack. Additional railroad lines were constructed, millions of shells were collected, and pipe lines capable of supplying water at the rate of about 500,000 gallons daily were laid.

A special feature of the preparations was the driving of mines under Messines

Ridge. This mining offensive had been going on since July, 1915. In all 24 mines were constructed, but one of these was destroyed by the enemy, while four lay outside the front ultimately selected for the offensive. For months, almost continuous underground fighting took place in this region, and while the British were driving their mines the Germans drove counter-mines. Between January 16, 1916, and June 7, 1917, twenty-seven camouflages were blown in this locality alone: 17 by the British and 10 by the Germans. One of these German camouflages destroyed

happen when the explosion went off. At ten minutes after three o'clock on the morning of June 7, the 19 mines were simultaneously exploded beneath the enemy's defenses. The noise was so prodigious that Premier Lloyd George, who knew the time that the mines were to be set off, heard the noise at his country place near London, 130 miles away.

At the same moment, the British guns opened and an infantry assault was launched, supported by a large number of tanks. Most of the objectives were reached and captured, and, by night, 7,200



GERMAN AEROPLANE ON WAY TO BATTLEFIELD

the British gallery to one of their chief mines, and, for three months, the British were cut off from it, being able to recover it only by strenuous efforts on the day preceding the attack. Not infrequently in this underground warfare men were killed by the explosion of the enemy's mines, and many poor fellows were cut off and smothered to death. Altogether the British constructed almost five miles of galleries and charged the mines with a million pounds of high explosives.

The simultaneous discharge of such an enormous weight of explosives was without parallel in land mining, and no one was exactly sure as to what would

prisoners and 67 cannons had been taken, while the German loss in killed and wounded had been very heavy.

It was hoped in Allied circles that this victory might be followed by a rapid advance which would free the great industrial city of Lille and force a German retreat. But the German High Command had been aware of the impending attack and had massed reserves of men and guns to meet it. Though the British attained their immediate objectives, they could make further progress only by overcoming tremendous opposition. The fighting on this front resolved itself into the slow and methodical battering process already made

familiar by the German operations against Verdun and by Allied efforts along the Somme. More will be said of this battle in later pages.

Meanwhile, considerable fighting had taken place on the Balkan Front, and the Italians launched a new drive against Trieste. In the second half of May, the Italians, aided by some British artillery, made considerable progress, but their offensive then slowed down. Owing to Russian demoralization, the Austrians were able to transfer many troops and guns from the Eastern Front to fight against the Italians. Thus Russia's faltering was imperiling Allied success everywhere, and her weakness made American aid more than ever imperative.

Meanwhile, great events had transpired in Russia. Back in February, 1916, Boris Stürmer, a man of German ancestry, had become Prime Minister. He was a strong reactionary, and the people also began to doubt whether he was earnest in efforts to win the war. German influences had long been strong in western Russia, the Czarina herself was a German princess, and in devious, treacherous ways Germany was constantly trying to hamper Russian war efforts, to detach Russia from the Entente, and to bring about a separate peace. In the Seven Years' War Frederick the Great had been saved from destruction by a sudden change of Russian rulers and Russian foreign policy, and his descendant, Wilhelm, searching eagerly to save his dynasty, no doubt thought often of creating a similar loophole for himself. Czar Nicholas wished to keep faith with his allies, but he was not a strong man and could not escape the influence of the reactionaries and the corrupt and inefficient bureaucracy. A mysterious monk named Rasputin exercised a malign influence over the Czar and Czarina, and ultimately Rasputin was assassinated, in January, 1917, by a number of young noblemen.

The army, many of the people, and a majority of the Duma wished to continue the war, as did also the All-Russian Zemstvo Union and various other popular

bodies that were assisting in the work of equipping and supplying the army. Stürmer and his associates showed themselves not only strongly reactionary, but they were blamed for having failed to furnish sufficient aid to Roumania, and it was thought that they were endeavoring to bring about a separate peace that would leave Russia's allies in the lurch. In the middle of November, 1916, the Stürmer ministry was bitterly attacked in the Duma, the most effective speech being made by Paul Miliukoff, leader of the Constitutional Democrats. Miliukoff, a man of wide learning and much force, denounced Stürmer for pro-Germanism. Part of the ministry sided with the Duma, and Stürmer was forced to resign. A more popular Prime Minister, in the person of Alexander Feodorovitch Trepoff, assumed power, but conservative influences soon triumphed again, and Prince Golitzin succeeded Trepoff.

Russia continued officially to announce her determination to continue the war, but "dark forces" were at work, patriots feared German intrigues, and there was general indignation at the incompetence of the bureaucracy in managing the war and in distributing the food supply.

During the first half of March, little news came out of Russia, but the situation there gave great uneasiness in Allied capitals. Then the world was suddenly stunned with the news that a revolution had taken place, that there had been a conflict between the autocracy and the Duma, that the soldiers and people had sided with the Duma, that many reactionaries and pro-Germans had been killed or imprisoned, that the Czar himself had been forced to abdicate, that he had designated as his successor the Grand Duke Michael. Soon it was announced that Duke Michael had stated that he would accept the throne only in case the people voted that he should be crowned. Ultimately, the question of the form of government was left open for future decision. Management of the Government was undertaken by a Committee of Safety which proceeded to form a Provisional

Government, headed by Prince George Lvoff, a man of royal extraction but of democratic sympathies, who was president of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union. Other leaders were Michael Rodzianko, President of the Duma and of the Committee of Safety, Paul Miliukoff, Foreign Minister, Alexander Gutchkoff, Minister of War and Marine, and Alexander Kerensky, Minister of Justice.

to remain in power. Chief command of the army was given to General Alexieff.

The new government was speedily recognized by the United States, by Russia's allies, and by various neutral states. From all over the world good wishes were flashed to Russia, and it was the unanimous wish of the heart and conscience of humanity that a better era had dawned in that great but hitherto backward country.



GERMAN PRISONERS IN BALKANS

News of the fall of the Romanoffs reverberated through the world, and the event was generally considered to be one of the most important in modern annals. The deposed Czar and his family, together with others of the old order, were ordered to reside in the palace of Tsarskoe Selo. Grand Duke Nicholas, commander in the Caucasus, was permitted to live on his estates in the Crimea. He had deserved well of Russia, but it was generally believed that it would be mistaken policy to permit any of the Romanoff family

One of the first steps of the new government was to do justice to the long oppressed Jews, while steps were taken toward the adoption of a liberal policy toward Poland and Finland. Political prisoners everywhere were released. Back from Siberia poured a great crowd of people who had been the victims of autocracy in the past, and some dramatic scenes took place when famous revolutionists who for years had worked and prayed for Russian freedom returned to their homes from imprisonment or exile.

The great question that remained was whether the Russian people would know how to use their new freedom. The revolution had been effected with surprisingly little bloodshed, and peace and order had been restored quickly in most places. Here and there individuals or factions seemed disposed to take advantage of the downfall of authority, but, at first, the general feeling among the people seemed to be that all must coöperate to keep the peace and to labor for the common good. However, the great mass of the people were ignorant and had little or no experience in self-government. Observers who knew the course of past revolutions in such countries feared that a long period of disorder and turmoil lay before the land of the Muscovites.

The Central Powers desired to take advantage of Russia's weakness, either to strike a blow when it could not be parried or to negotiate a separate peace. The German Kaiser, in his extremity, condescended to employ his own Social Democrats as peace agents, and an effort was made to create peace sentiment in Russia. Through Teutonic management a sort of Socialist peace conference was arranged to meet at Stockholm. Many Russians grasped the idea that liberty and victory were inseparable, and that the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs were the natural foes of freedom, but others were too blind to see the barbed hook concealed in the bait.

The Duma and the Provisional Government were too moderate to suit the Soviets, or councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' delegates, who desired radical measures and a speedy peace. The councils meddled with governmental affairs and weakened the authority of the Provisional Government. They were especially hostile to Foreign Minister Miliukoff, who wished to respect Russia's engagements with her Allies and conduct a victorious war. Discipline in the army practically broke down, and the soldiers even fraternized with the Germans, who cunningly made every effort to win their favor. Finland and other provinces began to demand independence. Workmen struck for enor-

mous wages and absurdly short hours. There were bloody riots in Petrograd and elsewhere. General Korniloff, the Petrograd commandant, and Generals Brusiloff and Gurko resigned, as did also War Minister Gutchkoff. Finally the Socialist Minister of Justice, Kerensky, a man of great oratorical ability and the idol of the masses, made an impassioned appeal to the people, picturing the dark road down which the country was plunging and declaring that he wished that he had died two months before when the revolution was still a golden dream rather than to have beheld the reality of Russian freedom. A coalition Cabinet was agreed upon. Miliukoff resigned as Foreign Minister and gave way to M. I. Terestchenko, the Minister of Finance. Kerensky became Minister of War. A number of other Socialists entered the Cabinet.

The main figure in the new Government was Kerensky, and to his efforts was largely due the fact that complete Russian collapse was temporarily postponed. Kerensky was born in Simbirsk on the River Volga in 1881. His father was the head of a school at that place, but, in 1889, was transferred to Tashkent, which is the gate to Siberia. In 1899, the boy entered St. Petersburg University and studied law. He early adopted liberal views, and soon after his graduation suffered arrest and imprisonment. He took an active part in the political struggles in the revolutionary years 1905-06 and won a reputation for boldness and fiery eloquence. During the period of reaction, he devoted much time to the defense of prisoners accused of political offenses. He was himself sentenced to a month in prison, but escaped through being a member of the Fourth Duma. About this time, the shooting down of gold miners in the Lena district of Siberia caused him to go to Lena and make an investigation, the results of which he brought before the Duma and also published in a pamphlet, which was immediately confiscated by the Government. He was kept under close surveillance by the police, and one of his own protégés furnished information

concerning him. During the recesses of the Duma, he went about Russia lecturing and building up the Socialist Labor Party. He was one of the chief leaders in the revolution; in fact, it was he who gave the signal for the Duma to continue sitting when the Czar ordered its dissolution. He became Minister of Justice in the Provisional Government, and now took up the difficult task of Minister of War.

Civil war between the radicals and conservatives seemed almost inevitable. Professional agitators stirred up the people to foolish things, while secret pro-German agents endeavored to create a sentiment for a separate peace. A complete economic collapse appeared imminent, and the impossible demands of the workers for increased wages and shorter hours demoralized production and caused many strikes.



CZAR OF RUSSIA AND WAR COUNCIL

He was gifted with unusual oratorical powers, and, for a time, succeeded in making himself the idol of the Russian masses.

Unlike some of his compatriots, Kerensky realized that the first task before the new republic was to defeat the Teutons. The tendency to demoralization in Russia caused him much anxiety, and in a speech made at this time he appealed in pathetic words to the people not to permit their golden hope to be destroyed by dissensions.

On May 27, new disciplinary regulations were issued which did much to demoralize the army and to transform it into a debating society. The power of the officers was greatly diminished, and, on May 30, a Congress of delegates from the front voted that it was indispensable to take every measure to put an end as quickly as possible to the international carnage and conclude peace "without annexations or indemnities." This Congress, however, recognized the need of resisting the enemy

and of making effective preparations. On the 1st of June the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates defied the provisional government and seized Kronstadt, the great fortress which defends Petrograd, but temporarily the trouble was adjusted. In the capital armed anarchists raided the streets, demanding the commune and a war on capitalists and flaunting black banners bearing such inscriptions as "Down with Authority," "Long Live the Social

Russia, going by way of the Pacific Ocean, Vladivostok, and Siberia. The commission was well received in Russia. Mr. Root made a number of addresses in various towns and conferred with the people, and another member of the commission, Charles Edward Russell, a prominent Socialist, was received with special warmth. Steps were taken to furnish economic assistance to Russia, and John F. Stephens, head of the American Railway Commission



RUSSIAN SOLDIERS ON THE MARCH

Revolution and the Commune." On the 5th of June, General Alexieff, who had become Commander in Chief soon after the retirement of the Grand Duke Nicholas, resigned and was succeeded by General Brusiloff, the victor of the campaign of 1916.

The situation in Russia gave grave concern in Allied countries, and efforts were made by the Allied governments to influence the course of affairs. A special American commission headed by Elihu H. Root, former Secretary of State, visited

in Russia, made recommendations asking that Russia be given a credit of \$375,000,000 in this country for new locomotives, cars, and other equipment. Large sums of money were, in fact, advanced by our Government to Russia before the final collapse.

Many Russians, in this critical period, were genuinely patriotic and were willing to sacrifice themselves for the general good. A notable instance was a force made up of women and girls known as the

Battalion of Death. Many volunteered for this service. They were mostly between 18 and 25 years of age, of good physique, and many of them were pretty. Their hair was cut short or their heads entirely shaved, and they accepted a rigid system of discipline and Spartan training.

In June, Kerensky visited the Russian army and made fiery addresses to the soldiers calling upon them to save their country by attacking the invaders. He succeeded in arousing their patriotic fervor and, on the 1st of July, the Russian armies, now commanded by General Brusiloff, began an offensive. The first attacks were surprisingly successful. Russian forces advanced from the direction of Tarnopol toward Lemberg, carried three lines of trenches, and captured over 8,000 men. Southeast of Brzezany the Russians made progress, taking over 6,000 prisoners and forcing the Teutons back to the right bank of the Little Stripa River. An attack was developed back of Halicz. On July 10, the Russians entered that place taking 10,000 prisoners and throwing detachments across the Dniester, while toward the west they forced the Austrians back some distance. But the Lomnika River was raised by heavy rains, and the Russians had to give up positions captured across that river and retire.

The early news from the Eastern Front greatly heartened the Allies of Russia. It was hoped that Russia had recovered from her orgy and had again become a real factor in the war. But the effort was only a flash in the pan. The enthusiasm which Kerensky had imparted soon died out. The Teutons rallied and took the offensive in their turn. Signs of disaffection and an unwillingness to fight had already revealed themselves in the Russian army. In many regiments and divisions there were refusals to obey orders. Some of the soldiers fled, shooting their officers, abandoning their artillery and supplies, and even throwing away their rifles. What had promised to be a victorious offensive was transformed into a disgraceful rout. Meeting with scarcely any resistance, the Germans and Austrians swept eastward

capturing Tarnopol and other places, and only in the south were they held back by the Roumanians.

General Brusiloff resigned and was succeeded by General Korniloff. Korniloff was a determined and patriotic officer, but his efforts to restore order out of the chaos into which the Russian army had fallen, failed. The fact was that Russia was beyond hope.

The disastrous outcome was largely due to the demoralizing efforts of the Maximalists, or as they came to be called, the Bolsheviki. These extremists were not content with merely a political revolution in Russia but wished to overturn the whole social and economic order. Their chief leader was Vlamer Utulyanoff, who now went by the name of Nicholai Lenine. Lenine had long been a radical revolutionist, and was the author of several works of an extreme tendency on economic and social subjects. After the revolution of 1905, he was elected a member of the second Duma, but was soon exiled. At the beginning of the Great War, he was living in Cracow in Austrian Poland and was interned as an alien enemy, but was presently released and joined the colony of radical Russians in Switzerland. After the overthrow of the Czar, the German Government permitted him to cross Germany and reach Russia, where he at once began preaching immediate peace and general confiscation of property. In July, 1917, he headed a Bolsheviki rising in Petrograd, but the time was not yet ripe, and the effort failed. Lenine was driven into hiding, but he and his confederates continued their plotting. In Allied countries it was generally believed that they were paid by Germany.

A report written by General Denikine, Russian commander in the Tarnopol sector, made a frank report to the revolutionary authorities on the reasons for the catastrophe, and this report throws much light upon the Russian collapse.

"When called to the command," he wrote, "I found the troops in a state of complete disorganization. This fact seemed all the more strange because neither the

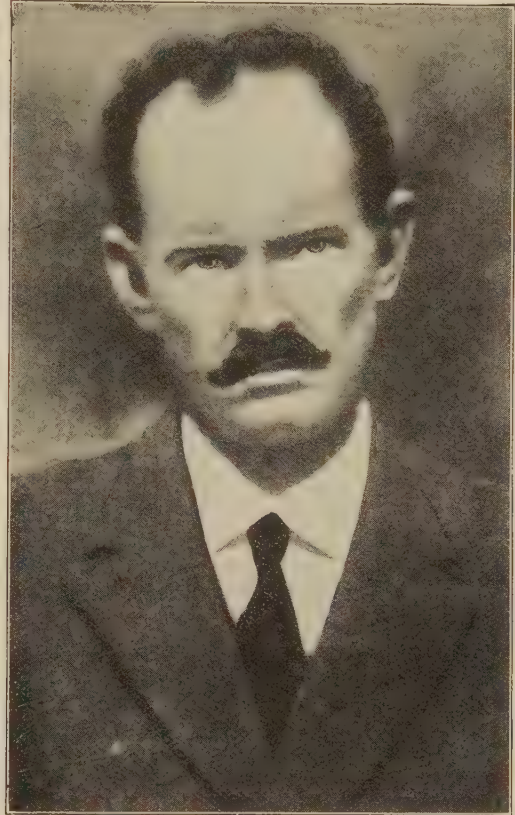
accounts that had reached the headquarters of the General Staff nor my own observations had led me to expect so desolating a situation. It is easy to explain this fact: As long as the soldiers merely had to maintain a passive attitude they gave way to no important excesses. But when the moment arrived for them to do their duty, when they were ordered to prepare for attack, then the animal instinct spoke and the veil was lifted.

"There were as many as ten divisions that did not take their positions for departure, as ordered. An enormous turmoil arose among the officers of all ranks, the committees, the agitators. There were endless requests, conversations, persuasions. To take even the least decisive measure it was necessary before all to diminish the number of troops in revolt. Almost a whole month passed in this way. Only a part of the divisions obeyed the order to go into battle. In particular, the 2d Corps, from the Caucasus, and the 160th Infantry Division revolted. Many detachments lost not only their former appearance, but even all human semblance. I shall never forget the hour I passed in the 703d Regiment. In certain regiments there were from eight to ten distilleries of alcohol! Drunkenness, gambling, assault and battery, pillage, sometimes murder became common."

The Commander in Chief, Brusiloff, himself visited this front and, after discussions with the committees and delegates of the two corps, went away with the impression that the soldiers were dependable and that the officers were unduly alarmed. Unknown to him, the meeting of the 1st Siberian Corps, which had welcomed his speech with enthusiasm, was prolonged after his departure, and other orators came who demanded that the soldiers should not listen to "the old bourgeois" and loaded his name with gross insults. These speeches were greeted with frantic applause.

In the course of a tour of inspection Minister of War Kerensky made an eloquent patriotic appeal and received an enthusiastic welcome from the 28th In-

fantry Division, but, half an hour after his departure, two regiments resolved that they would not attack. When the flag was given to the commander of the regiment from Poti, he received it kneeling, while three orators and the men of the regiment vowed, with loud outbursts, that they would die for their country. Yet on the first day of the attack, without even going to their trenches, this regiment



NICHOLAI LENINE

made a half-turn and retired six or seven miles to the rear of the battle line. General Denikine continues:

"Among the factors which should have sustained the morale of the troops, but which in reality led them into complete demoralization, were the political commissaries and the soldiers' committees. Perhaps there were among the commissaries a few 'black swans,' who, without meddling in what did not concern them, were really of some use. But the very

institution, from the fact that it involves two powers, that it creates friction, that it is an unsolicited and baneful interference, cannot fail to be a cause of decomposition in the army.

"The committees are another cause of demoralization. I do not deny the remarkable work of many which are doing their duty with all their might. Many of

done by the committees. There is no longer any firm discipline. If a consoling decision is made by a majority vote it amounts to nothing. The Bolsheviki, hiding behind their privilege as members of the committee, are everywhere sowing trouble and revolt, in brief—oligarchy and prolixity; in place of support for authority, discredit! The military leader, hampered, elevated, then cast down, discredited on all sides, is expected, nevertheless, to be powerful and to conduct the troops vigorously to battle."

When the attack was finally made, the cannon thundered for three days against the enemy trenches, inflicting heavy losses on the Germans and opening a way for the infantry. When the assault was made, almost all the first zone was carried. The troops reached the enemy batteries. A great victory seemed probable. But lack of discipline and the disorderly conduct of the men soon transformed success into defeat. The soldiers, weary and unnerved, their morale undermined by German fraternization and Bolshevik propaganda, threw away their rifles and machine guns and flowed in a torrent toward the rear. The cowardice and disorder became so great that some of the commanders asked that no more of the Russian artillery should be fired, lest the sound of the guns increase the panic among the men.

Another offensive operation undertaken by the 1st Siberian Corps resulted in the taking, with insignificant losses, of three fortified lines. But many of the soldiers had imbibed the traitorous suggestions that they should

fight only "defensive warfare." They refused, therefore, to pass the night in the captured positions and returned to their own lines!

"Three days later," says General Denikine, "I called together the army commanders and asked these questions: 'Will our armies be able to resist a serious German attack, with enemy reserves?' Answer: 'No.' 'Can our armies sustain an



CZAR OF RUSSIA AND SON REVIEWING COSSACKS

their members especially were precious for their superb example of heroic death. But I affirm that their usefulness has not compensated, save in a minor degree, for the enormous evil caused by the committees to army discipline by reason of their oligarchy, of their division of power, their hostile interference in war affairs, and the discredit they throw on authority. . . . "It is difficult to estimate all the evil

organized attack of the Germans if the enemy forces remain the same as now?' Two commanders answered in vague, conditional terms: the head of the 10th Army categorically. The general verdict was: 'We no longer have any infantry.' I will make the statement stronger, and say: 'We no longer have any army, and it is necessary to create one at any price.'

"Under Paragraph 6 of the 'Declaration of the Soldiers' Rights,' it is prescribed that all printed matter, without exception, shall be forwarded to the person addressed. This deluges the whole army with incendiary Bolshevik literature, and upon this literature the spirit of the army is fed. It is evident that official funds, the funds of the people and of the Military Bureau at Moscow, have been invested in this vicious propaganda sent to the front....

"Under Paragraph 14 no one is to be punished without trial. Certainly this right belongs to the private soldiers alone, for the officers continue to be denied it. What has happened? The high military tribunal, paralyzed by democratization, proposes to limit its activities to the most important cases, such as treason. The officers have lost all disciplinary authority. The disciplinary tribunals have not been elected, either through indifference or through boycott. In short, justice has been excluded from the army. All these legislative measures have annihilated authority and discipline, brought contempt upon the officers, deprived them of all confidence, all consideration.

"The officers' corps: it is very painful to me to speak of this, and I will be brief. Sokoloff, plunging into military life, has said: 'I could not have imagined what martyrs your officers are; I bow before them.' Yes; in the darkest hours of the Czarist epoch the satellites and police did not employ, for those they deemed criminal, the tortures, the jeers inflicted to-day by the sombre mass, guided by the revolutionary rabble, upon officers who are giving their lives for their country.

"They are insulted at every turn, they are struck, yes, struck. But they do not complain; they are moved by shame,

mortal shame. And more than one in private sheds tears over his misfortune. It is not strange that to escape such a situation many officers seek death on the battlefield. What epic calm and tragic resonance vibrate through this passage from an account of a battle: In vain did the officers, marching in advance, try to rally their men. At that moment a white flag appears on Redoubt 3. Then fifteen officers, with a little group of soldiers, marched forward alone. Their fate is unknown. They were not seen again."



ALEXANDER KERENSKY

The Germans followed up their advantage by an attack upon Riga, the great city which they had almost taken late in 1915. A new scheme of attack—of which more will be said in a later chapter—was used, its formulator being General Hütier. The Russian army was too badly demoralized to offer effective resistance, and Riga was speedily taken, together with many prisoners and immense war booty, including great numbers of heavy guns. The victory aroused great rejoicing in the Central Powers. Pan-Germans seized the opportunity to proclaim anew the invincibility

of German arms. All over Germany the newspapers said that Riga was at heart a German town and would forever remain a part of the Empire. Kaiser Wilhelm issued an address of congratulation to the victorious army and spoke of Riga as a town "founded by the spirit of the old German Hanseatic League" and now "liberated from long oppression."

hostile to Kerensky, nor did he intend to restore the old régime; he merely wished to set up a strong government which would rescue Russia from impending destruction. In a proclamation he said that "overwhelming consciousness of the impending ruin of the Fatherland compels me in this menacing moment to summon all Russians to save perishing Russia from domestic anarchy and foreign foe."

But the attempt speedily collapsed. Kerensky acted with energy, and expressions of loyalty came to him from many sources. Kerensky himself assumed the powers of Commander in Chief and made General Alexieff Chief of Staff. Korniloff moved with a small force against the capital, but some of his troops deserted, and he became convinced that his effort could not succeed. He gave up the attempt and surrendered, but was subsequently released. With his failure ended the last hope of a Russian revival. Events in that unhappy country speedily moved toward a tragic climax, and liberty degenerated into license.

Gradually all of the restraints of law and order disappeared, and the country fell into complete anarchy and chaos.

A Petrograd correspondent of the *Paris Temps* wrote the following amusing sketch in October, 1917, of certain phases of life in the Russian capital:

"One morning recently I was awakened by the cries of my neighbor in the next room. His boots had been stolen. The same day the manager of a newspaper office told me that he

had been robbed of six pairs of pantaloons. What use could any one have for six nether garments? The star reporter came in with eyes bulging. 'Four hundred thefts every night!' he cried; 'that is the average for the last two weeks. The Petrograd militia are vainly seeking for the 18,000 criminals who are living in liberty among us. It is frightful!'

"Under the old régime we were guarded by 5,750 police agents—large, strong men—



RUSSIAN SOLDIERS IN TRENCHES

The loss of Riga created profound excitement in Russia and produced a new political crisis. Many patriotic Russians had become convinced that the Kerensky Government could not save Russia, and a *coup d'état* was attempted against his authority. The leader was General Korniloff, who had succeeded Brusiloff as Commander in Chief. Korniloff was a Cossack by birth and was a man of energy and good intentions. He was not personally

who cost \$2,500,000 a year. This phalanx has been replaced by 7,000 small, mean-looking militiamen, who cost, in present taxes, \$8,500,000 annually. Formerly we enjoyed sweet security. To-day things fly out of one's pockets of themselves; watches escape from their fobs; apartments empty themselves automatically of their objects of value. Every night one-half of the population is busy robbing the other half. Sometimes the thieves are civilians dressed as soldiers, and sometimes they are soldiers dressed as civilians. It is robbery made free for all—a socialistic budge-all-catch-all.

"Besides, the persons whom one meets in prison do not stay there. One no longer stays in prison; it is not good form. Sometimes a new outburst of popular wrath opens the doors; sometimes the guards and sentinels give the prisoner to understand that the best thing he can do is to go away. There is talk of organizing a mass patrol of the streets, in which all the honest men of the city would have to go on guard by turns 'in squads.'

"All this is true, confirmed by a thousand witnesses. During the weeks immediately following the fall of the Empire, the capital, in a sort of solemn and anguished waiting, enjoyed absolute peace, a truce of the underworld, a sort of petrification of crime. But to-day robbery has risen to the rank of a social institution. And yet, as Russia has not ceased to be a land of contrasts, there are no Apaches in the streets, no highwaymen, no hold-up men, none of those bloodthirsty thugs who menace life at night in other capitals. Many petty thieves and relatively few assassins!"

It was believed that the Germans would follow up the capture of Riga by an attempt to control the Gulf of Riga and that they might seek to capture Reval, the great Russian naval base, and even Petrograd, but for some reason weeks passed before any serious effort was made to follow up the victory. According to some accounts, this delay was due to a serious mutiny in the German fleet which threatened to be serious but was finally suppressed. In October, however, the Germans captured Oesel, Dago, and Moon Islands, which blockaded the entrance to the

mouth of the Gulf of Riga. They also made descents on the mainland. But by this time, the season was far advanced, and no attack was made against Reval or Petrograd.

Though well meaning and in some respects able, Kerensky was not the man to control in times like these. Only a Cromwell or a Napoleon could have dominated the chaotic situation which had now developed in Russia. A strong hand was needed. Force was the only argument which the Russian mobs would have respected. A whiff of grapeshot such as Napoleon used to quell the mob on the Day of the Sections was needed rather than oratory.

On November 1, Kerensky issued through the Associated Press a statement which gave grave concern over Russian affairs in the capitals of all the Allied powers. He conveyed a plain intimation that he almost despaired of restoring civil law in his distracted country. He said that Russia was "worn out by the strain and that the Allies should now shoulder the burden." Yet he denied that Russia was out of the war. "Russia," he declared, "is taking an enormous part in the war. One has only to remember history. Russia began the war for the Allies. While she was already fighting, England was only preparing and America was only observing."

On the morning of November 6, 1917, Kerensky held in the palace square of Petrograd a farewell review of the Battalion of Death, which was about to proceed to the front. He then proceeded to the Marinsky and made a great demagogic speech before the congress of the Russian representatives, a speech which aroused great enthusiasm when delivered and almost universal criticism when it was more coolly considered. In the speech he stated that the Russian Government was endangered by the Bolsheviks and called upon all men to declare at once whether they were for the Russian republic or against it.

That very afternoon the Bolsheviks captured Petrograd. The troops were aided by a naval detachment consisting of a cruiser and three destroyers. Kerensky and his followers took refuge in the Winter Palace. The defense fell almost entirely on the Battalion of Death and the cadets. There were many

defections, and ultimately the only defenders were about a thousand boys and women and a few men. In all there were about 200 women comprising the second company of the Battalion of Death. Within the palace everything was panic and confusion. Everybody was giving orders or issuing counter-orders. Even Kerensky rushed wildly about demanding, "What are we to do?" Through oversight of the Bolsheviki a telephone line to the field headquarters was left uncut and

defenders refused to surrender, and a strange fight began between the garrison, mostly poorly armed boys and women, against thousands of soldiers and sailors equipped with machine guns, armored cars, and artillery. With a moderation which they did not always display, the Bolsheviki refrained from using the heavy guns against the palace, though the warships fired several salvos but only with blank cartridges. An attempt was made to storm the palace, but the defenders, espe-



RUSSIA'S BATTALION OF DEATH

over this appeals were sent out all over Russia to come to the assistance of the old Government, but, as the event showed, to little purpose.

In the early morning of November 7, Kerensky and his adjutant, disguised in the frock coats and uniform hats of imperial lackies, secretly boarded a motor launch and made their escape. The position of those who remained was hopeless, unless help should speedily come, for the Winter Palace was dominated by a great fortress and also by warships on the Neva. However, the

cially the Women's Battalion; resisted valiantly and at one time drove back their assailants in a ludicrous panic. Finally some pieces of artillery opened against the palace, and, at two o'clock next morning, the Provisional Government surrendered. A mixed mob of soldiers, sailors, and armed hooligans quickly flooded the whole palace and revenged themselves upon the hapless defenders. Some of the women soldiers were mistreated; others were flung over the parapet into the swift waters of the Neva River. The rest were marched to the barracks of the Pablovsk

Regiment as prisoners, being badly treated along the way and on their arrival at the prison. Ultimately most of those who survived were saved through the personal intercession of a British officer, General Knox, who went to the headquarters of the Bolsheviks and demanded their immediate release.

The Winter Palace with all its priceless treasures of art was given over to plunder. The mob removed all that they thought worth taking and destroyed most of the rest. Great pictures were slashed, and portraits of the Czar were treated with especial fury. Curiously enough, one portrait was spared, that of the German General von Moltke. Priceless rugs, carpets, and tapestries were cut to pieces through mere wantonness. Chinaware, gold and silver plate, much of it the work of great artists long dead and gone, were carried away by the marauders. From the Winter Palace the mob passed to the ancient Hermitage but obtained little there. In the words of an English correspondent, "It is not only the emperor of all the Russias who has lost the family goods, nor Russia alone that has lost no small part of the treasure of the nation. The world itself is the poorer for the senseless crime of sacking the Winter Palace."

The victors proceeded to organize a new government. It was headed by Nicolai Lenine and Leon Trotzky. The government of Kerensky was declared deposed, and in a speech before the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates Lenine declared amid prolonged cheers: "Now we have a revolution. The peasants and workmen control the Government. This is only a preliminary step toward a similar revolution everywhere. Three problems must be solved by the Russian democracy. First, peace must be made immediately; second, land must be handed over to the peasants; third, there must be a settlement of the economic crisis."

Leon Trotzky, Lenine's chief associate, had lived in many countries and had been expelled from several. His real name is said to be Leber Braunstein, and it is said that he was born in the Russian province of Kheresen near the Black Sea. At the time the revolution broke out in Russia, he was living

in New York City, and his experiences in the congested East Side of that city undoubtedly embittered him against America and American institutions.

After his escape from the Winter Palace, Kerensky succeeded in persuading some Cossacks and other forces to fight under his banner. He advanced toward Petrograd, but his army was defeated near Tsarko Selo, a few miles from the capital, and he was again forced to flee. Moscow was captured by the Bolsheviks, after desperate fighting in which several thousand persons were killed. Nearly everywhere the Kerensky government collapsed. In most places the Bolsheviks gained control, at least temporarily. Kerensky went into hiding and, months later, visited England and France, where he received little attention.

Lenine, the Bolshevik dictator, had summarized the ideas of his party as follows:

"We represent the class-conscious proletarians, hired laborers, and the poorer portion of the rural population. . . . We stand for Socialism. The workmen's councils must at once take the necessary practical steps for the realization of the Socialistic program. They must immediately take over the control of the banks and capitalistic syndicates, with a view to nationalizing them; that is, making them the property of the whole people. . . . We advocate a republic of councils of workmen, soldiers, peasants, etc. All the power must belong to them. . . . Does the State need a police force of the usual type and a standing army? Not at all. The people must be made synonymous with the army and militia. The capitalists must pay the workmen for their service in the militia. Should the army officers be elected by the soldiers? Yes. Furthermore, every step of the officers and generals must be verified by special deputies from the soldiers. Should the soldiers oust their superiors without authority? Yes. This is useful and necessary in every respect. The soldiers only obey and respect the authorities they elect. We are emphatically against this imperialistic war and the bourgeoisie governments conducting it, our own Provisional Government included. . . . We are against annexations. All the promises of the capitalistic govern-

ments to renounce annexations are false. . . . Should the peasants immediately take possession of the private lands? Yes; the land must be seized immediately. Strict order should be established through the agency of the councils of peasants' deputies. The production of bread and meat should be increased, for the soldiers must be better fed. The damaging of cattle, implements, etc.,

others headed counter-revolts, but the Bolsheviks managed to control most of European Russia. The property of nobles, merchants, and the other well-to-do classes was confiscated, and the great estates were divided among the peasants. The Russian Church, one of the most powerful institutions of the old régime, was disestablished, and its lands, money, precious stones, and other property were seized. By decree of the middle of December, all military ranks, titles, and decorations were abolished. Officers in the army were to be elected by the men; in many cases capable officers were degraded to the ranks and incompetent privates were chosen to fill their places. Some officers were brutally treated by their men. Complete demoralization speedily followed. The troops deserted by hundreds of thousands; the horses starved to death from lack of provender; and fraternization with the enemy became more than ever common.

By official proclamation dated February 8, 1918, all loans contracted by former Russian governments were repudiated. Indigent persons holding stock not exceeding 10,000 rubles in internal loans were to receive certificates to the nominal value of their holdings in a new loan. State savings banks and coöperative and other institutions of general or democratic utility were also to be indemnified for their holdings.

During the summer and fall of 1917, General Haig continued his offensive in Flanders with the usual British persistency. The task was most difficult, for the British preparations could not be concealed from the watchful enemy, and the Germans were able to bring up reserves and mass great artillery concentrations to meet the offensive. Experience had taught the Germans to abandon in large measure their formal trench systems. They fought from shell craters and from concealed concrete machine-gun emplacements which the British called "pill-boxes." In the operations a considerable number of French troops assisted the British.



LENINE ADDRESSING A MEETING IN MOSCOW

can not be allowed. It is necessary to organize the poor peasants and the agricultural laborers. Should the fraternization at the front be encouraged? Yes. This is both useful and necessary. It is absolutely necessary immediately to encourage attempts at fraternizing between the soldiers of the two belligerent sides. What color is our flag? Red, for the red flag is the flag of the universal proletarian revolution."

Generals Kaledines and Korniloff and

On the 31st of July, the British and French attacked on a 20-mile front in the Ypres sector. Most of the Allied objectives and over 6,000 prisoners and about 25 guns were captured. The full results of attack could not be reaped, for, in the afternoon, while fighting was still in progress, heavy rains began which continued almost without ceasing for three days, transforming the low-lying ground torn by shells into a succession of muddy pools. Much of the terrain became impassable and not a few men and

an immense number of casualties upon the British troops and those engaged in transportation and road building.

For months, cannon thundered unceasingly. For months, division after division of brave men on both sides marched up to the shambles. For months, Great Britain and Germany wrestled in a drawn conflict. Adjectives have never been coined adequate to describe the full horrors of the inferno that raged that summer and autumn to the east of Ypres. In such a conflict even the small-



CANADIAN LIGHT ARTILLERY ON THE MARCH

pack animals were drowned in shell craters. Under such circumstances delay was inevitable, and the enemy had an opportunity to reorganize his defenses.

The Germans opposed the offensive with the utmost determination for an Allied advance of a few miles more would render necessary the evacuation of Lille and would endanger German possession of their valuable submarine bases on the Belgian coast. They counter-attacked whenever practicable but usually without accomplishing their purpose. Their terrific artillery fire, however, inflicted

est positions assumed importance, and such places as Polygon Wood, Inverness Copse, Poelcappelle Village, Houthulst Forest, and Menin Road became known as symbols of carnage throughout the world.

A word picture of the horrors of the conflict in Flanders was written for the *Berlin Zeitung am Mittag* by a correspondent on July 30, 1917:

"Never-ending howls and piercing screams are rending the air from the sea to the River Lys, while accessory noises like growls and blows seem to spring from everywhere on the

Yser, in front of Dixmude and Langemarck, around Hollebeke and Warneton. The whole of West Flanders is one large, steaming pot, in which death and devastation are brewing. With the sun smiling its brightest at us, terrific, never-ending thunderstorms are raging over the land. Amid noises such as the old earth never heard before, a crop of new battles and new wars between nations is growing to maturity.

"What were the Battles of the Somme, Arras, the Aisne, and Champagne against this earthquake of Flanders? Millions of capital are blown up in the air and explode in the ground. It is like a Cyclopean concert of unheard-of brutality, to celebrate with becoming fitness the end of the third year of universal madness. The louder the desire of the nations for peace begins to express itself, the wilder the thunder of the guns at England's command to drown any cry of hope. Sometimes one thinks the end of the bloody intoxication is coming, but there are still graduations of description for which there are no words. We thought we had got accustomed to the atrociousness of all this, and at home you may forget the monstrous events. At the front for days our senses and nerves must certainly have suffered from these awful three years. Spirit and feelings seek to escape the intolerable horror, but it is no use. Here, up against the worst form of slaughter, again these nameless noises bring it home to you with overpowering force.

"This battle has lasted for days; now it is again that continuous roar that effaces, or, rather, consumes, all individual noises, that makes even fierce explosions close by you indistinguishable. Everything disappears in one loud, rolling, threatening volume of sound. The air carries it a hundred miles distant, and trembling they listen, south and north, west and east, where they cannot see the horror of all this.

"But if you come nearer, it is like the bowels of the earth exploding. Our soldiers sit in their dug-outs, and cannot do anything but trust to luck. Just now the infantry must keep quiet; only the big guns are talking. The waiting infantry is, as it were, locked in prison. The men cannot get out,

nor can anybody approach them. The way to them is fraught with fearful danger. All around splatter steel splinters, shrapnel bullets, stones, and earth. If you are hit you are dead or crippled. What shall one do? One smokes incessantly, until the air in the narrow shaft is heavy enough to cut. That is bad, but somehow it helps one to endure the horrors of the situation.

"You live for days in the closest contact with your comrades in a contracted space. You cannot move, and are unable to think clearly. Never did I realize how difficult it can be to lead a human life. There is nameless agony in it."

"The British guns were everywhere in the low, concealing mist," wrote a British correspondent describing the British bombardment early in October. "One could not walk anywhere to avoid the blast of their fire. They made a fury of fire. Flashes leaped from them, with only a pause of a second or two while they were reloaded. There was never a moment within my own range of vision when hundreds of great guns were not firing together. They were eating up the shells which I had seen going up to them, and the roads and fields across which I walked were littered with shells. The wet mist was like one great damp fire with ten miles or more of smoke rising in white vapor, through which tongues of flame leaped up stirred by some fierce wind.

"The noise was terrifying in its violence. Passing one of those big-bellied howitzers was to me an agony. It rose like a beast stretching out its neck, and there came from it a roar which almost split one's eardrums and shook one's body with the long tremor of the concussion. These things were all firing at their hardest pace, and the earth was shaken with their blasts of fire. The enemy was answering, but with no great threat to the British guns. His shells came whining and howling through all this greater noise and burst with a crash on either side of the mule tracks and over the bits of ruin near by and in the fields on each side of the paths down which German prisoners came staggering with their wounded.

"Fresh shell holes, enormously deep and thickly grouped, showed that the German

guns had plastered this ground fiercely, but later in the morning their shelling eased off, and the guns had other work to do over there, where the British infantry was advancing—other work, unless the guns lay smashed with their teams lying dead around them, killed by the British counter-battery work with high explosives and gas; for in the night the British smothered the Germans with gas and tried to keep them quiet for this battle and all others.”

followed during the next few weeks, but persistent wet weather greatly hampered operations during the autumn. Slow progress was made notwithstanding, and by the close of the campaign the Germans, as in the case of the Somme the year before, had been driven so far back that their position had become precarious.

The British had captured Messines Ridge and all except the northern part of Passchendaele Ridge and had secured positions from



SERVIAN TROOPS AT THE FRONT

On August 16, the British and French made further progress, being aided in some cases by tanks. In this attack the Allies took 2,100 prisoners and some 30 guns. Every day there was bitter fighting with counter-attack following attack.

A new attack, on September 20, resulted in the capture of 3,200 prisoners and more guns. Another assault, on October 1, on a nine-mile front gained valuable positions to a depth of a mile and a half at the point of greatest advance. Other attacks

which, if circumstances were favorable, they could launch their campaign of 1918. They had taken over 30,000 prisoners in this Flanders offensive, besides inflicting heavy losses on the enemy. No bitterer battle was fought during the war. According to General Haig, 78 German divisions were exhausted in the fighting, and 18 had been engaged a second or third time. On the other hand, the British had paid a heavy price for their advance, and their casualties in this Flanders offensive were almost a quarter of a million men. By

his persistent battering General Haig had prevented the Germans from using their troops elsewhere and had decreased the fighting strength of the German army, but he had accomplished no decisive results.

On October 23, 1917, the French struck a heavy blow northeast of Soissons on a six-mile front and advanced to a depth of more than two miles at one point, taking more than 8,000 prisoners and 70 cannons. Several squadrons of tanks fought in the battle and aided the advancing infantry. The region

on that place. Time was to show, however, that the Chemin des Dames had not changed hands for the last time.

Toward the end of the third year of the war, increasing dissatisfaction in Germany culminated in a real political crisis. Demands were made for franchise reforms, especially in Prussia, and for other measures, but they were bitterly opposed by the Junkers. Owing to the rigid suppression of news concerning the internal affairs of Germany, the outside world received only a dim notion of what



SCENE IN DEVASTATED FLANDERS

taken was an exceedingly difficult one and was honeycombed with quarries, caves, and tunnels, which afforded the Germans good positions for defense. As a result of the victory, the Germans were forced to evacuate the Chemin des Dames and fall back over the Ailette River, losing more prisoners and guns in the process. The Chemin des Dames is a road over the ridge that dominates the Ailette and Aisne Valleys. The Germans had controlled it since September, 1914, and were loath to give it up. The victory also brought the French nearer to the great German base at Laon and endangered the German hold

was happening. But that German affairs were in a ferment was beyond doubt.

The peace party gained such strength that the Reichstag refused to vote the war credit, pending a solution of the war crisis. On July 13, the Social Democratic members and others, constituting a majority in the Reichstag, decided to support the following peace resolutions:

"As on August 4, 1914, so on the threshold of the fourth year of the war the German people stand upon the assurance of the speech from the throne—'We are driven by no lust of conquest.'

"Germany took up arms in defense of its liberty and independence and for the integrity of its territories. The Reichstag labors for peace and a mutual understanding and lasting reconciliation among the nations. Forced acquisitions of territory and political, economic, and financial violations are incompatible with such a peace.

"The Reichstag rejects all plans aiming at an economic blockade and the stirring up of enmity among the peoples after the war. The freedom of the seas must be assured. Only an economic peace can prepare the ground for the friendly association of the peoples.

"The Reichstag will energetically promote the operation of international juridical organizations. So long, however, as the enemy Governments do not accept such a peace, so long as they threaten violation, the German people will stand together as one man, hold out unshaken, and fight until the rights of itself and its allies to life and development are secured. The German Nation united is unconquerable.

"The Reichstag knows that in this announcement it is at one with the men who are defending the Fatherland. In their heroic struggles they are sure of the undying thanks of the whole people."

On July 19, these resolutions were formally adopted, and thus the Reichstag placed itself on record as opposing annexations and indemnities. The news was received in the world outside as evidence of changing German views regarding the war, but men who understood German affairs were not slow to point out that in the last analysis the War Lords and not the Reichstag determined German policy. On the same day that the Reichstag majority decided to support the resolutions, the Kaiser issued a statement vaguely promising franchise reforms. The next day, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg resigned, being forced out, according to some accounts, by the influence of the Crown Prince. He was succeeded by Dr. George Michaelis, Prussian Under-Secretary of Finance and Food Control. His advent to power was regarded as a triumph of the military party headed by the Crown Prince.

In his first speech before the Reichstag, Michaelis justified Germany's course in enter-

ing the war and declared that the submarines were accomplishing all and more than all that was expected of them. He deprecated the idea that America would be able to play any serious part in the war and said that the Central Powers could look to the future "with calm security." At the same time, he expressed a willingness to make peace but asserted that there must be guarantees "of the existence of the German Empire upon the continent and overseas."

Michaelis remained in power only a short time. On October 24, he resigned and was succeeded by Count von Hertling, an aged statesman, who for over five years had been Premier of Bavaria. Count von Hertling had, for a time, been Professor of Philosophy at the University of Bonn and subsequently a member of the Reichstag. He was a Catholic in religion and a conservative in politics. The causes of the change in government were variously interpreted. It was charged that von Hertling was opposed to broadened Parliamentary powers, that Michaelis was not candid in his statements regarding the Reichstag peace proposals, and that he showed partiality to extreme Pan-German annexationists.

During the spring, summer, and fall of 1917, the Italians continued their attacks upon the Austrians. The difficulties were enormous, for the country was mountainous and easily defensible. In places the contending forces fought high above the clouds, scaling the steep cliffs and even fighting among glaciers and above the snow line. Almost everywhere the transportation of guns and supplies was accomplished only after overcoming tremendous obstacles. In such circumstances any speedy advance was impossible, yet the Italians, by determined efforts, made substantial gains.

In the second week of May, the Italians began a three-day bombardment on a thirty-mile front from Tolmino to the sea. On the 14th, in spite of strong Austrian counter-fire, they assaulted the Austrian lines on a wide front and captured numerous strong points and over 6,000 prisoners.

Some days later, another attack on the south of the Carso Plateau resulted in the taking of 9,000 prisoners. Two weeks later,

an Austrian counter-attack threw the Italian right back somewhat and resulted in the taking of over 10,000 prisoners. The Italian resistance then stiffened, and the Austrians were beaten back. In August, General Cadorna, after a period of comparative quiet, began an offensive on the Julian front from the Adriatic to the upper Isonzo. About 2,000 guns were used in this attack. By throwing bridges over the Isonzo during a fog the Italians succeeded in crossing the river at many points.

almost as near as if bridges were being thrown over Broadway with an enemy with preventive means on top of the Times Building and searchlights on the Hotel Knickerbocker.

"Naturally, the Austrians must have known that something was going on. There was considerable firing, and one bridge was damaged. But for the most part the crossing of the Isonzo was a complete surprise.

"While the searchlights streamed constantly overhead, the Italian engineers worked below in pitch dark. They had to



BRITISH FEEDING AUSTRIAN PRISONERS IN ITALY

In preparing for the crossing of the Isonzo the Italians, according to a correspondent, made use of a novel scheme. "On the hills opposite the Austrian positions, and at exactly the same level, the Italians had been concentrating searchlights for days. There seemed to be miles of them. On the night when the pontoons were to be thrown across they were turned full on the Austrians for the first time, dazzling them to such an extent that they could see nothing of the work going on under their noses and only a few hundred yards under at that. It was

drop their pontoon boats down that forty-foot wall on wooden skids, then join them across the rushing water, plank them over so that the troops could walk, and provide ladders for them to climb up the precipice on the Austrian side.

"Time and again the current swept boats away before they were properly joined up. Frequently workers fell into the water and were carried instantly down. The constant cannonade helped the searchlights in fooling the enemy and kept the sound of the bridge-making from reaching the Austrians' ears."

In two days of hard fighting, 13,000 Austrians were captured and counter-attacks were repulsed. Later in the month, the important post of Monte Santo was taken, after which the Italians attacked the tremendously strong position known as Monte San Gabriel. After many days of bitter fighting, the Italians succeeded in reaching the top of Monte San Gabriel and also made progress on the Bainsizza Plateau.

In several of these operations British artillery and British monitors had played a part. In some Allied circles it was believed that

ing situation was one of which the Teutonic War Lords took advantage with their accustomed skill. During the next half-year, they struck heavy blows and came near to winning the war.

The first stroke fell upon Italy. Hundreds of thousands of Austrians and several divisions of Germans were transferred from the Eastern Front to the Italian Front, and careful preparations were made for a drive that was designed to put Italy out of the conflict. By way of preparing for the military movement, the Germans made skillful use of propaganda.



ITALIAN SOLDIERS ATTACKING AUSTRIANS

more help should be given the Italians, for it was thought that perhaps they could force their way through the mountains and attack Vienna. The victories of the year greatly heartened the Italians and aroused hopes of even more sweeping victories, but a sad disappointment was in store for the Allies on this front.

Though peace had not yet been made, Russia was, to all intents and purposes, practically out of it. America, a laggard at the fray, was making great preparations, but she was not ready to take Russia's place and would not be for many months. The result-

For almost a year, the Second Italian Army in the Plezzo-Tolmino sector had not been changed. Opposite this army the Austrians placed regiments largely composed of Socialists, who took advantage of the war-weariness of their opponents to convince them that the end of the fighting would come if the soldiers on both sides would refuse to kill each other any longer. Fraternization followed, and there were even promises made that no more shooting should be done. Furthermore, the Austrians showed the credulous Italians forged copies of Italian newspapers containing stories of uprisings in

Italian towns and of British troops shooting down starving Italian women and children. These influences and the pacific, not to say, pro-German, attitude of Italian Clericals, did their nefarious work. When the Italians had been effectively demoralized, the Austrian troops opposing them were withdrawn, and in their places were put German shock troops ready to strike the decisive blow. The main attack was to be made by the

were to follow when the Italian line had been broken.

On October 24, under cover of a brief but heavy artillery fire, the veteran German shock troops attacked on a 20-mile front in the region of Tolmino and Plezzo in the Julian Alps. The assailants were favored by a fog and met comparatively little resistance. At least one unit of the Italian army threw away its arms and fled or surrendered



BRITISH AIRMEN IN ITALY

Germans. These were commanded by General von Bülow. Their number was not large; in fact, some estimates run as low as 70,000 men. They were, however, excellent troops, efficiently commanded, and far superior to the Austrians whom the Italians had thus far been fighting. "It was a thorough German outfit and had been prepared in the usual German fashion." The Germans were to open the way, and the Austro-Hungarians

without fighting. Like more than one other people in this war, these troops were finding out in a painful way the crafty nature of the Teutons.

The victors followed up their success with their accustomed energy. They crossed the Isonzo in pursuit and were threatening to cut off the Italian detachments retreating from the Montinero region and to take in the rear the Italian forces to the

southward. Within four days, the victors had captured Caporetto, had taken about 60,000 Italians and over 500 cannon, and had crossed the frontier into Italy.

The whole Italian line in the east had to give way. Guns and war material had to be abandoned, and the Italian troops streamed westward, with the exultant enemy in close pursuit. Teutonic aeroplanes harassed the retreating armies, pouring streams of machine gun bullets into the columns of marching troops and the transport trains, and bombing the bridges, while German and Austrian artillery sought out the roads and threw gas shells into places where they would do the most damage. It was one of the most disastrous defeats of the whole war, and only the heroism of the Italian rear guards, who sacrificed themselves in order to save the main armies, prevented the complete destruction of the Italian forces. On October 28, the victors recaptured Goritzia for which Italy, the year before, had made great sacrifices. Two days later the victors reached Udine, the Italian main headquarters.

It was no longer a question of taking Trieste and invading Austria-Hungary. Italy herself was being invaded, and throughout the Allied world the fear arose that it was once more to be the old story of Poland, of Servia and Montenegro, of Roumania. Venice was in danger, as were Verona and Milan, and the whole of the Lombard plain. For a time it was thought that perhaps the Italians would be able to make a stand behind the Tagliamento River, but their disorganization was too great, guns were lacking, and the line had to be given up. By scores of encircling movements, detachments of the victors increased the number taken, and, on November 1, Berlin reported the capture of a total of 180,000 prisoners and 1,500 guns.

Onward swept the victorious Teutons, crossing the Tagliamento at many places and pushing forward toward Venice and the rich Italian plains. The next possible stand was the line of the Livenza, but this stream is small, and, furthermore, there was danger of its being outflanked from the north. But some 10 to 20 miles further west ran the Piave, a much larger stream, on whose right bank trenches had been constructed by

troops receiving their training before going to the front. It was this line which the Italians elected to defend. Upon their success depended the fate of Venice, perhaps of Italy.

Hitherto, when the Allies had been threatened with destruction, France and England had debated, procrastinated, and acted too late. The world wondered whether it would once more be the case with Italy. But at the head of the British nation there was

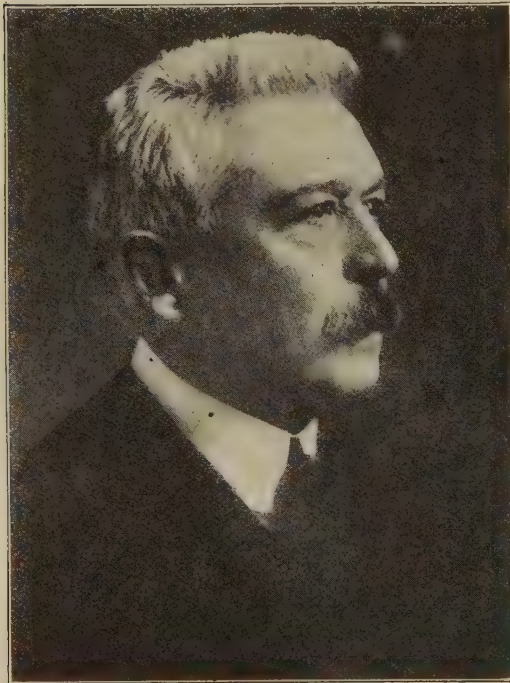


GENERAL SIR WILLIAM ROBERTSON

now a man who understood the value of quick decisions in warfare, who knew that "Time and von Hindenburg wait for no man." Lloyd George hastened to Paris. French and British soldiers were started toward Italy. Taking General Robertson, General Smuts, the Prince of Wales, the Premier of France, and others, Lloyd George hurried over the Alps into Italy to give assurance to that hard pressed nation that relief was at hand. There can be no question but that this quick action did much to

restore Italian morale and helped to save the situation.

The existing Italian Government, headed by Signor Boselli, fell from power, and a new one was formed by Signor Orlando, with Baron Sonnino as Foreign Minister. General Cadorna retired from command and was succeeded by General Diaz, an officer of vast energy and determination. Under his direction Italian resistance speedily stiffened. Despite all that the Italians could do, however, the invaders managed to cross the Piave



PREMIER ORLANDO OF ITALY

near Zenson and to gain a footing on the south bank only 19 miles from Venice. But the Italians rallied and confined them to a small space, destroying their pontoon bridges by artillery fire and preventing a further advance. Furthermore, Italian engineers cut the dikes in the Piave and Sile Rivers and inundated the whole of the delta of the lower Piave, flooding an area of about 70 square miles. In this region, also, the navy, especially monitors, rendered effective assistance.

The main danger was really from the north. From the region of the Trentino the Teutons

launched a new attack designed to cut in behind the defenders along the Piave. Had this attack succeeded, a disaster would have ensued greater even than that following the retreat from the Isonzo. An Austrian detachment, in fact, pushed southward across the frontier for 20 miles and captured Asiago, and considerable progress was made at other places in the north. But the Italians were able to cling to the foothills and to prevent the invaders from debouching into the plain. At Monte Tomba, Monte Grappa, and other places the invaders were thrown back with great losses. Continued attempts to cross the Piave were also defeated, and the invaders were forced back across the river in the region of Zenson.

Italian national feeling had rallied to meet the crisis, and Italian troops sacrificed their lives with patriotic ardor. Some of the bitterest fighting of the war took place in these conflicts. In the mountain regions especially there was much hand to hand fighting. In this region the Alpini or Bersaglieri performed feats of incredible valor. On one occasion 18 of these men, without even a corporal to lead them, retook a mountain from a great force of Austrians and held it until the enemy came back in hundreds to kill them all. Only one man, and he wounded, escaped to relate this heroic feat of arms.

Early in December, the Teutons renewed their efforts to turn the Piave line from the north. Again they took a number of positions. Berlin claimed to have captured 15,000 men and 60 guns, but any general advance was prevented by Italian valor. The Italians raised the cry of the French at Verdun, "They shall not pass!" (*"Da qui non si passa!"*) Meanwhile, new lines were being constructed at the next line, that of the Adige River, and more and more French and British troops were reaching Italy. Heavy snow storms in the Alpine valleys might come at any time, cutting Teutonic lines of communication and threatening disaster, and, in any event, preventing until spring any further offensive from the north. It happened that winter was unusually slow in coming, but it came at last, and snow storms effectively put an end to the realization of the Teutonic hopes.

The invaders had, however, won a tremendous victory. In two months they had recaptured almost all the territory the Italians had taken in two hard campaigns and they had overrun northeastern Italy. They had captured a quarter of a million prisoners and about 2,500 guns, beside vast stores of shells and other munitions. It was a staggering blow to the Italians, and for the whole of the Allied world, nor was it certain that when spring came the Teutonic tide might

of ships and the necessity of using the railways for the transport of soldiers and military supplies. Happily the Allies of Italy realized the precariousness of the situation and rushed food and supplies to her, while the United States allowed her practically unlimited credit.

Venice lay within range of the enemy's heaviest guns, and both it and other northern Italian cities were subjected to air raids. Many thousands of people left Venice, and



ITALIAN SOLDIERS ON THE PIAVE

not yet overflow the Piave and flood all of northern Italy.

In the invaded portions of Italy there were scenes made familiar in Belgium, Poland, Servia, and Roumania. Hundreds of thousands of refugees abandoned their homes and, carrying some of their most precious possessions, fled westward before the invaders. The necessity of caring for these refugees strained the already depleted resources of Italy. Not only was the food supply scanty but coal and other fuel were almost unobtainable owing to the shortage

the municipal authorities sought to safeguard some of their priceless works of art by means of sandbags and other protection.

In these hours of peril the Italian navy developed one of the greatest heroes of the war in the person of Lieutenant Rizzo. After the great disaster to the army, he undertook a desperate mission. On the night of December 9, with two small launches, he managed to enter the harbor of Trieste, in spite of floating mines, nets, and wire cables. Running the boats close to the unsuspecting battleships *Wien* and *Monarch*, Rizzo and an

old and trusted petty officer launched four torpedoes at the floating monsters. Both ships were struck. There was a great shouting and stamping on the decks of the battleships, searchlights flashed over the waters, guns roared, and the sky was filled with bursting shrapnel, for many Austrians believed that the attack was being made from the air. Meanwhile, Rizzo and his comrades were making for the harbor mouth, with great shells throwing up spouts of water about them. But neither boat was hit, and before they disappeared in the gloom they saw the



GENERAL ARMANDO DIAZ OF THE ITALIAN ARMY

Wien sink. The *Monarch*, however, though badly damaged remained afloat. The daring exploit thrilled Italy and did much to help arouse a spirit of heroism that turned back the invaders at the Piave lines.

Partly as a diversion to prevent the Germans from sending more troops to the Italian Front the British struck one of the most sensational blows of the war. General Sir Julian Byng, commander of the British Third Army, secretly concentrated several hundred tanks on a 30-mile front between St. Quentin and

the Scarpe River. The tanks were brought up by night; by day the ungainly monsters were hidden in woods and thickets from the watchful eyes of German aviators.

The Hindenburg Line in front of Byng's army was exceedingly strong, consisting of wide belts of barbed wire, trenches, tunnels, and redoubts. The Germans did not dream of any serious offensive in this sector and had withdrawn some of their troops and many of their guns for use elsewhere, especially against the British in Flanders.

After a two days' artillery firing farther north, General Byng's army, on the early morning of November 20, without any preliminary artillery preparation, suddenly went "over the top" against the German lines. At the same time, the British guns opened a terrific fire. The tanks went in front under their own special commander, who carried his own flag on his own tank and who had sent round before the battle this order of the day:

"The Tank Corps expects that every tank this day will do its damndest."

They did. They smashed through and over the barbed wire entanglements, pouring out a stream of shells and machine gun bullets, crawling over trenches, and shooting down or overriding the German infantry and machine gunners. Behind the tanks followed the British infantry, passing easily through the great gaps torn in the wire entanglements and overcoming any resistance that remained.

The surprise was complete. The first realization of the Germans that an attack was upon them was when they saw the iron monsters emerging from the mist. Many had not time to dress, and thousands cowered in their dugouts, surrendering with little resistance. A comparative few resisted boldly. By far the greatest number fled precipitately. A captured German officer said that at first he could not believe his eyes. "He seemed in some horrible nightmare and thought he had gone mad. After that, from his dugout he watched all the tanks trampling about, crunching down the wire, heaving themselves across his trenches, and searching about for machine-gun emplacements, while his men ran about in terror, trying to avoid the bursts of fire, and crying out in surrender."

Not all of the tanks came through scatheless. Some were bogged in soft ground or were put out of action by shell fire. Here and there were monsters which "had buried their noses deep in the soft earth and lay overturned or lay head downward over deep banks down which they had tried to crawl. But the tank casualties were light, and large numbers of them went ahead and fought all day up Flesquières Ridge and around the Château of Havrincourt, where the enemy

recaptured. Some thousands of French people were freed from the invader's yoke. Among these was a man of military age who ever since the war began had remained hidden in the cellar of his house. German soldiers were billeted in the house, and once a week the place was searched according to rule, yet he had never been found. His wife managed surreptitiously to supply him scantily with food out of her rations and those of a baby, born during the war. Had he been



AUSTRIAN PRISONERS, BATTLE OF THE PIAVE

held out for some time, and across the bridges of Marcoing and Masières and up to the neighborhood of Noyelles and Graincourt and beyond Ribecourt."

Before the day ended, the British advanced an average of five miles and were within three miles of the great German supply base of Cambrai, and had taken several thousand prisoners, more, in fact, than the number of their own killed and wounded. A hundred and forty square miles of French soil were redeemed, and many villages were

found, both he and his wife would have been shot. More than three years of life in darkness had given him a strange, waxen color, and, though only 38 years of age, he looked sixty. Upon his liberation, he broke down and wept for hours.

The Germans had taken the pigs and poultry of the people, their grain and wine, all the brass and copper work and lead piping, and had even stolen the best of the furniture. The civil population had been fed almost wholly by the American Relief Committee,

and, after America's entry into the war, by the Spanish-Dutch Committee, which had continued the work. "Without that," the people told their liberators, "we should have starved."

The Allied world hoped, for a time, that the initial blow would be pushed relentlessly and that a general German retreat might be forced. Some progress was made on subsequent days, but the Germans quickly rallied and poured men and guns into the threatened sector to stem the attack. A



GENERAL SIR JULIAN BYNG

general offensive had not been part of the Allied plan. Both the French and British had been weakened by the necessity of sending troops to Italy, and they had not the reserves with which to reap the full fruits of victory. For some days, bitter fighting took place for Bourlon Wood and other places near Cambrai, but gradually the line became stabilized. In all, the British had captured 10,000 prisoners and 142 guns.

The Germans were unwilling to accept defeat on this sector. They concentrated

great forces of men and guns, and, on December 1, launched a determined counter-offensive in which they won a success that dampened Allied rejoicings. The Germans subjected the British in the conquered salient to a galling artillery fire from new emplacements which the British observers had difficulty in locating. Meanwhile, they concentrated extremely heavy infantry forces, and, in the morning of November 30, they made two simultaneous attacks, one on each side of the salient.

The southern attack was delivered against the lines between Vendhuile and Crevecœur. The British, in a general way, were expecting an attack, yet in a sense they were surprised. The bombardment was not heavy enough to give them warning that an assault was coming. Furthermore, the assailants were favored by a mist, and this and the extensive use of smoke shells and bombs made it extremely difficult for British observers to see what was happening. Moving forward from the deep folds and hollows typical of the chalk formation of the region, the German infantry overwhelmed the British both in the front line and in immediate support almost before they realized that an attack had been begun. Many of the British were killed or taken, together with a number of guns and tanks, and Gauche Wood, Gormelieu, La Vacquerie, and other places were taken.

The Germans in this part of the field even advanced so far that they surprised road menders and ambulance sections at work and captured transport trains unsuspectingly moving forward to the first British lines. A detachment of the 11th Regiment of American Engineers laid aside their tools, and, snatching up weapons, aided in beating back the assailants.

The northern attack proved much less successful. In this part of the field the British were better prepared, and their artillery, machine guns, and grenades took a heavy toll of the Germans. Nine separate attacks against the village of Masnières were repulsed with dreadful slaughter, and the place was held until enemy advances on both sides rendered a retreat necessary. The British in Bourlon Wood held out several days, though the place was deluged with shells

and poison gas. South of Moeuvres the Germans succeeded in entering the British lines but were driven back by a bombing attack. The hero of the fighting in this area was Captain McReady-Diarmid of the Middlesex Regiment. He was a skillful bomber, and when the barrage was exceedingly heavy, led a charge which drove the enemy back 500 yards, with heavy losses in casualties and prisoners. Next day he led another counter-attack and drove the Germans back 300 yards. Throughout this attack Captain

from these positions and withdrew to a more compact line on Flesquières Ridge.

By their counter-attack the Germans recovered about a third of the ground lost and captured 166 cannons and 9,000 British. They diminished the luster of Byng's original victory and prevented any further successes. Yet the British offensive had been decidedly worth while. Aside from the prisoners and ground taken and other losses inflicted on the enemy, the stroke had prevented the Germans from sending more troops to fight



KING GEORGE CONFERRING HONORS ON CANADIAN OFFICERS

McReady-Diarmid led the way in person and it was due to his marvellous throwing that the ground was regained. In this attack he personally killed eighty of the enemy, but, later in the day, was himself slain.

During the next few days, the Germans continued their furious attacks but without making much further progress. However, their success on the southern side of the salient endangered the British in Bourlon Wood and other positions at the tip of the salient nearest Cambrai, so the British retired

the Italians. Still more important, perhaps, the offensive showed that by a combination of surprise and the use of tanks the German defense lines could be broken. The Allied military leaders did not miss the significance of this result. They laid their plans for the campaign of 1918 accordingly, and ordered the construction of many tanks, more especially light, swift tanks. But of this much more will be said in later pages.

On the other hand, the battle had some ominous features. For the first time since the beginning of the great Somme Battle,

in July, 1916, the Germans had counter-attacked in great force. The Russian collapse had, in fact, enabled them to mass increasingly large forces on the Western Front. These increased reserves and their Italian victory made it possible for them to snatch the initiative from the Allies. From the date of their counter-attack before Cambrai down to the 18th of the following July, the Germans were able to set the pace. To them belonged the privilege of selecting the time and place of attack. Meanwhile, the Allies were condemned to the defensive. The Allied commanders realized the change. Early in

especially fortified huts such as block houses or redoubts and points of support. An enemy attempting to break through the German lines would have to attack the first barrier, which would be defended with great stubbornness with the aid, if need be, of reinforcements from the second barrier. When the first barrier was taken, the next must be assaulted, and then the third. Really to break through the German lines, therefore, required that the enemy should capture all three of these strongly fortified lines of defense.

Subsequently this plan was materially modified. In August of 1917, the

German General Staff published new instructions substituting "defense by depth" for "linear or extended defense." Thenceforth each of the barriers consisted of a great number of successive trenches, continuous or discontinuous, parallel or divergent. A zone might have a depth of several miles, the whole being guarded, as before, by fortified works so situated as to continue their resistance even when surrounded or isolated.

New names were used in designating the fortifications. The first barrier was now called the "covering zone" (*vorfeld* zone) or zone of ordinary fighting. Its foremost lines were merely tunnels in which lookouts kept watch, but as the enemy advanced further the trenches became deeper and fuller of defenders and war material. The object of this first zone was to give a constant view of the enemy's operations and in case of attack to furnish

conditions that would seriously weaken the enemy's strength.

The second zone was called the "*gross-kampf* zone" or zone of great combat. As in the first zone, this consisted of a system of trenches and fortified works supported to a great depth toward the rear by dugouts, points of support, concrete pillboxes, etc. The machine guns in this zone were arranged chessboard style. It was in this second zone that the brunt of the attack was to be met and repulsed, however violent.

The third and last zone was called the "*rückwärtige kampffeld* zone," or rear zone of



SQUADRON OF GERMAN AEROPLANES

December, a defensive policy was adopted by them on the Western Front, and a regrouping of Allied forces took place.

As the war progressed, many changes had occurred in defensive methods. As a result of experience gained in the Battle of the Somme the Germans adopted a system of three successive barriers or fortified lines running, in a sense, from the sea to Switzerland. These barriers were separated by intervals of nearly two miles and each was made up of three lines of continuous trenches strengthened by barbed-wire entanglements and dotted with deep dugouts or shelters,

combat, and it was here that the enemy must be stopped, if he should succeed in breaking through the other two zones.

The Germans were careful to have the zones far enough apart so that the enemy artillery could not bombard two of them at the same time or, at least, could not except with very heavy guns. The men and materials were so arranged that the strength of resistance would increase steadily from the first to the last line of the zones. Extra shelters and places for artillery were constructed in case those used in the course of battle should become untenable. As much as possible, the trenches were dug on the rear slopes of hills, observation posts being maintained at the top in order to give warning of attack.

It will readily be seen that the farther the enemy advanced the more numerous the difficulties he met, so that when he finally reached the real zone of decisive combat he was likely to have endured such losses that the defenders would be able to drive him back to his own lines after inflicting tremendous punishment. Even should he succeed in capturing the third zone, the supposition was that he would be unable to hold it, being too badly shattered by long fighting.

In fact, the fortified lines had become so strong by the fall of 1917 that many military critics believed that it would be impossible to break through them. Even against weaker lines the British and French had never succeeded in getting through all the defenses except on a narrow front. It had always been possible for the Germans to contain the flood of assailants before the situation became really serious for them. It may readily be believed that French and British military men spent many anxious hours considering how it would be possible to break through the German lines constructed with such fiendish skill. As for the Germans, they did not hesitate to declare that their lines were impregnable. Some Allied writers adopted this view, and many times the statement was made in Allied

countries that the war would end approximately on the line which the two armies occupied at the end of 1917.

However, there were optimists in the Allied camps who contended that some way of solving the great problem would be found. They pointed out that in the history of past wars ways had always been found for offense mastering defense, and they held that this war would not prove an exception to the



GENERALS VON HINDENBURG AND VON LUDENDORFF

rule. The Germans also were considering the same problem and, as we shall see, in March of 1918, they applied what they considered the proper solution.

The campaign of 1917 was in some respects the most discouraging of the war from the point of view of the Allies. Owing to the collapse of Russia, their plan for a general offensive had broken down. The French and British had made a certain amount of progress and had regained some ground, but they had not achieved any decisive results.

The part they had been forced to play had been far heavier than had originally been expected, for owing to the comparative quiet on the Eastern Front, the Germans had been able to concentrate most of their troops in the west. The Italians had made progress toward Trieste and had won victories which aroused great hopes, but, in a few days, a Teutonic offensive had regained all that had been lost and had conquered part of Italy. With Russia torn by internal dissensions and on the point of making a peace which

furnished money and munitions; she must now give men. But there had been mismanagement in American military affairs, and the prospect at the end of 1917 that America would be able to play any considerable part in the fighting of the next campaign appeared none too bright.

Despite their success in withstanding the Allied offensives, the Germans were not happy. In Berlin private carriages and motorcars had long since disappeared from the streets, and the city was almost without



KING GEORGE AND GENERAL O'RYAN REVIEWING AMERICAN SOLDIERS AT THE FRONT

would inevitably involve the retirement of Roumania from the conflict, with Italy thrown on the defensive, with the armies of Great Britain and France halted on the Western Front, with the U-boats continuing to take a heavy toll of Allied shipping, the Teutonic War Lords had reason to feel satisfied with the results achieved in 1917 and to look forward with some confidence to the coming year.

It was becoming clear that if a victory was to be won by the Allies, American soldiers must help win it. America had already

horses. Those attached to the few public omnibuses were mere bags of bones. The ration ticket gave the following weekly allowance: bread, $3\frac{1}{2}$ pounds; meat, one pound; butter, $3\frac{3}{4}$ ounces; margarine, one ounce; potatoes, five pounds. In addition, one might obtain three eggs and three-quarters of a pound of sugar a fortnight. Certain extras were occasionally allowed, such as mangold-wurzels, which were made a chief ingredient in various concoctions, none of them very appetizing. The appearance of a dish containing this vegetable "was

generally greeted with satirical remarks." Milk was allowed only to children up to the age of six and to invalids when a committee of doctors decided that it was absolutely necessary. Even the articles on the cards were not always obtainable, but certain luxuries could be purchased by those who had money to buy—at extremely high prices. A single ham cost \$70, and horse meat sold at \$2.75 a pound. Many of the people were in rags, and the linen of most was worn dirty, for soap with which to wash it was almost unobtainable.

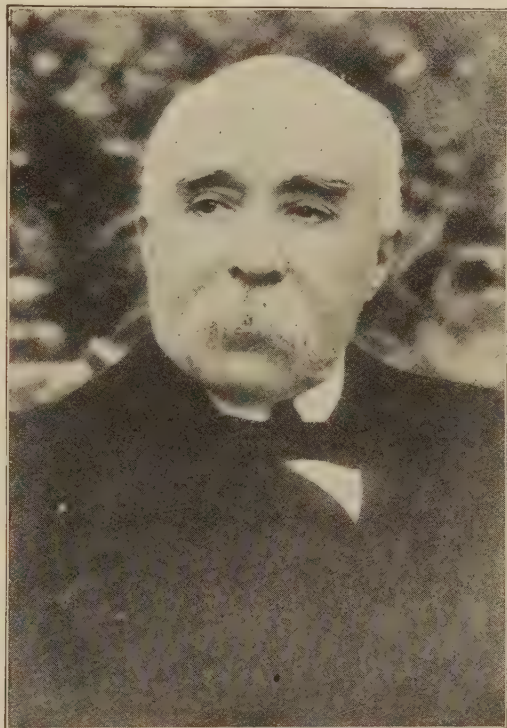
The German hope of conquering France had long since disappeared. Some of the people were skeptical regarding the official reports, and women folk, more outspoken than the men, would sometimes say, after reading such reports on the bulletin boards, "We have nothing but victories, and yet we always get further back."

Conditions in parts of Austria-Hungary were much worse. In some places even potatoes brought fifty cents a pound. In districts in Bohemia a new disease made its appearance which from its symptoms was called "famine-dropsy." In Budapest and elsewhere, great demonstrations took place in favor of peace.

The Italian disaster turned the attention of the Allies once more to the fatal lack of unified effort. In a speech at Paris, Premier Lloyd George spoke bluntly concerning the failure of the Allies in the past and enumerated some of the defects that had resulted from lack of unified command. He referred, for example, to the failure of the Allies to assist Serbia in time with the result that the Central Empires opened a road to Turkey.

"Why was this unbelievable fault committed?" he asked. "The reply is simple. It was because no one in particular was charged with guarding the Balkan gate. The united front had not become a reality. France and England were absorbed by other problems in other regions. Italy thought only of the Carso. Russia was mounting guard over a frontier of a thousand miles, and, even without that, she could not have passed through to have helped Serbia, because Roumania was neutral. It is true that we sent troops to Salonica to succor

Servia, but, as always, they were sent too late. . . . You may say this is an old story. I grant you that it was simply the first chapter of a series that has continued to the present hour; 1915 was the year of the Servian tragedy; 1916 was the year of the Roumanian tragedy, which was a repetition of the Servian story almost without change. This is unbelievable, when you think of the consequences to the Allies' cause of the Roumanian defeat. Opulent wheatfields and



PREMIER CLEMENCEAU OF FRANCE

rich petroleum wells passed to the enemy and Germany was able to escape us.

"Through the harvest of 1917 the siege of the Central Powers was raised once more, and the horrible war was once more prolonged. That would not have happened had there existed some central authority, charged with meditating upon the problem of the war for the entire theater of the war."

Lloyd George stated that he had reached the conclusion that if nothing was changed he "could no longer accept the responsibility for the direction of a war condemned to disaster from lack of unity. . . . The war has

been prolonged by particularism. It will be shortened by solidarity."

In France the Italian disaster contributed to the fall of the Painlevé Ministry, which had succeeded that of M. Ribot two months before. The crisis brought to the front the greatest of living French statesmen, M. Georges Clemenceau. In 1871, Clemenceau, as a member of the Deputies, had voted against the cession of Alsace-Lorraine and had been a relentless advocate of the recovery of the "lost provinces." For a time, he had lived in America, had taught school in Connecticut, and had married

There must be "no more pacifist campaigns, no more German intrigues." He made bitter war against the "defeatists," who sought to make a craven peace—some because they had felt the touch of German gold. He brought about the arrest of former Premier Caillaux on charges of treasonable correspondence with the enemy; he secured the conviction and execution of Bolo Pasha, a German agent whose slimy trail led through America; he obtained the banishment of M. Malvy, another politician of prominence.

"Some day," he told the Chamber of



BRITISH HEAVY GUN ON PALESTINE FRONT

an American woman. From 1906 to 1909, as we have already seen, he had been Prime Minister, in the period of the struggle over the relations of church and state. By profession he was a journalist, and he had been unsparing in denouncing those he suspected of timidity or indecision in prosecuting the war. His energy and fire were so great that he was often called "The Tiger." He was now seventy-eight, but he still had the old fire; if anything, the flames burned more fiercely in this time of peril.

In his speech in assuming office, he announced that his one object would be to make war, his one aim to be victorious.

Deputies, "from Paris to the humblest village, shouts of acclamation will greet our victorious standards, stained with blood and tears and torn by shells—magnificent emblem of our noble dead."

Many months of peril were to pass before that day came, but The Tiger of France lived to see his prophecy come true. And that it came true was in no small measure due to the courage which he managed to infuse into his country, so that she endured the long strain of bloody agony. A century and a half before, it was said of William Pitt, in the midst of a similar crisis, that no man conferred with him in his closet without

coming out a braver man. So now no man talked with Georges Clemenceau without catching something of his serene confidence and indomitable spirit.

As a result largely of Lloyd George's efforts, an Inter-Allied strategic board, called the Supreme War Council, was created for the more effective coördination of Allied efforts. The decision to do so was reached at a meeting of the Premiers of Great Britain, France, and Italy, and their General Staffs at Rapallo, near Genoa, November 9, 1917. Time was to show, however, that even this was not enough.

Through the dark clouds that hung over the Allied sky at the close of 1917 there shot one bright gleam of victory and glory. From the Near East came the heartening tidings that the British flag floated over the holy city of Jerusalem and the Tomb of the Savior.

The capture of Jerusalem was the culmination of a long and carefully conducted campaign. Following the Turkish and German attempts upon the Suez Canal, the British had taken the offensive in the region east of the Canal and had administered several defeats to the Turks. In January, 1916, General Sir Archibald Murray succeeded Sir John G. Maxwell as Commander of the British forces in Egypt and decided to push forward further northeastward. He decided to imitate Kitchener's tactics in the Soudan and to build a railroad along the Mediterranean coast to Palestine. A railroad was necessary because of transport difficulties. Ultimately a great water main was also laid along the way to provide the invading army and its draft animals with water in the desert region. In a battle between Katia and the coast a Turkish army commanded by a German general named Von Kressenstein was almost annihilated.

In October, 1917, General Sir Edmund Allenby, who had already distinguished himself in France as a cavalry officer, took charge of the active operations in Palestine. His army included British, Egyptian, and Australian forces. Beersheba was taken on October 31, Gaza on November 7, Askalon on November 9, Jaffa on November 19, and, on December 10, it was officially announced that Jerusalem had fallen.

The dispatches from the front were full of names reminiscent of Biblical history. For example, at one stage of the campaign, the army halted for some days beside the brook where in olden times young David had selected the five smooth stones with which to smite Goliath of Gath. Biblical students recalled the young shepherd's exploit and hoped that the success that had followed his preparations beside the brook would have a



GENERAL EDMUND H. ALLENBY

happy counterpart in this new crusade against barbarism. The omen proved a happy one, and from the brook the British moved onward from victory to victory until, at last, they entered the Holy City. Every effort was made by General Allenby to protect the Holy Places and to safeguard the inhabitants. In a proclamation he said:

"Furthermore, since your city is regarded with affection by the adherents of three of the great religions of mankind and its soil

has been consecrated by the prayers and pilgrimages of multitudes of devout people of these three religions for many centuries, therefore do I make it known to you that every sacred building, monument, holy spot, shrine, traditional site, endowment, pious bequest, or customary place of prayer of whatsoever form of the three religions will be maintained and protected according to the



FIELD MARSHAL L. VON SANDERS,
COMMANDER TURKISH FORCES IN PALESTINE

existing customs and beliefs of those to whose faith they are sacred.

"Guardians have been established at Bethlehem and on Rachel's Tomb. The tomb at Hebron has been placed under exclusive Moslem control.

"The hereditary custodians at the gates of the Holy Sepulchre have been requested to take up their accustomed duties in remembrance of the magnanimous act of Caliph Omar, who protected that church."

From this proclamation it will be seen that Allenby was careful to avoid arousing Moslem hatred. Some of his own forces, in fact, were Arabs who held that faith. For much of Arabia was in revolt against Turkish rule, and the King of the Hedjaz led a force which coöperated effectively with the British army.

The defeated Turks and Teutons retired north of the city and, for some months, comparative quiet ensued on the Palestine Front. But this was not to be the last good news from the Holy Land.

In the autumn of 1917, aerial warfare became more ferocious than ever before, and all the belligerents speeded up the making of aeroplanes in order to make this arm of the service more important than in the past. During the full moon period between September 24 and October 1, there were six important German air raids on London. Fifty-two men, women, and children were killed outright, and 258 were wounded. No material damage to military or munition establishments was inflicted, and the only result accomplished was to arouse among the English people a clamorous demand for reprisals. The destruction wrought by one aeroplane in a narrow street was thus described:

"The noise of gunfire was the first warning which the people of the district received, and but for the fact that sufficient time passed before the sudden terror of the bombing to enable the majority of the inhabitants to take shelter, the casualty list must have been far larger than it actually was. The aeroplane flew in an oblique direction across the many intersecting streets, and bombs were dropped at distances of about two hundred yards apart.

"The first bomb fell in a street. A moment later the second crashed into the side of another road with destructive effect. A great hole was scooped out in the ground. The fronts of two-story houses opposite were partially shattered and in most of the other houses in the street glass was smashed, woodwork hurled inward, and the contents of rooms displaced.

"A girl was just entering the doorway of a house near the explosion and she was killed

instantly. On the other side of the street a man standing in his doorway was terribly wounded about the upper part of his body, and another man who was leaning against the front garden fence also received severe injuries. Nearly all the other people in this street were under cover, and they escaped physical harm. A man and his wife, who were just going into the cellar when the bomb exploded, were flung headlong down the steps.

"The third bomb fell in a back garden against a party wall between two streets, and it dug a huge crater in the soft earth. The backs of two houses were partially blown in, but fortunately the inhabitants had left two minutes earlier to take shelter in a neighbor's house, in which the only damage was broken glass. Other houses were less seriously damaged, and because the tenants had taken shelter in the center of the buildings only one girl was seriously injured.

"The fourth bomb caused more material damage, but nearly all the people in the street had left their little houses to find refuge in a school building forty or fifty yards away. The bomb fell in a back yard near the middle of a row of houses, and the rooms just opposite were almost completely wrecked. If any one had been within he could not conceivably have escaped unhurt. All along the street, on both sides, windows and doorways were blown out, and a bank and a jeweler's shop were damaged."

One German object in carrying out these raids was, of course, to inflict damage and death in England, but perhaps a greater one was to force the British to employ thousands of men, hundreds of anti-aircraft guns, and many aeroplanes for home defense. By using some fifty machines and perhaps 200 aviators and mechanics the enemy were able to force the British to use many times that force in defending their cities. The British aerial strength in France and Belgium was proportionately diminished.

For a long time, the British refrained from retaliating by bombing German cities. They

confined their aerial activities to fighting German aviators and to bombing German troops, railways, and other objectives of military importance, but the recurring German raids against London, entailing the murder of women and children, created an increasing demand for reprisals. Though making war on women and children is not in accordance with Anglo-Saxon traditions, it was felt that only by attacking German cities could something be done to relieve



FRENCH BOMB-DROPPING AEROPLANE

the situation. After having visited the horrible scenes in London, Premier Lloyd George finally announced to a crowd of poor people in the southwest district of the city on October 3, 1917, "We will give it all back to them, and we will give it soon. We shall bomb Germany with compound interest."

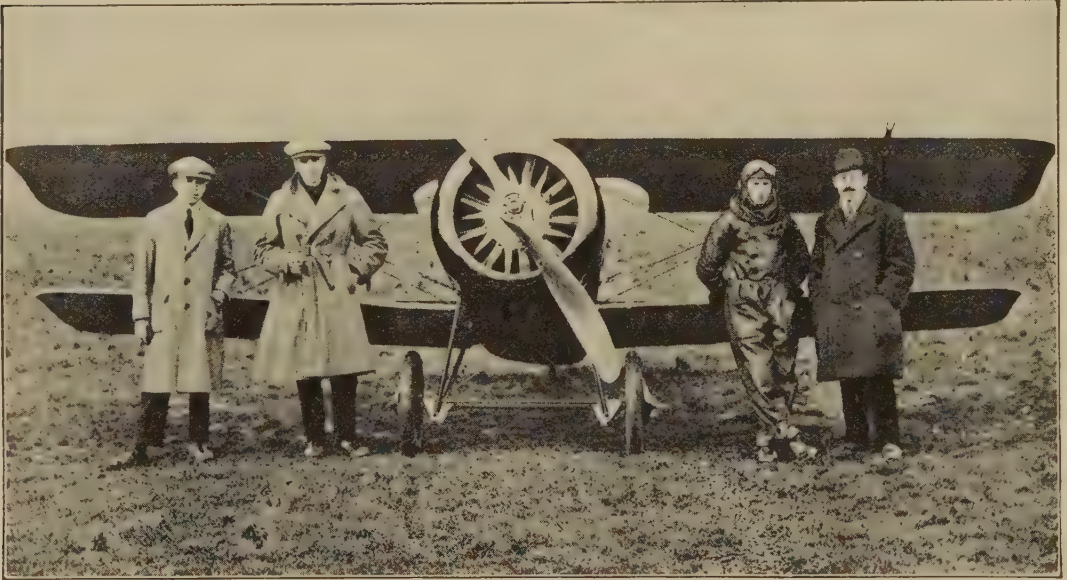
On the same day, Lieutenant General Smuts announced that the Government had reluctantly resolved to retaliate and to carry out air raids on an unprecedented scale

against German cities. Germany, he said, misunderstood British psychology, and the raids on London, instead of intimidating the British, made them think less of peace than ever. Since the Battle of the Somme, he asserted, the British had had the superiority in the air and could have been bombing the cities of Germany as the enemy had been bombing London. But the British were anxious not to do so, as they desired "to avoid adding further horrors to a war already the most cruel in the history of the world.

"But we are dealing with an enemy whose culture has not carried him beyond the

be added to the awful story, but we can only plead that it has not been our doing, and the blame must rest on an enemy who apparently recognizes no laws, human or Divine: who knows no pity or restraint, who sang *Te Deums* over the sinking of the *Lusitania* and to whom the maiming and slaughter of women and children appear legitimate means of warfare."

The last Zeppelin venture of consequence took place on the night of October 19, 1917. A dozen of the monster airships set out for a raid on England and succeeded in reaching that country. Twenty-seven persons were



ENGLISH BOMBING PLANE

rudiments of the Mosaic law, and to whom you can only apply the maxim of 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.' On that principle we are now most reluctantly forced to apply to him the bombing policy which he has applied to us. I am afraid we no longer have any choice in the matter."

Nevertheless, General Smuts declared that he deplored the necessity of these developments and said that in British air attacks against military and industrial centers of the enemy an effort would be made to spare the innocent and defenseless who, in the past, had enjoyed the protection of international law. He added, "It is almost unbearable to think that another chapter of horrors must

killed in the districts visited by the raiders, and over fifty were wounded. In London a big aerial torpedo destroyed three houses and killed fourteen persons, almost completely wiping out two whole families.

While trying to return home, the Zeppelins lost their way and flew over France. They were chased by aeroplanes and were repeatedly fired at by aircraft guns. The *L-44* was destroyed near Lunéville, and all the crew miserably perished, as they deserved to perish. The *L-45* was brought down near Gap, in the Alps, in southeastern France. She was destroyed by her crew, all of whom were captured. The *L-49* was forced down near Bourbonne-les-Bains, and was captured,

with her crew. Another was brought down in the Alps, and was set on fire by her crew, who were captured. A fifth was chased by French aviators out over the Mediterranean near Frejus, and was believed to have fallen into the sea. A sixth, the *L-50*, was forced to descend near Dammartin in the Haute-Marne Department, but reascended after some of her crew had disembarked and one of her gondolas had been cut loose.

As anti-aircraft guns were now able to do good practice at objects even three or four miles high, the Zeppelins, which furnished enormous marks, were forced to remain at very great heights, hence at night could not determine their location by the contour of the land. The *L-49*, which carried eighteen men and two tons of bombs, reached a height of four and a quarter miles above London, and then encountered not only a strong north wind but a temperature falling as low as 33 degrees below zero centigrade. The crew had frozen hands, and were almost stupefied by the cold. The water ballast was frozen, although a certain amount of alcohol had been mixed in it to prevent this from happening.

As no means for calculating drift was known and the compass was practically useless without this, Zeppelins flying at such heights were forced to depend for guidance almost wholly upon wireless stations in Germany and Belgium. Shrewd Britons had managed to solve the German wireless code used in such work, and British and French wireless stations, using this code, were able to delude the raiders, with results already described.

The Zeppelins engaged in this raid were about 650 feet long, over 100 feet high, and had a capacity of about 183,000 cubic feet of gas. Eighteen separate compartments, or balloonets, were used, being contained inside an outside envelope. These balloonets were made of gold-beater's skin combined with a cotton lining. Between the balloonets were a number of chimneys designed to carry out at the top any leakage of gas. A passage within the envelope contained the ballast, petrol, bombs, and several beds. There were four cars, and five motors. These Zeppelins were normally able to make forty-five to sixty miles an hour.

Great ingenuity had been expended upon these aerial monsters, but the difficulties were almost insuperable. Their inventor had been on the wrong track. To the Wright brothers, of Dayton, U. S. A., not to Count Zeppelin, belongs the honor of conquering the air. After this disaster to the Zeppelins, the German Government practically ceased building them and concentrated its efforts upon aeroplanes. One by



CAPTAIN BARON VON RICHTHOFEN

one the devices upon which the War Lords had counted upon to help conquer the world were proving unequal to the test.

It is a relief to turn from the murder of non-combatants by German Zeppelins and aeroplanes to legitimate aerial warfare. During 1917, there was a marked increase in the use of planes for military purposes, both on land and sea. An interesting feature of such warfare was the growth of mass fighting by squadrons of planes flying in fixed formation and attacking and maneuvering accord-

ing to prearranged plans. One of the pioneers in developing such fighting was the German Baron von Richthofen, whose "flying circus" became famous. This squadron flew in a circle, each plane being supposed to protect the rear of the plane before it.

Aeroplanes were also beginning to perform good service in assisting infantry attacks, both with bombs and machine guns. Thus in the attack upon the Chemin des Dames, in October, the French airmen flew as low as

and reconnoissance work. But the improvement of aerial defense methods forced planes to keep higher and higher in the air, and they frequently failed to give warning of large troop concentrations, as was clearly shown by the success of the British and German surprises near Cambrai and by the Teutonic attack on Italy. Camouflaged batteries frequently deceived the eyes of aeroplane observers and even those of their cameras. Stationary balloons were more and more



ALLIES HONOR CAPTAIN GUYNEMER

a hundred yards and sprayed German infantry with showers of bullets. All the aeroplanes taking part in the battle were riddled with bullets. One fell blazing among advancing French troops, but the pilot was uninjured and joined the nearest battalion.

Aeroplanes were put to many services and proved far more useful than Zeppelins, but even they had decided limitations. To the end of the war, the damage done by their bombs was smaller than was generally supposed. They were helpful for photographic

used by all armies for reconnoissance work, while some other very interesting methods were employed to locate the enemy's guns. One of these methods was known as "flash spotting," and consisted in plotting the position of a gun by observing the flash of its shots. A still more ingenious method was to locate a gun's position by means of a study of sound waves. In the last year of the war, Allied machines were perfected whereby the position of a cannon could thus be determined within a few yards.

Of aviators in this period, the most celebrated were Baron von Richthofen, who has already been mentioned; Captain Ball of the British service; Captain Bishop, a Canadian; Captain Lufberry, an American; and Captain Georges Guynemer of the French service.

Captain Guynemer was officially credited with destroying 53 German aeroplanes. He was known as the "King of the Aces." He was only 23 years old and was a son of a manufacturer who was also a captain in the French army. On account of his frail

than 10,000 feet, Captain Guynemer shot down two of his antagonists within thirty seconds. He pursued the other three and, in two minutes, had shot down a third machine. While following the other two, an enemy shell burst under his aeroplane and tore away one of the wings. "I felt myself dropping," he said later. "It was 10,000 feet to the earth, and, like a flash, I saw my funeral with my saddened comrades marching behind the gun carriage to the cemetery. I pulled and pushed every lever I had, but



AEROPLANE USED TO SECURE RANGE OF ARTILLERY

health he was five times rejected when he attempted to volunteer but was finally permitted to enlist as a student aviator. Within three weeks after he received his pilot's license, in January, 1916, he became an ace by bringing down his fifth enemy aeroplane. Thereafter every few days saw some new feat placed to his credit. One of his finest exploits took place in September, 1916, when he rose in the air to aid a comrade who had been attacked by five German Fokkers. Having attained a height of more

nothing would check my terrific descent. Five thousand feet from the earth the wrecked machine began to turn somersaults, but I was strapped into the seat. I do not know what it was, but something happened and I felt the speed of the descent lessen. Suddenly there was a tremendous crash, and, when I recovered my senses, I had been taken from the wreckage and was all right."

Guynemer was three times wounded, but each time only slightly. On one day, he was credited with shooting down four enemy

aeroplanes. On the occasion of his machine being struck by a shell, he fell in No Man's Land between the French and German trenches but was rescued by the French infantry, who charged to save their comrade and in a sanguinary and hand to hand conflict beat back the Germans, who were trying to capture him.

Guynemer always did his fighting alone. He chose a light swift craft, and his machine gun was attached to the top of the aeroplane directly above his head, being so arranged that, when he pulled a lever, it would begin shooting. As the gun was fast to the aeroplane, he aimed by sighting the plane. Sights were arranged in front of him, and, when the enemy came within the sight, he would begin firing by pulling the lever. A large part of his success was due to his boldness and also to his constant practice in shooting. His last fight was thus described by a comrade:

"Guynemer sighted five machines of the Albatross type D-3. Without hesitating he bore down on them. At that moment enemy patrolling machines, soaring at a great height, appeared suddenly and fell upon Guynemer.

"There were forty enemy machines in the air at this time, including Count von Richthofen and his circus division of machines, painted in diagonal blue and white stripes. Toward Guynemer's right some Belgian machines hove in sight, but it was too late.

"Guynemer must have been hit. His machine dropped gently toward the earth and I lost track of it. All that I can say is that the machine was not on fire."

Previous to his death Captain Guynemer had won the Military Medal, the War Cross, the Cross of the Legion of Honor, and practically every other decoration that France could bestow.

Premier Lloyd George was anxious to find some solution of the Irish question, and, on May 21, 1917, he announced that the Government intended to summon a convention of Irishmen representing all factions to endeavor to reach an agreement on the Home Rule question. The Sinn Feiners refused to send representatives, but all other

parties were represented in the convention, which met in Dublin, July 25, 1917. As chairman the convention elected Sir Horace Plunkett, a man who had done much to improve economic conditions in the Emerald Isle.

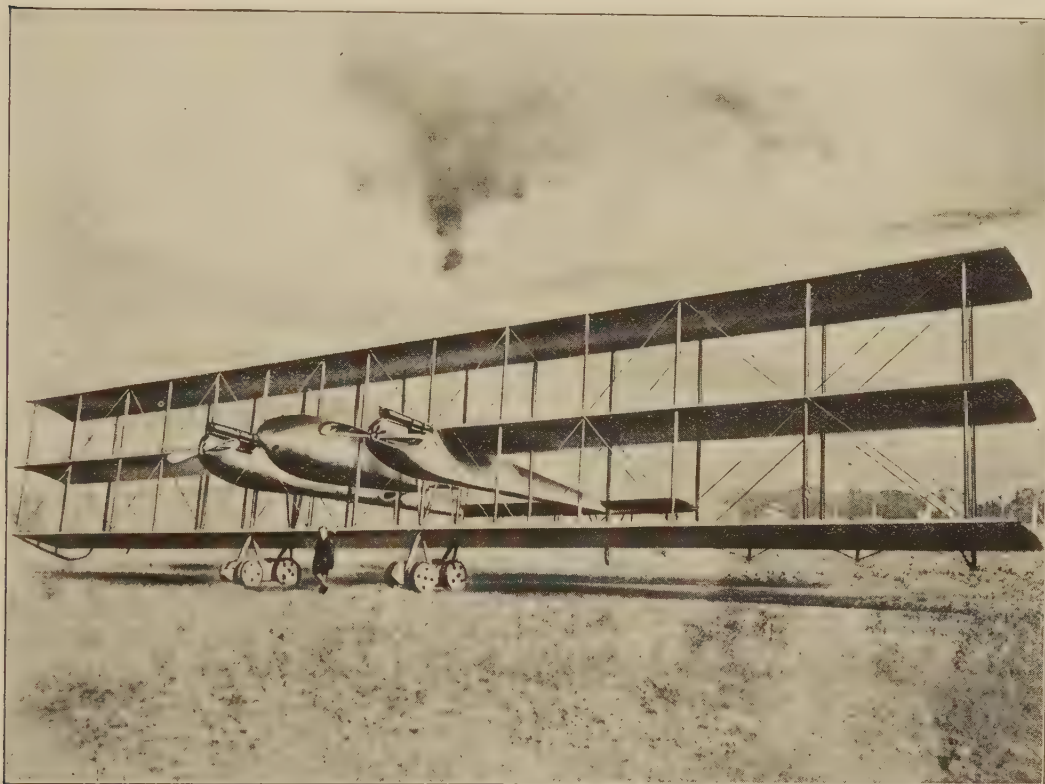
The convention deliberated for many months. Ultimately, the majority recommended a plan for Home Rule, whereby Ireland was to have a separate Parliament, but executive power was to be vested in the King and exercised through the Lord Lieutenant. Representation of Ireland in the British Parliament was, however, to be continued. Most of the Ulster Unionists brought in a report declaring the plan unsatisfactory. Certain Nationalists also formally protested against certain fiscal proposals. The whole scheme was, in fact, a clumsy attempt at compromise and never had any real chance of success. As in the past, the Ulster Protestants were determined not to submit to Catholic domination, while the Catholic Irish were equally determined that Ulster must be included.

It was the avowed purpose of the British Government to couple Home Rule with Irish conscription. A conscription bill was carried through Parliament. A great uproar at once arose in Ireland and threats of resistance were freely made. A great anti-conscription fund was raised, and, on Sunday, April 21, an anti-conscription covenant was administered by the Catholic priests throughout Ireland. The assemblies for the purpose were generally held in the open air, and a common practice was for the priests to read the pledge, sentence by sentence, the audience repeating it after them. The opposition became so great that the Government postponed conscription and never attempted to enforce it.

The year 1917 saw some profound changes in the character of the war. The unrestricted use by the Central Powers of submarines widened the scope of operations and forced the Allies, and especially Great Britain, to expend an immense amount of energy on counter-preparations. The number of men and ships required to combat the U-boats was out of proportion to the men and ships employed by the Teutons in their

under-water offensive. The Russian revolution and the ultimate collapse of that power upset the Allied plan for a concerted offensive and presently enabled the Central Powers to transfer most of their military resources from Eastern to Western theaters of war. The adhesion of the United States, Greece, Brazil, China, and other neutral nations to the Allied cause "widened the war itself from a battle for the liberty of small nations and the defense of public right in

from exporting iron ore to Germany, but exports of food from neighboring neutrals were greatly curtailed. For example, the export of herrings from Holland to Germany was reduced from 100,659 tons in 1915 to 15,898 tons in 1916; the agricultural produce exports were reduced from 287,820 tons for the first six months of 1916 to 58,114 tons for the first six months of 1917; while the exports of cattle were reduced from 33,332 head in the first six months of 1916 to no



ITALIAN CAPRONI PLANE

Europe into a world-wide struggle for the triumph of a free civilization and democratic government."

From the beginning of the war, the Allies had sought in every legitimate way to distress the Central Powers. Some account of the blockade has already been given. Pressure was put upon the neutral states around Germany to prevent them from sending food and other articles to that country. The Allies never succeeded to any considerable extent in preventing Sweden

exports at all in the first six months of 1917. However, the neutral states adjoining Germany were in deadly terror of being treated as Belgium had been, and were often frightened into furnishing goods to the ogre.

Furthermore, Holland, for example, was largely dependent upon Germany for coal, and was forced to make concessions to obtain it. Even when the neutrals entered into agreements with the Allies regarding withholding supplies from Germany, it was difficult to live up to the agreements, for

smuggling was so enormously profitable that, along the borders of Holland and Denmark, thousands grew rich by it.

The entrance of the United States into the war vastly simplified the problem. The Allies no longer found it necessary to avoid offending American susceptibilities. Furthermore, Great Britain and the United States, between them, virtually controlled most of the articles the Germans desired and practically all the coaling facilities of the Atlantic Ocean; also they controlled both the Suez and the Panama Canals. In an infinite variety of ways the Allies were able to bring such pressure upon the neutral states adjoining Germany as to force them to cease much of their trade with Germany. The ships of such neutrals found it almost impossible to make voyages unless they conformed to the wishes of the Allies. The United States would refuse to send food or fodder to such neutrals unless they would enter into satisfactory agreements. The neutrals, of course, protested, but we retorted that we did not feel ourselves bound to send food to Holland, for example, in order that Holland could send food into Germany. Neither did we think fit to send corn or oil cake to Denmark or Holland in order that these countries could make butter and cheese for our bitter enemies. Gradually the blockade was tightened. Gradually it became more and more difficult for the Teutons to obtain food, copper, nickel, rubber, and other articles of which they stood in need. In the end, the stranglehold of the blockade was undoubtedly a strong factor in ending the war.

Another weapon employed by the Allies was the blacklisting of firms in neutral countries that were owned by their enemies or that traded with their enemies or otherwise rendered them aid. In many cases such firms had actively worked against the Allies by propaganda, by supplying enemy vessels, or by inciting sabotage. No Allied citizens were permitted to do business with such firms; goods could not be carried to them in Allied ships; and neutral firms dealing with them were themselves liable to be blacklisted. So great was the financial power of the Allies that many such enemy firms were ruined. Thus in South America

the financial stability of enemy firms was very generally shaken. For example, in Argentina, the great firm of Brauss, Mahn & Company, at one time agents for the German Government, were forced to eliminate the German interests in order to be removed from the blacklist.

Before entering the war, the United States protested against the blacklist policy, though we were hardly justified in doing so, for the Allies were well within their rights. When we ourselves declared war, we helped to enforce the blacklist policy and greatly simplified the Allied task.

Through their control of food, coal, and other articles the British and Americans were able practically to compel some of the neutral states to employ their merchant shipping in ways that would benefit the Allies. A drastic step was taken with regard to Holland. German threats so terrified the Dutch that they laid up some of their ships. Having failed to reach an agreement with Holland regarding shipping, the British and Americans, in March, 1918, seized Dutch shipping lying in their harbors, the total amounting to about 750,000 tons. The largest Dutch ship in New York harbor, namely the *Nieuw Amsterdam*, was, however, in accordance with a previous agreement, permitted to return to Holland with a cargo of food. Moreover, all Dutch ships outward bound to American waters were also permitted to return to home ports. The vessels seized were speedily set to work, though ordinarily outside the submarine zones.

The seizures were made under the international law of "angary," which gives a belligerent the right, in times of military exigency, to take over and utilize neutral vessels lying within its jurisdiction. Nevertheless, the Dutch protested vigorously. Some of the protests were sincere; others were designed for effect in Germany. There can be no doubt that many Dutch ship-owners were glad to see their ships taken over rather than have them lying idle in port. The Allies, of course, paid the owners a big rental, reimbursed them for losses, and returned the vessels after the war. Those seized by the United States, 87 in all, were released in February, 1919.

The collapse of Russia and the defeat of Italy created a situation of which the Central Powers meant to take full advantage by launching a new peace offensive. They redoubled their efforts to negotiate a separate peace with Russia, and, at the same time, as already related, sought to detach other belligerents from the alliance against them.

Conditions in Russia were exceedingly favorable for the realization of Teutonic hopes. Civil and military affairs had fallen into a state of complete chaos. Siberia, Ukrainia, Lithuania, Finland, and other districts had declared their independence,

also stated that orders had been sent to the citizen's Commander in Chief that he should approach the commanding officers of the enemy's armies with a view to the suspension of hostilities. General Dukhonin, the Commander in Chief, was disinclined to take this step, so he was deposed from command and his place was given to Ensign Krylenko. General Dukhonin was later murdered by being thrown from the train, after the Bolsheviki had seized the general headquarters.

On November 25, Trotsky sent a note to the diplomatic representatives of the neutral powers in Petrograd informing them of the



TRAIN WRECKED BY BOLSHEVIKI

and civil war raged. The Bolsheviki controlled Moscow and Petrograd and seemed to have the support of most of the army and navy and of the laboring classes. Lenine and Trotsky and their confederates prevented the delegates of the National Assembly from holding meetings at Petrograd and ruled despotically. On November 20, the Lenine-Trotsky Government announced that by order of the allied Russian Workmen's and Soldiers' Council of the people, commissaries had assumed power and would propose to the various belligerent governments an immediate armistice on all fronts with the view of beginning negotiations for the opening of a "democratic peace." They

steps taken looking to an armistice and stating that the Russian Government depended upon the firm support of working men in all countries in the struggle for peace. This was intended as an appeal to workmen in Allied countries to force their governments to abandon the war. It is possible that the Bolsheviki hoped that the proletariat in the Teutonic countries would also rise up against their governments, but of this, at that time, there was no real prospect. The kind of peace that the Bolsheviki proposed meant a complete triumph of the German War Lords over democracy everywhere. The fact is that many of the Bolshevik leaders were playing the German game and were being

paid for it. Little wonder, therefore, that the Allied Governments refused to enter the fatal trap.

On December 1, Russian representatives, preceded by a trumpeter carrying a white flag, crossed the lines and were met by German officers. Arrangements were made that the negotiations would be conducted at Brest-Litovsk, the headquarters of the German commander. The Russian peace

the Allied cause, though Allied statesmen who saw realities had long realized that little further assistance could be obtained from Russia. Almost no precautions were taken by the Bolsheviki to safeguard their former comrades from the effects of their desertion, though the armistice contained a weak provision to the effect that there should be no transfer of troops from the Eastern Front during the armistice. Exception was made,



GRAND DUCHESS OLGA OF RUSSIA INSPECTING HER REGIMENT

delegates were a peasant, a sailor, a soldier, and a workman. Such men naturally were no match for the astute Teutons with whom they negotiated. The negotiations continued for two weeks, and an armistice was finally signed on December 15, to take effect two days later. The armistice negotiations had been carried on against the protests of Allied representatives in Russia. The conclusion of the armistice was a heavy blow to

however, for transfers that had been begun before the signing of the armistice, and, needless to say, the Teutons found easy ways of violating the provision and sending troops to the West Front.

The Germans conducted peace negotiations not only with the Bolsheviki but also with some of the new states that were arising from the ruins of the old Russian empire. On February 9, 1918, the Ukrainian people's

republic formally signed a treaty of peace with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk. This treaty was in large measure a result of secret Teutonic intrigues. Great Britain and other Allied nations announced that they would not recognize the validity of the treaty, but the serious consequences could not be disguised. The withdrawal of Ukraina from the war meant the release of many German and Austrian troops against the French Front and elsewhere. Furthermore, Ukraina is a great grain producing country; and it was thought that the Teutons would be able to obtain large supplies from that region, though in the end, the Teutons were able to draw less from this region than they had anticipated. Their efforts to obtain supplies provoked conflicts with the people, and, ere long, the Ukrainians received a taste of Teutonic rule. Bands of soldiers went about the country seizing grain and other food and mistreating the inhabitants. In fact, the Ukrainians paid a bitter penalty for their cowardly desertion of their allies.

Meanwhile, peace negotiations had been conducted between the Bolsheviki and the Central Powers. The hollowness of German talk about "no annexations and no indemnities" was quickly revealed. The terms put forward by the Bolsheviki included the evacuation of all Russian territory, autonomy for Poland and the Lithuanian and Lettish provinces, for Turkish Armenia, settlement of the Alsace-Lorraine problem by free plebiscite, restoration of Belgium, restoration of Servia and Montenegro, and similar terms. But the Teutons held the whip hand and were in no mood to grant any such concessions. They demanded an end to the war, the right of self-determination of peoples living in the Russian empire, and full independence of Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and Esthonia, and of portions of Livonia. These terms meant that Germany intended to dominate the new states erected on her eastern border.

The Bolshevik Government rejected the terms and denounced the Germans as "wolves in sheeps' clothing." Chairman Joffe of the Russian Peace Commission asked that peace negotiations be transferred to neutral soil, but without avail. However,

on January 10, the conferences were renewed. Trotsky was the main Russian representative, while Dr. von Kuhlmann, German Foreign Minister, and Count Czernin, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, represented the two chief Central Powers. After a month of fruitless wrangling, the Bolshevik Government announced that Russia would formally withdraw from the war but would refuse to sign a treaty of peace. This announcement came the day after Ukraina signed a separate peace, and it was accompanied by orders for the complete demobilization of the Russian troops on all fronts. This astonishing step resulted in the final elimination of Russia from the war, and it was clear that now the Germans could wrest any terms they chose from that defenseless country. The news was received with great rejoicing in Germany. In response to an address of congratulation on the peace with Ukraina from the Burgomaster of Hamburg, Kaiser Wilhelm said:

"We ought to bring peace to the world. We shall seek in every way to do it. Such an end was achieved yesterday in a friendly manner with an enemy which, beaten by our armies, perceives no reason for fighting longer, extends a hand to us, and receives our hand. We clasp hands. But he who will not accept peace, but on the contrary declines, pouring out the blood of his own and of our people, must be forced to have peace. We desire to live in friendship with neighboring peoples, but the victory of German arms must first be recognized. Our troops under the great Hindenburg will continue to win it. Then peace will come."

The Germans refused to recognize the validity of the Russian withdrawal and, on February 18, began a new invasion of Russia. They met with practically no resistance and captured thousands of cannons and vast war supplies, which the Bolsheviki had not taken the trouble to remove or destroy. Petrograd was bombarded by German aircraft, and, though some efforts were made to enroll a new Russian army, they proved of no consequence. Soon the Bolsheviki offered to surrender unconditionally, but, for the time, the Teutons continued their offensive, while in the Caucasus the Turks also took the

offensive, capturing many prisoners and much booty. Finally, on February 23, Foreign Secretary Kuhlmann announced that the Central Powers were ready to make a new offer of peace imposing more drastic terms, and that this offer must be accepted within 48 hours. Lenine announced that the situation was hopeless, and the chief executive committee of the Soviets accepted the German terms by a considerable majority. By this time, the German columns

tion—of about 455,000 square miles and about 56,000,000 people. Finland, Poland, Ukraina, Lithuania, Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, and a portion of Trans-Caucasia were given up. This last territory lies to the southeast of the Black Sea and was surrendered to Turkey.

Finland, like Ukraina, had already declared her independence of Russia, but considerable fighting took place between the Bolshevik Red Guards and the Finland Independents. The Germans took the side of the Finns. They landed troops on Aland Island and then on the mainland, and, early in March, it was announced that a peace treaty had been signed between Finland and Germany. By this treaty Germany agreed to exert herself to secure the recognition, by all the powers, of Finland's independence. Finland became a state dependent upon Germany, and a Teutonic prince, Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse, brother-in-law of Kaiser Wilhelm, was made king of the country.

The peace treaty between the Central Powers and the Bolsheviks further stipulated that Russia would without delay complete the demobilization of her army and transfer her warships to Prussian ports and leave them there until a general peace. The Bolsheviks also agreed to conclude a peace with Ukraina. Prisoners of war on both sides were to be sent home, but, in reality, Russian prisoners in Germany were held indefinitely and compelled to work for their captors. The Bolsheviks were required to withdraw their troops from the regions they had given up. Russia undertook to refrain from all interference in the internal affairs of these territories and to let Germany and Austria determine their future fate in agreement with their populations.

Subsequently the Germans exacted additional terms from Russia, including heavy financial indemnities. In fact, the Germans treated Russia much as if she were a vassal province, and it was clear to the world that they intended to make use of Russian resources against the Entente. The



AMERICAN CONSULATE AT VLADIVOSTOK

were beginning to meet with some resistance. Early in March, a treaty of peace was signed. On the 3d, the Germans announced that their invasion would cease and claimed to have captured over 60,000 prisoners, 2,400 cannon, 5,000 machine guns, 800 locomotives, enormous quantities of munitions, and other booty.

The new treaty dispossessed Russia of nearly one-fourth of her whole European area and of about one-third of her popula-

possibilities of the situation aroused grave misgivings in Allied countries for it was seen that if the material resources of Russia could be organized by the Germans they might be able to bid defiance to the rest of the world indefinitely. It was even feared that they might be able to draw troops from some portions of Russia. They actually made an effort to do so, but defeat came before they were able to accomplish much of importance in this direction. Allied troops were landed

This treaty was signed at Bucharest, March 5, 1918. By it, Roumania ceded to Bulgaria the Dobruja south of the Danube. Roumania was forced to demobilize most of her army, to dismiss officers of the nations who were at war with the Central Powers, and to facilitate the transportation of troops through Moldavia and Bessarabia to Odessa.

By these various treaties the Central Powers imposed their will upon Russia and Roumania and temporarily dominated eastern



CZECHOSLOVAK ARMORED TRAIN

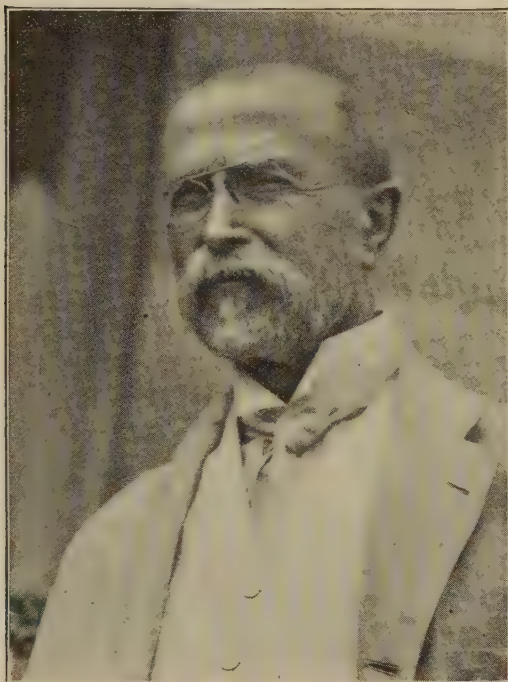
at Vladivostok, Archangel, and on the Murman coast to prevent the Bolsheviks and their German allies from capturing the military supplies at these places and also to forestall any effort to establish submarine bases.

The withdrawal of Russia from the war left Roumania helpless. Being completely isolated, the Roumanians were forced to choose between surrender and annihilation. Much against their will, they accepted a treaty dictated by the Central Powers.

Europe. As a result of the insane behavior of the Russian revolutionists all opposition to the War Lords in the east virtually disappeared. Russia was prostrate, and there seemed no hope of her early recovery. Despite all talk of a fair peace, it was evident that the Teutons intended to use Russia as their tool and to draw from her dominions all the food and munitions possible.

The seriousness of the situation was not lost upon the Entente Allies. Great Britain, France, and Italy announced that they did

not consider the treaties with Russia and Roumania as binding. "Peace is loudly advertised," ran their statement, "but under the disguise of verbal profession lurks the brutal reality of war and the untempered rule of a lawless force. Peace treaties such as these we do not and cannot acknowledge. Our own ends are very different. We are fighting, and mean to continue fighting, in order to finish once for all with this policy of plunder and to establish in its place a peaceful reign of organized justice."



THOMAS G. MASARYK

During the later phases of the war the world heard a great deal about the Czechoslovaks. These people are the most western of the great Slavic race. They are composed of the Czechs, who live in Bohemia, of the Moravians, who live in Silesia, and of the Slovaks, who inhabit the most northern counties of Hungary. In all they number about nine millions, of whom about three-fourths are Czechs. They are, however, all of the same race, and their languages are so much alike that a person who knows Bohemian can read newspapers and books printed in Slovak as easily as an Englishman can read the poems of Robert Burns. The

Czechs are the more advanced industrially, politically, and socially. The Slovaks were conquered by the Hungarians in the 10th century, and since that time have been an oppressed race which has had little opportunity for development. Both Czechs and Slovaks, for generations, were held in subjection by the House of Hapsburg.

The Bohemian Czechs have played a large part in the history of Europe. John Huss, the forerunner of Luther, was a Bohemian, and, as students of history know, was put to death for heresy by the Council of Constance, despite the fact that he had been given a safe conduct. The Bohemians lent aid to the Protestant cause during the great wars of religion in Germany, and it was their driving out a Prince of the House of Hapsburg and inviting Frederick the Elector Palatine to become King that brought on the famous Thirty Years' War. During that war Bohemia suffered terribly. Tens of thousands were forced to flee the country while the rest were compelled by fire and sword to accept Catholicism. In the generations that followed, Bohemia lost her individuality among the nations and almost passed from history. Her self-government became more curtailed, her literature was suppressed, and the use of the Czech language was discouraged. The French Revolution and the Revolution of 1848 revived the old Bohemian spirit. But a policy of repression was pursued by their masters. Under dominant Austria some concessions were made, but the Czechs never succeeded in obtaining the separate autonomy they desired.

The Slovaks, on the other hand, have had little independent history. For a thousand years they were a despised and dependent peasantry dominated by their Magyar conquerors. Unlike the Czechs of Bohemia, most of whom were well educated, 50 per cent of the Slovaks were illiterate, and most of them were very poor.

The greatest contemporary leader of the Czechoslovaks was Thomas G. Masaryk. His father was a coachman, and he was himself apprenticed to a blacksmith, but he managed to obtain an education, was graduated from the University of Prague, took a

doctor's degree, and became a professor in his Alma Mater in 1882. In 1888, he visited the United States and while here married an American woman. In 1891, he entered political life and rapidly became a leader of his people, championing their cause against the dominant Germans and Magyars. He became a marked man, and when the Great War broke out, he was forced to flee the country to save his life.

During the war the Czechoslovaks found themselves in a most unhappy position.

Under the inspiration of Masaryk and others the Czechoslovak emigrants to other countries formed organizations for the purpose of carrying on the fight for freedom. In the United States the Bohemian National Alliance and the Slovak League raised large sums of money to support the effort. With money thus raised, Masaryk equipped volunteer armies of Czechoslovaks on both the French and Russian Fronts.

Dr. Masaryk became the President of the Czechoslovak National Council. His activ-



CZECHOSLOVAK TROOP TRAIN

Their young men were forced into the Austro-Hungarian army and were ordered to fight the Russians and the Servians, like themselves Slavs. Many of them refused, and it is estimated that probably 200,000 deserted to the enemy. Some of those who were left at home refused to buy war bonds, gave information to the enemy, and used all sorts of obstructive methods to cripple the Austrian war efforts. Ruthless forms of terrorism were used by the Government to control them, and thousands were executed.

ities and those of his fellow countrymen proved so valuable to the Allies that in 1918 the United States and other Allied powers formally recognized the independence of the Czechoslovak people. At this time there was not a foot of soil of their country but what was under the domination of their enemies, but Czechoslovak troops were fighting in Siberia, on the Balkan Front, and in France. The Czechoslovaks deserved well of the Allies and of humanity, and it became a settled policy of the Allies not to

make peace until the Czechoslovaks could be guaranteed their independence.

Following the retirement of the Soviet Government from the war, there occurred one of the most dramatic incidents in the whole great contest. In the Austro-Hungarian armies there had been hundreds of thousands of drafted men, especially Czechoslovaks, who fought against their will. Many of these men had deserted or were taken prisoners by the Russians, and hundreds of thousands declared their willingness to assist their brother Slavs against the oppressive House of Hapsburg. This Czechoslovak force performed good service, and, in the July offensive of 1917, it was the only unit which threw itself whole-heartedly into the battle.

When the Bolshevik Government signed the treaty of peace, early in March, 1918, the Czechoslovak army, consisting of about 60,000 men, was in *Ukrainia* near *Kiev*. As already related, the *Ukrainian* Government, to escape the Bolsheviks, threw themselves into the arms of Germany and asked for Teutonic aid. German and Austrian armies began to advance into *Ukrainia*, and the Czechoslovaks found themselves in a desperate situation. Their Russian comrades had deserted them, and the prospects for escape seemed none too good. At this time, Emperor Charles of Austria sent a special envoy to the Czechoslovaks promising that if they would surrender they would be given amnesty, and that their country would receive autonomy. But the Czechoslovaks, undaunted, replied that they would not negotiate with the Austrian Kaiser.

It was clear that the only road to safety lay to the eastward. The leaders determined to transport their army across *Siberia*, the Pacific, America, and the Atlantic to the Western Front in France. It was a bold undertaking and one which, in many of its aspects, recalls the famous episode of the 10,000 Greeks whose retreat from Persia is so graphically described by Xenophon.

The Teutons were naturally anxious to capture the Czechoslovaks, and a considerable force succeeded in occupying an important railroad center 100 miles in their rear, through which the trains of the

Czechoslovaks must pass on their way to the east. The Czechoslovaks, however, attacked the Germans and, after a battle of four days, badly defeated them and got their trains through.

In this way they managed to escape from *Ukrainia* into that part of the old Russian empire which had accepted the Government of the Bolsheviks. Up to this time, their relations with the Bolshevik Government had been fairly good, but German influences were set to work in Bolshevik centers to bring about their downfall. At this time, the retreating army was well equipped with weapons of all kinds, and could have taken Moscow, but, though not in sympathy with the Bolshevik Government, they, as guests, refrained from all action against their former comrades. They even consented to surrender nearly all their weapons, retaining only 10 rifles to every 100 men. In return for this concession, the Moscow Government guaranteed the Czechoslovaks unmolested passage through *Siberia* to *Vladivostok*.

The Germans at first supposed that the attempted movement was doomed to early failure, but, when they discovered that the "impossibility" was in danger of becoming a reality, they doubled their efforts to embroil the Czechoslovaks with the Bolsheviks. By arrangement with the Bolsheviks the German and Magyar prisoners of war in *Siberia* were freed and even armed, and the Czechoslovak legion presently discovered that it was the Teutonic plan to use these prisoners to prevent their eastern march.

The great pilgrimage to the east was made in about 80 trains. Progress was very slow, and endless negotiations had to be carried on in the seat of every local Soviet. The Czechoslovaks were repeatedly threatened with machine guns and cannon, but they usually patiently endured it all, though they could easily have beaten the Bolshevik Red Guards who interfered with their progress. Fifty-seven days passed before the first train arrived at *Vladivostok*, where the gallant warriors were enthusiastically received by Allied troops, who had been landed there to protect supplies and to prevent the Bolsheviks from gaining control of that port. During the later stages of the

journey, repeated attacks were made upon the Czechoslovak trains at different stations by forces that were mostly composed of freed Magyar and German prisoners. One incident of this sort was described by Vladimir S. Hurban, who brought to America a report of the retreat for Professor Masaryk, who had assumed the title of President of the new Czechoslovak state. The incident occurred at Irkutsk and was as follows:

"Our train—about 400 men, armed with ten rifles and twenty hand grenades—was

Bolshevist treachery provoked the Czechoslovaks, between Volga and Irkutsk, into taking the Siberian administration into their own hands. The Bolshevist troops were disarmed, and the Czechoslovaks were greeted as deliverers by the majority of the Russian population. Anti-Bolshevists took advantage of the situation and overthrew the Bolshevist Government. Thanks to the work of the Czechoslovaks, the Bolsheviki did not succeed in dominating Siberia as they had dominated most of European



RAILROAD BRIDGE NEAR UFA BLOWN UP BY BOLSHEVIKI

surrounded by a few thousand Red Guards armed with machine guns and cannon. Their commander gave our men ten minutes to surrender their arms, or be shot. According to their habit, ours began negotiations. Suddenly there was heard the German command, *Schiessen!* and the Red Guards began firing at the train. Our men jumped off the train, and in five minutes all the machine guns were in their possession, the Russian Bolsheviki disarmed, and all the Germans and Magyars done away with."

Russia. Had the Allied Governments, in the autumn of 1918, acted energetically, the Bolshevist regime in Russia could easily have been overthrown, but President Wilson strongly opposed such a course, and time was given the Bolshevist Government to strengthen its position.

Even after his abdication, the Czar did not lose his patriotic interest in Russia. On July 2, 1917, he recorded in his diary:

"Before midday came good news about the beginning of the offensive on the

south-western front. In the direction of Sloczow, after two days' artillery preparation, our troops broke through the enemy's positions, taking 170 officers and 10,000 men prisoner, and capturing cannon and machine guns. I thank Thee, O Lord! God has sent us this in a good hour. I feel myself quite different after this joyful message."

On the 27th, however, he wrote: "Since the last few days there has been bad news from

Simply weakness and doubt. To-day at least the Provisional Government has declared that in the theater of war capital punishment shall be restored for treachery. If only this measure has not come too late! Worked again, felled three trees, sawed up two. Began quietly to pack books and things."

The dethroned Czar and all his family met a tragic fate. They were imprisoned at

Katerinburg in the Urals. In the middle of July, the local Soviet became convinced that because of the advance of Siberian troops and Czechoslovaks, the city could not be held by the undisciplined Red Guards and began to remove arms and supplies from the city in great haste. Presently it spread the rumor that the Siberian troops were endeavoring to rescue the Romanoffs in order to restore them to power. The Red garrison became greatly excited and demanded the execution of the Czar and his whole family and all who shared their captivity. On July 16, a meeting of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council was held which lasted until one o'clock in the morning.

At these deliberations the fate of the Czar and his family was sealed. Sentence was pronounced against them and was signed by all the members, whereupon they hastened to the house of an engineer named Ignatieff, where the Czar and his company resided, to carry out the sentence. A detachment of Red Guards undertook the bloody work. They did not even ask to see the written order of sentence, but hastened with a loud hurrah and with clattering arms toward the bedroom of

the Czar and his family. When the Czar and Czarina heard the noise, they knew that their doom was sealed and hastily put on their garments. The Czar himself dressed the Czarevitch, who was ill, in his military uniform, then all knelt to pray. The young Grand Duchesses clasped each other in their arms in their terror, and the Czarevitch, bursting into tears, tried to stand but fell. The Czar stopped praying to take his son in his arms. The Czarina continued in prayer.



CZAR OF RUSSIA ON HIS WAY TO SIBERIA

the southwest front. After our offensive at Halisz, many divisions which were completely soaked with the humiliating defeatist teaching did not carry out the command to attack, but withdrew without any pressure from the enemy at some positions. The Germans and Austrians have made use of this, for them, favorable state of affairs, and carried out with great force a break-through in Southern Galicia, which may force the whole of the Galician Front to retreat east.

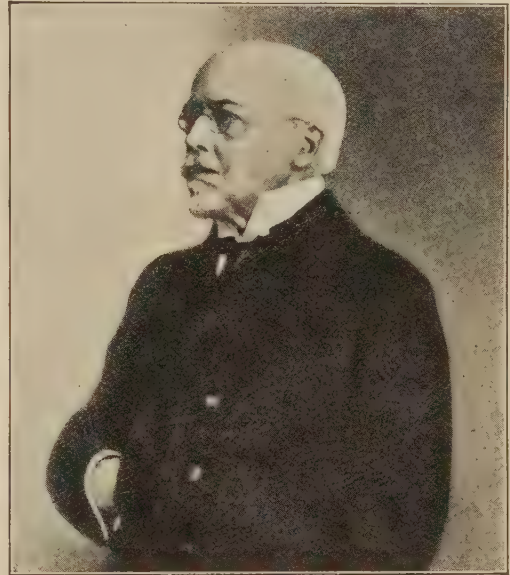
Presently the door opened, and Jurofski, chairman of the commission, and armed Red Guards entered the apartment. With a loud laugh Jurofski said to the Czar, "I see you are already prepared." "Yes," said the Czar, "I am ready." "Our visit does not concern you alone," said Jurofski. "We shall exterminate your wife and your whole brood also."

On orders from Jurofski the Red Guards surrounded the family and drove them from the room. The Czar went first with his son, who had fallen in a swoon, in his arms. The ex-monarch was deadly pale and swayed but quickly recovered himself. The Czarina and the beautiful young Grand Duchesses followed, the former praying softly all the way. The Baroness Bookovegen, who had come into the room, wept convulsively and had to be dragged to the cellar which had been selected as the place of execution. Several other persons in the Czar's household were also taken thither.

The Red Guards feared to use their rifles lest the bullets would rebound from the cellar walls, so they shot down the condemned persons with revolvers, one after the other. The Czarina was shot first, then the Grand Duchesses, and last of all the Czar. The mangled bodies were then placed on a motor-truck and taken, the same night, to a deserted mine shaft outside the city, where they were burned and the ashes covered with dirt.

Thus perished the last of the Czars. His fate and that of his family was as tragic as any to be found in all history, and their murder was utterly unjustifiable. As a private individual, the Czar was in many respects a good man, much better than almost any of his predecessors. That there was tyranny and oppression under his rule is beyond question, but the inheritance of past generations was more to blame than he. At times, he displayed a desire for progress, and, as we have seen, it was he who called the first Hague Peace Conference. It was the irony of fate that he and those dear to him should have perished in the aftermath of a great war which would have never taken place had his plan been carried out. At the time of the revolution which

dethroned him, an effort was made by his enemies to convince the world that the Czar was a traitor to the Allied cause. This was untrue. There were persons of influence in Russia who were traitors, but the Czar was not. At the crisis of the revolution, one of his generals said to him that the only thing that could save the monarchy would be to open the Vistula Gate to the Germans. "I will never do that," said the Czar decisively, and it was not done. Up to the end, he hoped that victory would crown the Allied arms, and, in view of his loyalty to the cause, he deserved better of



COUNT VON HERTLING

the Allied world than some writers would have us suppose.

The Czar fell partly because the day for autocrats was past, but largely because he lacked decision of character and had not the ruthless force which a successful autocrat must possess. As in the case of Louis XVI of France, with whom he is in some respects comparable, his very virtues tended to his undoing.

It had been the hope of the Central Powers that their other enemies, influenced by Russian events, would also enter peace negotiations. On December 25, 1917, at the first conference at Brest-Litovsk, Count Czernin, Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary, acted

as spokesman of the Central Powers and made a statement intended as a basis upon which the Entente Allies were to join in the negotiations. His proposals were somewhat vague, but he disclaimed intention to exact forcible annexation of territories seized during the war or to deprive of political independence those nations which had lost it during the war. Germany's colonies must be returned, and the suggestion was made that both sides might renounce not only indemnifications for war costs but also indemnifications for war damages.

But the Allied world realized that to negotiate on any such basis would be equivalent to an admission of Teutonic victory. As was often pointed out, Czernin's proposals were full of loopholes, and almost any scheme of conquest and annexation could be perpetrated within the limitations of his pronouncements.

In all the chief Allied countries replies were made to the proposal. Of these the most important were those of Premier Lloyd George and President Wilson. Their statements of war aims were in some respects so similar that it is evident that there was previous consultation between them. Indemnification for Belgium, the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, and the evacuation by the Teutons of all occupied territory were among the chief requirements laid down by each. Both disclaimed any desire to destroy either Germany or Austria-Hungary. Wilson drew up his program under fourteen points, and, in view of the importance these points subsequently assumed, they will be given in full in a later chapter.

Both Count Hertling, the German Imperial Chancellor, and Count Czernin replied to the Allied pronouncements. The burden of Hertling's speech was, "If the leaders of the enemy powers really are inclined toward peace let them revise their program once again." Count Czernin was willing to accept some of Wilson's points but would reject others. These speeches drew replies from both Wilson and Lloyd George—replies that attracted much attention at the time but proved of little ultimate importance. The debate continued, in fact, for weeks.

In Washington these long-range peace discussions were taken very seriously. In high circles a belief developed that peace might actually be brought about without further fighting. A corps of scholars were set hastily to work collecting diplomatic data for use in a possible peace conference. But all such hopes were premature. The Central Powers were playing a deep game designed to demoralize and divide their enemies. Not by the speeches of politicians but by blows struck by soldiers was the door to peace to be opened.

The War Lords were preparing one more vast effort. In a speech (December 22, 1917) to the German Second Army on the French Front Kaiser Wilhelm had already said: "The year 1917, with its great battles, has proved that the German people has in the Lord of Creation above an unconditional and avowed ally on whom it can absolutely rely. . . . From this we can gain firm confidence that the Lord will be with us in the future also. . . . If the enemy does not want peace, then we must bring peace to the world by battering in with the iron fist and shining sword the doors of those who will not have peace."

"The German people in arms has thus everywhere, on land and sea, achieved great deeds," he said in a New Year's order. "But our enemies still hope, with the assistance of new Allies, to defeat you and then to destroy forever the world position won by Germany in hard endeavor. They will not succeed. Trusting in our righteous cause and in our strength, we face the year 1918 with firm confidence and iron will. Therefore, forward with God to fresh deeds and fresh victories!"

It will be noted that in this, as in many other pronouncements, the Kaiser assumed that he and his people were in close alliance with the Almighty. Another year, fraught with tremendous events, was to show the world and the Kaiser whether or not this assumption was well founded.

"Though the mills of God grind slowly,

Yet they grind exceeding small.

Though with patience He stands waiting,
With exactness grinds He all."

CHAPTER CLXXXV—THE KAISER'S BATTLES.



VEN while talking peace, the Germans openly boasted that in the spring they would launch a stupendous drive that would bring them overwhelming victory. Various motives caused them to speak thus. Beyond question, they hoped that knowledge that a blow was impending might cause the Allies to sue for peace. Also the Germans counted upon the intimidating effect upon the Allied armies of the proposed offensive, which they were careful to declare would surpass all military movements in the history of the world. Furthermore, they talked of the offensive for the purpose of keeping up German spirits and morale. Once more the War Lords held up before the eyes of their deluded people another will-o'-the-wisp. To do so was rendered necessary because their previous promise of ending the conflict in three months by ruthless use of submarines had proved false, and an uneasy feeling was spreading in Germany that the submarine alone could never bring victory.

Much difference of opinion existed among Allied military men as to whether the Germans were in earnest in their announcement of an offensive on the western front. Some thought the German talk was mere camouflage to conceal a drive against Italy or Salonica. Either of these points of attack was vulnerable. Owing to the submarines and the strain on Allied shipping, it was difficult for the Allies to maintain and provision a great army in the Balkan region. Victory there would give the Germans control of Greece and would secure for them many submarine bases from which they could direct attacks against shipping in the Mediterranean. A victory in the Balkans might also be followed by a drive against the Suez Canal. The tremendous success of the Teutonic attack on Italy the previous

year caused grave misgivings in the minds of those who feared that the blow would fall in Lombardy. It was only by superhuman efforts that the Italians had managed, with some French and British assistance, to save Venice. Teutonic victory would probably give the Central Powers control of the whole rich northern plain, and not improbably would result in the elimination of Italy from the war.

Doubtless the German High Command considered these alternatives, but their final decision was to strike on the western front. Victory in the Balkans or in Italy could not be decisive. What they must have was a real decision. The German government persistently made light of the Americans, insisted that America would not really enter the conflict, contended that the submarines would prevent our sending over a large army, declared that ships were not available to supply such an army, and asserted that even if an army should be landed it could not stand before German troops, but the War Lords were really well aware of the vast preparations America was making, and they were well enough acquainted with history to know that Americans, when properly trained, make first-class fighting men. They realized that it was now or never for them. They must win before America could take the field. Furthermore, Ludendorff, Hindenburg, and the other German Generals were soldiers aflame with thirst for military glory. They knew all the mighty deeds of the past. They saw in the Allied armies in France a challenge. If they could break the Allied lines and involve the French and British troops in confusion, they might annihilate those armies, capture Paris, overrun France, and dictate a conqueror's terms to a frightened world.

The War Lords made their preparations with even more than usual Teutonic thoroughness. They "robbed the cradle and the grave" to get men with which to carry

out the great stroke. Every possible man who could be spared from German industry was sent to the front. Only a thin screen of second-rate troops was left upon the eastern border. The rest, with practically all the best artillery, were sent to France and Belgium. The German troops in Italy were withdrawn and sent to the same front. Austria supplied a large quantity of artillery. By the middle of March, the High Command had concentrated along the western front a force which in fighting men

science the German leaders had analyzed previous attacks and had discerned the strength and weakness of previous plans. Repeated efforts on the part of the French and British to break through in the West had been made by concentrating immense forces of men and guns at one or more points and by using these men and guns as a giant battering ram with which to break through. Such had been the efforts on the Somme in 1916 and in Flanders in 1917. The plan had the great weakness that it required such



KAISER REVIEWING TROOPS BEFORE GREAT OFFENSIVE, 1918

was approximately equal, if not superior, to those of the French and British, and they had a plan which would enable them at the real points of contact far to outnumber their enemies.

The Confederate General Forrest, illiterate and rude, but a natural military genius, once defined the art of warfare as "getting there first with the most men." Upon this simple principle the German plan was based. With the keen eyes of generals who had studied war as a supreme

elaborate preparations that the enemy had ample time in which to concentrate men and guns with which to meet the drive. At the Somme and in Flanders the British had pushed forward, but they had not gained a decision or broken through. But there were certain battles in the war which showed that, despite observation balloons and scouting airplanes taking photographs, surprise in warfare was still possible. The Teutons had surprised the Russians by their sudden attack in Galicia in May,

1915; they had surprised the Italians in the autumn of 1917, and in turn had been surprised by General Byng's sudden attack with tanks at Cambrai. These military movements gave a hint as to what might be done. But the operation which the High Command took as a model was the attack on Riga the previous year. This attack had been conducted under the direction of General Hütier, and, in a sense, it was a rehearsal of the stupendous assault that was

formed them into special bodies of storm troops whose duty would be to open the way for those who came behind. Weeks were spent in training the troops to perform the duties assigned to them.

The blow was to be delivered on a wider front than that of any offensive that had been undertaken since trench warfare began. The assailants were not to be content with mere local objectives, but were to push forward with all speed in



GERMAN PRISONERS IN PICARDY

now to be delivered along the Western front.

The Germans may be compared to a prize fighter who has decided that the time has come when he must knock out his antagonist or lose the contest. Like the fighter, the German High Command determined to throw in their last ounce of strength. As a part of the preliminary preparation they went through the armies and selected the best fighting men and

order to take advantage of the defeated enemy's confusion. The place selected for the attack was the region of Cambrai and St. Quentin, and the assault was to be delivered along a front of about 50 miles. Behind the lines in this area the Germans concentrated thousands of pieces of artillery of every calibre, but great care was taken to prevent the enemy from ascertaining that this concentration was being made. Until shortly before the attack, most of the

troops that were to participate were left far behind the lines and were moved forward only at night, being carefully concealed in forests and villages during the daytime.

Despite the German secrecy, the British troops, against whom the blow was directed, were aware that an attack was impending, but, as at Cambrai the previous year, they seem to have underestimated the power of the blow. They trusted to one general zone of defense consisting of an "outpost line," then a "battle line," and then a third "defensive line." Unfortunately, they had no well organized defenses back of this zone.

To make and support the attack the Germans assembled about 100 divisions, or from 800,000 to 1,000,000 fighting men. The Kaiser himself took nominal command, though the real organizers were Ludendorff and Hindenburg. It was to be the "Kaiser's Battle," and the most stupendous conflict in world annals. After the battle was begun, the Germans themselves proclaimed that everything was staked upon the issue.

Shortly before 5 o'clock on the morning of March 21, the Germans suddenly opened up a cannonade which surpassed all bombardments that had come before. Not only was the British zone of defense subjected to a storm of high-explosive shells, but roads and villages and points of concentration in areas over 20 miles back of the front line were searched out by high-velocity guns of large calibre.

An unprecedented number of extremely poisonous gas shells were used, and the British trenches and battery positions were drenched with deadly vapor. The gas not only inflicted great losses upon the defenders, but forced the gunners and riflemen constantly to wear their masks, thus greatly lessening their effectiveness.

After four hours of this inferno, the German infantry moved forward to the assault, taking with them every weapon which Teutonic ingenuity could suggest, including flame throwers, minenwerfer, and great numbers of light guns that could be pushed forward by hand. A favorable mist concealed the attack, and in some places the assailants were within a few yards of the British line before the defenders discovered

their approach. The Germans came forward in overwhelming numbers, heedless of losses, caring only to break through the British lines and trusting to victory to make the operation pay. On one front of about 10,000 yards they threw in eight divisions.

Assailed by the heaviest storm that had ever burst upon an army, the British fought with their traditional courage and firmness, but no line of defense could have withstood that living deluge. Though mowed down by the thousands by shells, rifles, and machine guns, the Germans pushed forward. They broke through the outpost line on the first day, through the "battle line" on the second day, and finally even through the third line. Thousands of British were killed or captured, though many held out for varying periods in strong points and inflicted heavy losses upon their assailants before they were slain or taken. The Fifth British Army, under General Gough, was virtually cut to pieces and retreated westward toward Amiens, with the Germans in pursuit.

Fortunately, the Third Army, which held the lines before Arras, fought more successfully. The main attack upon this army came on the 28th, when the Germans made a determined effort to gain greater freedom for their offensive. Though forced to withdraw his right to keep in touch with the retiring Fifth Army, General Byng elsewhere stood firm as "the Rock of Chickamauga." In front of Arras his men threw back the German wave with terrific slaughter and saved Vimy Ridge and other strong positions.

While the German attack progressed, the world watched the struggle with bated breath, and the Teutons exulted with each fresh triumph. On March 23, the Kaiser telegraphed to the Empress: "Pleased to be able to tell you that, by the grace of God, the battle at Monchy, Cambrai, St. Quentin, and La Fère has been won. The Lord has gloriously aided. May He further help!—WILHELM."

Two days later he telegraphed, again in the same exultant strain: "Bapaume fell last night after hard struggle. My victorious troops are pressing forward from

Bapaume westwards, and further south they are advancing on Albert. The Somme has been crossed at many points above Peronne. The spirit of the troops is as fresh as on the first day. Over 45,000 prisoners, over 600 guns, 1,000 machine-guns, just as after the Isonzo battle in Italy, have been taken. May God be with us!—WILHELM."

Every effort was made to impress the Allied world with the idea of German invincibility. Before the great attack had

bombs dropped from airplanes flying at unprecedented heights, for the nearest point of the German lines was over 60 miles away, and no gun thus far known had ever thrown a projectile half that distance. But an examination of the fragments of the projectiles revealed the fact that they had been fired from a cannon, and an announcement to that effect was published.

In reality, the guns were stationed in the Forest of St. Gobain, 74 miles from Paris.



RUINS OF CAMBRAI

begun, the German air forces had made repeated raids upon London and Paris, especially upon the latter. Furthermore, for effect upon Allied morale, the Krupp gun works had secretly constructed cannons capable of firing a shell to an unprecedented range. On the morning of March 23 the inhabitants of the French capital were amazed to find that German projectiles were dropping within the city. At first it was supposed that the explosions came from

The distance was so prodigious that the human mind stood appalled at the feat, and upon this fact rather than actual destructiveness the Germans based their hopes. With their armies bursting through the Allied lines and with these guns bombarding Paris, they hoped that the Allied soldiers and people would say to themselves: "The Germans are supermen. How can we hope to defeat them?"

Fortunately the new weapons were not

very effective. The shells were only about eight inches in diameter, and carried a comparatively small bursting charge, so that when they struck they rarely caused much damage. Twenty-four shells reached the city the first day, 27 the second, fewer the third, and the bombardment thenceforward was intermittent. Soon the French fear of the weapon diminished, and the arrival of a shell caused those who heard an explosion to do little more than shrug their shoulders and walk on.

Much greater damage was caused by the air raids, which were of almost nightly occurrence. The Ministry of War building was repeatedly struck, and a bomb missed the Eiffel Tower by less than 30 yards. On some occasions the German airplanes descended so low that they turned the machine guns upon the people in the streets. The danger from the air raids and from the bombardments caused about 800,000 people to leave Paris and take refuge in the provinces.

The greatest damage done by the super-guns was inflicted on March 29, when a shell struck the church of St. Gervais at the hour when the edifice was crowded with worshipers for the Good Friday service. About 75 persons were killed, and about 90 others were wounded, some of whom died later. Fifty-four of the dead were women, five being Americans. The shell struck the church in such a way as to cause a portion of the building to collapse and fall upon the worshipers at the moment of the elevation of the Host.

The French truly declared that the new weapon was a "political gun." After more had been learned of it, the first feats largely disappeared, and the main interest of the outside world resolved itself into curiosity concerning the mechanical character of the monsters. The violence of the concussion was so great that American scientists stated that every shot was recorded by seismographs—that is, "earthquake detectors"—all over the United States. German scientists stated that it took each shell more than three minutes to travel from the mouth of the gun to Paris, and that in its flight it rose to a height of over 20 miles. German prisoners reported that one of the weapons

burst, killing part of the gun crew. Despite German efforts to confuse the French by only firing the super guns when other big guns let fly, French airmen soon discovered the location of the monsters. Their position was bombarded by bombs dropped from the air and by great shells fired from heavy artillery.

The retreat of Gough's Fifth Army opened wide gaps between it and Byng's Third Army on the north and between it and the French forces on the south. On



GENERAL GOUGH

the 23d and 24th of March, the situation, owing to these gaps, was the most critical that had faced the Allied cause since the battle of the Marne. Had the Germans been able to throw into these gaps great forces of cavalry and fresh infantry, the French and British armies might have been, as the Germans intended, cut off from one another. Each army could then have been beaten in detail, and the "Kaiser's Battle" would have gone down in history as the most tremendous triumph in the history of warfare.

Fortunately, near the northern gap there was a resourceful British officer, General Grant, Chief Engineer of the Fifth Army. He organized a scratch force of available troops, laborers, raw recruits, sappers, and engineers, among the last being a considerable number of Americans. With them he held the gap until his services were badly needed elsewhere, when he turned the command over to Brigadier-General Carey. At first the force had a few pieces of artillery, but these were soon ordered to another endangered point. Luckily, a large supply of machine-guns was available in a nearby depot, and though few of the men knew how to operate these weapons, those who were able to handle them were put in charge of squads, and whenever they had a moment's respite from turning the guns on the Germans they busily taught the others. Time after time, the German hordes came on, but were beaten back by the sheer grit of this scratch force, who lay in their shallow trenches and fired almost point-blank at the gray-clad enemy. General Carey was the life of the defense, exposing himself freely to every danger and encouraging his weary and hard-pressed men. For six days he and those under him held fast, and, in the words of Lloyd George, "closed that gap on the way to Amiens." In the defense the Americans greatly distinguished themselves, and their colonel received warm commendation from General Rawlinson.

The southern gap, between the British Fifth Army and the French army farther south, reached a width of almost thirty miles. To meet the crisis the French, with extraordinary rapidity and efficiency, rushed troops to this area in motor lorries and otherwise. The first troops to arrive flung themselves into the gap, almost without artillery support, and sacrificed themselves to stem the German onrush. Many divisions were required, and the drain upon the French reserves was heavy, depleting a force that had been prepared for a different object.

For days the Germans desperately drove forward, pushing back both the British and the French. Peronne, Ham, and other places fell, and, on March 26, the Germans recrossed the old Somme battle line of 1916 at many points. In five days they had recaptured practically all the territory which the British and French had won as a result of a whole campaign. By March 29, they claimed to have taken 1,100 cannons, 70,000 prisoners, immense quantities of supplies,



GERMAN MORTAR CAPTURED BY FRENCH

and a hundred tanks. Within a few days the numbers rose to 1,300 cannons and 70,000 prisoners.

A pathetic feature of the battle was that the German advance once more forced thousands of French refugees to leave their homes. After Hindenburg's retreat a year before, these people had bravely tried to rebuild their shattered houses, replant their fruit trees, and till their shell-torn farms. They had been aided by various French, British, and American relief committees,

and much had been accomplished, at the expense of much labor and money. And now they had once more to flee before the Hunnish horde.

"One's heart bleeds to see these refugees," wrote a British correspondent, "and it is the most tragic aspect of these days. There are many old people among them, old women in black gowns and caps who come hobbling very slowly down the highway of war, and old men with bent backs who lean heavily on their gnarled sticks as the guns go by, and the fighting men.

"I saw one old man near Ham who was trundling along a wheelbarrow, and on this was spread a mattress, and on that was his wife. She looked ninety years of age, with her white, wrinkled face, and she was fast asleep, like a little child. Many children are on the roads, packed tight into farm carts with household furniture and bundles of clothing and poultry and pigs and newborn lambs. The noise of the gunfire is behind them, and they move faster when it grows louder. They are very brave, these boys and girls and these old people. There is hardly any weeping or any look on their faces of grudge against this unkind turn of fate. They seem to accept it with stoical resignation, with most matter-of-fact courage, and their only answer to pity is a smile and the words, '*C'est la guerre.*' Those are words I first heard in the early weeks of the war and hoped never to hear again.

"Many of these people trek in family groups and gatherings of families from one village. Small boys and girls drag tired cows after them. The other day one of these cows leaned against every tree she passed and then sat down, and the girl with her looked around helplessly, not knowing what to do. This morning I saw the girl wearing a veil and dressed in an elegant way, taking the cow with her. She was quite alone on the road. It is queer and touching that most of these fugitives wear their best clothes, as though on a fête day. It is because they are the clothes they want to save and can only have by wearing them in their flight."

Among those engaged in relief work in the region was a group of heroic girls from

Smith College, in America. They worked unceasingly under shell fire for days without sleep, ministering to old men, women, and children. "When it became evident that the Germans were coming, the girls worked frantically with auto trucks, gathering together all the people in their territory. In one village they went three times to try to persuade an aged woman to leave, but she refused to move unless the ancestral bedstead on which she lay could be transported with her. In final desperation the girls brought a big supply wagon and loaded the bedstead and the woman into it, leaving the village fifteen minutes before the first of the Uhlans arrived.

"The girls organized themselves into small units and each unit was charged with the evacuation of a single village. Cavalcades of refugees, generated by the Smith girls, marched or rode from their abandoned homes to Roye, where a special train was waiting to carry them westward. Even cows, chickens, dogs, and cats helped to form the cavalcade which reached Roye on Saturday morning. Here the refugees vainly tried to crowd the animals into the train.

"The girls of the Smith College unit then proceeded to Montdidier. There, with W. B. Jackson, of Washington, a former Red Cross delegate at Ham, assisted by a group of American Quakers and Red Cross workers, they organized a canteen and began giving out blankets and other comforts, and making a marvelous bean soup and a special food for babies, the basis of which was condensed milk. As the refugee trains, some containing as many as 1,000 men, women, and children, poured into Montdidier, the arriving refugees were fed until the supply of food was exhausted."

The same correspondent who described the work of the Smith College girls saw "a tiny girl who trudged in her wooden shoes along a hard, dusty road, her eyes fastened anxiously upon a dirty rag doll perched precariously at the top of household effects which were being pushed along by an old man. This child was perhaps representative of all the refugees—she was coming away with her most cherished possession,

her baby doll, and was prepared to guard it at all costs; her aching feet were as nothing so long as the doll was safe in her keeping.

"These refugees are from the towns within the Somme battlefield and adjoining it. All these villages have been emptied of their inhabitants. So far as possible everything which might be of use to the Germans has been removed. In particular, large numbers of cattle have been taken away by

—all fall into a picture such as only a catastrophe can produce."

American engineers also took part in the southern fringe of the battle, in the region of Charny and the Crozat Canal. Three companies had been working in the rear lines with Canadian engineers, under Canadian command. When the German attack came, they threw down their tools, seized rifles, and formed themselves into a fighting unit. The Germans came on, and finally



BRITISH OPEN WARFARE.

the owners, who patiently drive the beasts on ahead of them along the roads.

"There are few tears or hysterical outbreaks among the refugees, most of whom are of the peasant class. They know they must go, and they seem to be trusting implicitly in the British; but the misery in their eyes as they turn from all they love to a world they do not know is touching. Aged women clinging to the hands of little grandchildren, men stooped with years, youths and maidens

reached the positions where the Americans were waiting. The number of the engineers was small, but they had no intention of retreating, being bent upon killing all the Germans possible.

As the first enemy wave advanced, the Americans let them come until within easy range, and then poured in a storm of bullets. Gaps appeared in the advancing lines at many places, but the Germans came on without firing a shot. The Americans were

unable to understand these tactics. By this time their weapons were so hot that they could not be used effectively, and the enemy were close, so the engineers retired, fighting, took up another position, then turned and again repeated the performance. A British officer who saw the conflict is reported to have said: "They held on by their teeth until the last moment, inflicting terrific casualties on the enemy. Then they moved back and waited for the Germans, and repeated the performance." Ultimately the engineers retired to a position near Noyon, where they had a chance to rest and re-equip.

Fortunately, the Allied disaster had some good results. One of these was that the Allies finally realized that they must have unity of command. Since the beginning of the war, defeat after defeat had been due to lack of a central directing authority. The Germans well understood their advantage in this respect, and it is reported that Kaiser Wilhelm told King Constantine of Greece: "I shall beat them, for they have no united command." The Italian defeat of the previous year had caused the Allies to establish a Supreme War Council at Paris, but events had shown that this was not sufficient. Councils have never been notably successful in commanding armies. What was needed was a single man who could co-ordinate all the Allied efforts and make speedy decisions. Hitherto the Allies had wasted days, weeks, and even months in consulting concerning matters that demanded instant decisions; and, to quote Lloyd George, the words "too late" were written all over the allied efforts. Time is one of the most vital factors in warfare, and as some one shrewdly remarked, "Time and Von Hindenburg waited for no man."

On March 27th, General Ferdinand Foch was made Generalissimo of all the Allied armies. General Foch later attributed his elevation to supreme command to the efforts of Lloyd George, but it is certain that American influence was cast in favor of such a step, and that the word of Premier Clemenceau also had great weight. Clemenceau had urged the need of unity of command even before he became Premier.

The elevation of Foch to the position of Commander-in-Chief was perhaps the wisest step taken by the Allies during the whole war. His past career had shown him to be a soldier of unusual talent, and the events of the next few months were to reveal in him one of the supreme commanders of all military history, a leader worthy to rank with Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon.

General Foch had long been a keen student of military science, and as a professor at the *Ecole de Guerre* had taught many of the young French officers the science of war. He constantly inculcated the principle that "Battles are won or lost in the minds of those who fight them. No battle is lost until it is believed to be so." Another of his favorite maxims was "To make war is to attack." It was he, as we have seen, who commanded the French center in the first battle of the Marne, and he had won that battle by breaking the German line with the famous 42d French Division. Later he had co-ordinated the French and British armies which held back the German effort to capture the Channel ports. When he received his new appointment, he was head of the French General Staff. A member of his staff says that "Foch's principal characteristic is an admirable flexibility and clearness of mind, to which is added a dauntless and imperturbable spirit. It is at the most critical time, when a situation seems to be desperate, that he is most captain of his soul; his hand holds the rudder with a firmer grip than before, and he forces events to follow the dictation of his will."

On the day after the War Council appointed Foch Commander-in-Chief, General Pershing hurried to Foch's headquarters and said to him:

"I come to say to you that the American people would hold it a great honor for our troops were they engaged in the present battle. I ask it of you in my name and in that of the American people. There is at this moment no other question than that of fighting. Infantry, artillery, aviation—all that we have are yours to dispose of as you will. Others are coming which are as numerous as will be necessary. I have

come to say to you that the American people would be proud to be engaged in the greatest battle in history."

General Pershing offered all he had, but as yet he had little. On April 1, less than 380,000 Americans had reached Europe, and of these about half were non-combatants. Only four divisions had as yet received training in the trenches, and as an observer stated, "The most seasoned of these, the 1st Division, was not as yet ready to be

Optimistic War Department officials and press agents had stated to the world that, by April 1, America would darken the sky with airplanes, but as yet not a single fighting plane had been sent to Europe. In almost every respect America was far behind her schedule. For various reasons there were not in France, according to Lloyd George, the number of divisions which the Allies "had confidently expected would be there." But luckily in the training camps



BRITISH TANK ON FRENCH FRONT.

thrown into the vortex of a violent battle." The other divisions were practically formed but had not received their artillery. None of these had then served in the front line. Their artillery must come from the French arsenals, as also must tanks, airplanes, and machine guns. In the words of a French military writer, "The new battalions actually at the front did not count from a military point of view, although the moral effect of having them in line with us was precious."

at home there were a million and a half men, and men were sorely needed to stop the German onrush. These troops were not thoroughly trained. To organize them into a separate American army would require many months, but someone with genius suggested that the Americans should be brigaded with French and British armies. As parts of a new machine they would be too late, but as new cogs in an old machine they might work wonders. As early as the preceding January, Generals Pétain and Foch

had urged this course, but the Americans naturally were anxious to fight as a separate army under their own commanders. In the midst of the crisis, Lloyd George and Clemenceau again submitted the plan to Secretary Baker, who was in Europe, and to President Wilson. To accept the proposal meant the sacrifice of American pride. But it was not a time to think of pride. In the words of Lloyd George, "President Wil-

trained to fight as divisions and army corps could form parts of seasoned divisions until such a time as they could complete their training and until General Pershing wished to withdraw them to build up an American army. This decision, it was announced, was of vital importance, as it would help to increase the allied strength in the next few months.

Then began the greatest movement of



FRENCH CHILDREN WATCHING AMERICAN AMMUNITION TRAIN.

son assented to the proposal without any hesitation."

On April 1, it was announced in London that important decisions had been reached by which large forces of men in the American army could be brought to the speedy assistance of the Allies in the present struggle. It was stated that the United States had agreed that such regiments as could not be used in American divisions should be brigaded with the French and British units so long as the necessity lasted. By this means troops that were not sufficiently

troops overseas in the history of warfare. America had not sufficient ships with which to transport so many soldiers, but Great Britain threw her commerce to the winds, drew in her ships from all the seven seas, and built a bridge of boats across the Atlantic. American vessels, particularly the former German ships, did their part, and a large number of Dutch vessels which had recently been impressed by the British and Americans were used to release other vessels for transport work. The French were able to do a little, as were also the Italians.

Another good result of the German drive was that Allied peoples were finally convinced of the impossibility of peace by compromise. As already described, some people, especially in America, had begun to hope that Germany would be amenable to reason, that a negotiated peace might be made. The German talk of peace in the winter had strengthened this view. The theory that the German people were not back of the war had taken firm hold in some circles, but the German bid for victory in France forced even dreamers to realize that the Teutons were mad with lust for power, and that the downfall of Russia and their success in the West had revived the German hope of dictating a conqueror's terms to an astonished world. Furthermore, many Americans, including some in high positions, had hugged the vain delusion that the Teutons would be so deeply impressed by our vast loans, by our airplane and shipping program, and by our military preparations that they would beg for peace without our being actually compelled to fight. We were to march in procession around Jericho, sound the trumpets, and the Hunnish walls would fall flat.

All such dreams of an easy victory were dissipated by Ludendorff's rude assault. The supreme question was: Could hard-pressed Great Britain and France hold back the German horde until America, a laggard at the fray, was ready to do her part? Plans for peace were reluctantly tucked away in pigeon-holes. With the German people deliriously applauding victory, even dreamers perceived at last that nothing could unsaddle the men who rode the German war horses except the thrust of steel. Words availed nothing. The sword must decide.

During the early days of the great offensive the Germans progressed with great rapidity. When one division was exhausted by fighting, another would take its place and would push onward. But ultimately the Germans were exhausted by these prodigious efforts, while the infantry advanced far ahead of the artillery. The French and British took advantage of the situation thus created and stood their

ground. Anxious to reap the full advantages of their victory, the German High Command repeatedly flung masses of their men without much artillery support against intrenched positions, defended by machine guns and large concentrations of artillery. In certain places they gained further ground, but in most places their men were mowed down with frightful slaughter. It was in this phase of the battle that the German losses probably were heaviest. Nevertheless, for a long time the situation was precarious for the Allies. The Germans drew near to Amiens and threatened not only to capture that city, but to cut the important Calais to Paris railroad and to create a breach between the French and British armies. Fortunately, the country before Amiens is hilly, and hence more easily defended than the flatter terrain further east, while some of the old fortifications constructed earlier in the war were helpful and new ones were speedily created.

By the second week in April, the conflict had died down somewhat, but the end had not come. Speaking in Parliament on April 9th, Premier Lloyd George said: "We have now entered the most critical phase of this terrible war. There is a lull in the storm, but the hurricane is not over. Doubtless we must expect more fierce outbreaks, and ere it is finally exhausted there will be many more. The fate of the empire, the fate of Europe, and the fate of liberty throughout the world may depend on the success with which the very last of these attacks is resisted and countered."

In this speech Lloyd George emphasized the importance of American aid that would soon be made available, but he asked also that every able-bodied man between the ages of 18 and 50 in Great Britain be placed at the disposal of the government, and he also advocated conscription in Ireland. Large numbers of men under arms in Great Britain had already been hurried to France, and every man who could possibly be spared from industry was put under training. The proposal for conscription in Ireland aroused bitter antagonism on the Emerald Isle, but a measure to that effect was finally carried through Parliament, but was never enforced.

On the very day that the Premier addressed Parliament, the Germans suddenly launched a new offensive on a ten-mile front between La Bassé Canal and Armentières, in the sector between Arras and Ypres. The attack was preceded by a long and furious bombardment in which gas shells were lavishly used in order to create a wide zone of this evil vapor and stupefy the gunners, infantry, and men engaged in transport work. Shells were thrown into

British were again pushed back. On the 11th, the Germans took Armentières, and by the next day they had penetrated to Merville, eleven miles to the southward. The German official report claimed the capture of 20,000 prisoners and 200 guns.

The Allied situation had now become truly desperate. Months afterward, Lloyd George said, "It was an anxious time, and those who knew most were most anxious." The pressure toward Amiens still continued,



FRENCH ARTILLERY AT WORK.

villages and concentration points far behind the front. When the actual assault began, the enemy managed to break through a portion of the line held by a division of Portuguese troops. Then, thrusting fiercely forward, they rapidly enlarged the gap thus created, forcing back the British on both sides and capturing many prisoners and guns and much war material. On the 10th, the Germans widened the battle front and flung great forces against Wytschaete and Messines Ridge. Fighting desperately, the

and the new offensive in Flanders threatened to fling the British armies back upon the Channel ports. The room available for maneuvering in this region was already becoming scanty, and it was clear that the time had come when the enemy must be stopped or a great disaster would result. As a measure of precaution the British held all available ships in readiness to carry away the army, but had their lines given way only a pitiable wreck could have been saved. With the British army disposed of it would

have been comparatively easy for the Germans to have beaten the isolated French army and Pershing's small band of Americans. On April 12th, General Haig, with a full consciousness of all that was at stake, issued the following memorable appeal to his soldiers:

"Three weeks ago to-day the enemy began his terrific attacks against us on a fifty-mile front. His objects are to separate us from the French, to take the Channel ports, and to destroy the British army.

"In spite of throwing already 106 divisions into the battle, and enduring the most reckless sacrifice of human life, he has yet made little progress toward his goals.

"We owe this to the determined fighting and self-sacrifice of our troops. Words fail me to express the admiration which I feel for the splendid resistance offered by all ranks of our army under the most trying circumstances.

"Many among us now are tired. To those I would say that victory will belong to the side which holds out the longest. The French army is moving rapidly and in great force to our support. There is no other course open to us but to fight it out.

"Every position must be held to the last man. There must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight to the end. The safety of our homes and the freedom of mankind depend alike upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment."

Fortunately for England and for civilization, the British soldier always fights hardest when hardest pushed. At home and in France the old British spirit rose to meet the crisis in a manner worthy of the best traditions of a glorious past. Though greatly outnumbered, the British troops held doggedly on, clinging to every position with a determination that would not admit defeat. A correspondent wrote, "Yes, the men are tired, so tired after weeks of fighting, after these last days and nights, that they can hardly stagger up to resist another attack, yet they do so because their spirit wakes again above their bodily fatigue; so tired that they go on fighting

like sleep-walkers, and in any respite lie in ditches and under hedges and in open fields under fire in deep slumber until the shouts of their sergeants stir them again. Some of these men have been fighting since March 21st with only a few days' rest."

The German High Command constantly sent fresh divisions into the inferno, seeking to break the British resolution and to win through before the French troops, who were hurrying to aid their hard-pressed comrades, could reach the field. Towns like Neuve Eglise changed hands repeatedly, but the British finally evacuated this place, as well as Bailleul. Wytschaete and Meteren were taken and retaken only to be lost again. Messines and Passchendaele Ridges, east of Ypres, high ground which the British had captured the previous year at a cost of fully a quarter of a million men and months of effort, had to be given up. Ypres itself, long since battered out of any resemblance to a town, was in deadly peril. On April 18th the enemy threw vast forces against the British works on the southern lip of the salient in an effort to gain La Bassée Canal, widen the salient, and flank the British positions further south toward Arras. They were beaten back with tremendous slaughter and gained no ground of consequence. This bloody conflict was one of the crises of the battle.

The Germans then shifted their attack to the northward. French troops were beginning to come up, but the Germans concentrated so many divisions and guns that, after days of desperate fighting, the Allies were forced to relinquish Mt. Kemmel, the highest point of ground in the region south of Ypres. The Germans were anxious to capture Ypres for the sake of the moral effect upon the Allies, for on the British portion of the line Ypres was, in the eyes of the world, what Verdun was to the French sector. On April 29th, General Sixt von Arnim's army made a supreme effort, and wave after wave of Germans moved forward against Scherpenberg, Mt. Rouge, and other hills held by the French and British. But the French and British held fast and inflicted tremendous losses upon the enemy. The effort failed utterly, and after this de-

feat the Germans gave up the attempt to capture Ypres. Thereafter there was much bloody fighting in this sector, but no great attacks.

Five days before this decisive conflict in the north the Germans launched an attack against Villers-Bretonneux, east of Amiens. The attack was in great force, and for the first time the Germans made use of tanks. The Germans captured the place and pushed a mile nearer Amiens. In the later

turrets. Elsewhere British tanks managed repeatedly to get among bunches of German infantry, and the machine gunners slew the enemy "not by dozens or by scores, but by platoons and by companies." Repeatedly the tanks ran right over the Germans, crushing them to earth, and the tanks returned with their sides splashed with blood. This success was prophetic of effective work that was to be done by tanks later in the year.



GROUP OF AMERICAN WHIPPET TANKS.

stages of the battle, four or five of the enemy tanks met two British tanks, and, for the first time in warfare, a conflict took place between these strange land ironclads. One of the British tanks was crippled, but a third came up opportunely and joined in the battle. The newcomer disabled one of the German tanks, and the rest retreated, leaving one in the hands of the enemy. The German tanks were found to be larger and much more unwieldy than the British tanks. They had very thick armor plates and high

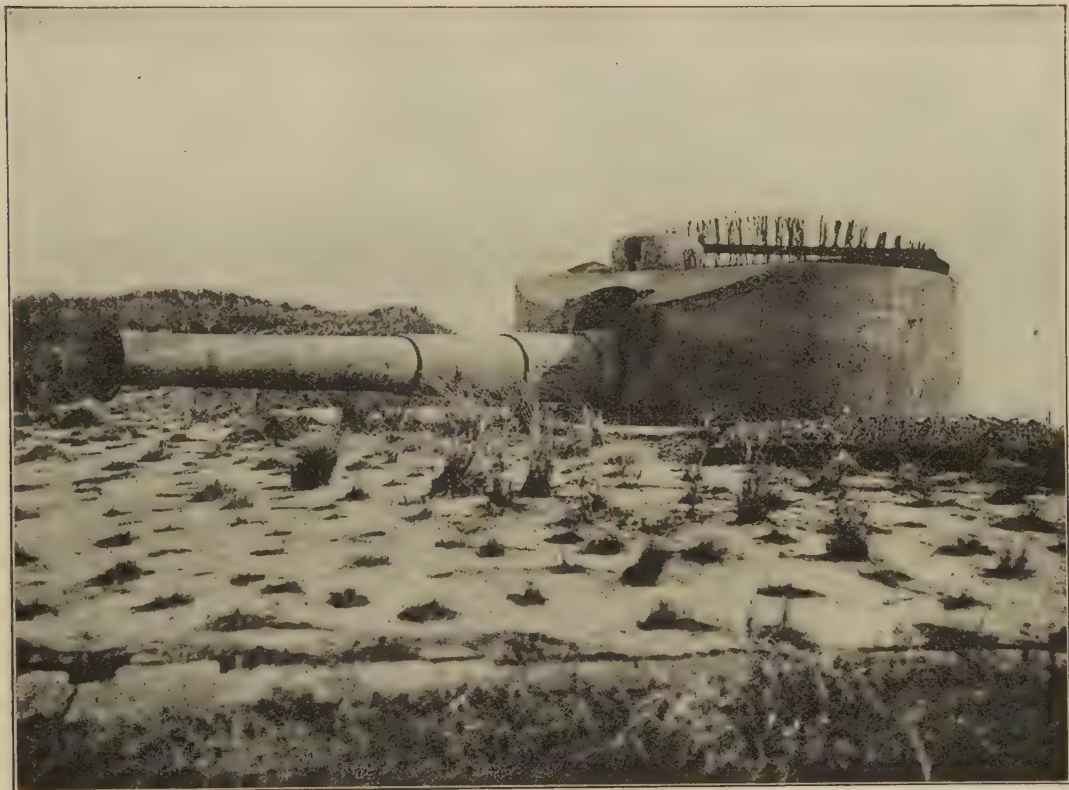
The British were determined not to allow the Germans to retain Villers-Bretonneux, for the hill upon which it stood was a position of great value. Strong Australian forces, aided by some British battalions, were thrown against the enemy. The counter attack was made with the usual Australian courage and effectiveness and resulted in the recapture of all the ground lost, together with several hundred prisoners and a few guns.

After the German defeat on April 29,

the fighting on both salients gradually died down, and the lines became stabilized. Though sorely tried, the British and French had proved equal to the crisis. Though the end of trouble was not yet at hand, Allied determination had not been shaken, and to the magnificent fighting of the French and British armies there had been added the inspiration of glorious exploits by the British navy.

In the Autumn of 1914, when the Ger-

manians were partially effective, and the British were anxious to find some means of depriving the Germans of these important naval bases. Both ports were connected by canals with Bruges and Antwerp, and the Germans were in the habit of sending submarines and small war craft constructed at the shipbuilding plants at Antwerp and elsewhere down these canals to Ostend and Zeebrugge, while, in times of bombardment, the craft could move up these canals to places of safety at Bruges.



GERMAN CANNON GUARDING ZEEBRUGGE.

mans reached the Belgian coast, they had captured the ports of Ostend and Zeebrugge. They had made these ports important bases for the use of destroyers and submarines. From these harbors the U-boats had sallied out on many a successful cruise against British shipping. The British had repeatedly bombarded both places with long-range guns from their lines further south and from monitors at sea, while Allied aviators had dropped hundreds of bombs on both places. But these efforts were only

Especially useful to the Germans was the maritime canal running from Zeebrugge to Bruges, the mouth of which was protected by a crescent-shaped mole inclosing the harbor.

On the night of April 22d, a British naval expedition under Vice-Admiral Sir Roger Keyes attempted to wreck the stone mole at Zeebrugge and to block the entrances to the canals at that place and at Ostend. Six obsolete British cruisers, the *Brilliant*, *Iphigenia*, *Sirius*, *Intrepid*, *Thetis*, and *Vin-*

dictive, took part in the attack, as did also a number of destroyers, an old submarine, and other craft. Five of the cruisers were filled with concrete, and it was the British intention to sink these cruisers in the entrances of the canals. To conceal the enterprise from the Germans, dense smoke screens were used.

The attempt at Ostend was unsuccessful, largely owing to a change of the wind, and though one of the block ships was sunk, it

and he and his crew took to a small boat and rowed away under heavy fire. When they were only 200 yards distant, the submarine exploded, sending flames hundreds of feet high and tearing a wide gap in the viaduct. Meanwhile the three old cruisers made for the mouth of the canal. One of them, the *Thetis*, had the misfortune to foul a net defense, and being badly pounded by the shore batteries, was sunk in the harbor outside the canal. But she signaled inval-



VINDICTIVE AFTER ZEEBRUGGE RAID.

did not reach a position to obstruct the channel. The attack at Zeebrugge was gloriously successful. The cruiser *Vindictive* ran alongside the mole, killed or captured many Germans, and wrought havoc with the German materials along the mole. The submarine, which was old and valueless, had been filled full of explosives. Lieutenant-Commander Sandford ran her against the viaduct connecting the mole with the shore. Sandford then fired a fuse,

able directions to the other two. They sailed right into the canal, were turned crosswise across it, and were then sunk, completely blocking the waterway.

Meanwhile, German machine guns and heavy artillery had kept up a terrific fire against the assailants. The upper works of the *Vindictive* were shot to pieces, and her decks were transformed into shambles. A shell struck the fighting top where members of the crew had been working Lewis ma-

chine guns effectively, and killed or badly wounded everyone there. Though himself badly wounded, Sergeant Finch dragged himself out from beneath the bodies of his comrades and continued to work his machine gun. For his gallantry he was given the Victoria Cross. A number of the officers on the *Vindictive* were killed. Several bullets struck the clothing and binocular case of Commander Carpenter, who had handled his ship "like a picket boat," but he came through unhurt.

Considered as an exploit, the Zeebrugge raid was as gallant as anything ever done in the days of Drake or Nelson. It cost almost six hundred men, but it was greatly worth while. The best harbor on the Belgian coast was rendered practically useless to the Germans, and many submarines and other craft were bottled up at Bruges, where they were subjected to repeated bombardments by aircraft. The Germans at first made light of the exploit, but the *Frankfurter Zeitung* told the truth when it confessed: "It would be foolish to deny that the British fleet scored a great success through a fantastically audacious stroke in penetrating into one of the most important strongholds over which the German flag floats."

On the night of May 9th, a new attempt was made against Ostend. The battered old *Vindictive* was filled with concrete, and, guided by a motor boat, which dashed in under fire and placed a brilliant flare between the piers, she sailed right into the canal entrance and was sunk some distance inside. The casualties in this second Ostend raid were about fifty. They included Commander Godsal, of the *Vindictive*, killed by a shell which struck the conning tower. The sunken vessel did not completely block the harbor, but made it impracticable for all but small craft and rendered dredging operations difficult.

The exploits at Zeebrugge and Ostend were helpful, but there was no denying the fact that on land the Germans had won two great tactical victories. They had cut one British army to pieces, had captured more than a hundred thousand prisoners, great numbers of cannons and tanks, millions of shells, and immense quantities of other

booty, and had overrun great stretches of territory. They had brought the Allied cause to the brink of disaster, and yet they had failed to accomplish their purpose. They had not split asunder the French and British armies. They had not hurled the British back in irretrievable rout and disaster upon the Channel ports. They had not won the decision they had set out to win. They had lost time, and time was everything. Other crises were to develop in the next three months, but never again so grave a one as in those weeks of March and April, when British and French valor saved the world in Picardy and Flanders.

By June the tide of American soldiers crossing the Atlantic was nearing its flood. In April, 117,212 embarked; in May, 244,345, and in June, 276,372. As yet our men could play only a small part in turning back the foe, but the moral influence of their coming was of immense value. They landed in both France and Great Britain, and the people of these countries had concrete evidence of the American "invasion," for Americans were everywhere. British Tommies and French poilus felt that it was worth while to fight on, with such powerful reinforcements almost ready to render aid, and the German hope that allied morale would be broken down was destined to disillusionment.

Meanwhile the Teutons were preparing a new blow. The Allies were uncertain where it would fall, and German activity on many sectors helped to keep them mystified. On May 27th, the Germans launched their offensive on a thirty-mile front between Rheims and Soissons, using at first twenty-five and later forty divisions of their best troops. The Allies were taken completely by surprise, and at first offered slight resistance. The line attacked was lightly held by French forces and by some British divisions that had already been roughly handled in the drive toward Amiens. The Crown Prince's armies pushed the defenders off the Chemin des Dames Ridge, which had been captured the year before, crossed the Aisne River, captured Soissons, and pushed forward across the Vesle to the River Marne.

In some respects this battle was the most discouraging to the Allies of all, for the Germans had won their way with comparative ease, taking great numbers of prisoners and guns. Once more great crowds of refugees fled from before the invaders.

The Allies fell back from in front of the Germans, and Foch's efforts were mainly directed toward preventing the broadening of the breach in his line. Fortunately, on each side of the salient there were strong

rather than the successes at the tip of the salient, around Château-Thierry, but since Americans took an honorable part in the last mentioned sector it is proper that the story of what took place there should receive more detailed attention.

Prior to the 28th of May, no considerable American unit had taken part in a battle of any magnitude. Units of varying size had seen trench service in quiet sectors and had helped to repel raids or had them-



AMERICAN TROOPS GOING OVER THE TOP, CANTIGNY.

positions capable of comparatively easy defense. Rheims and the so-called Mountain of Rheims were firmly held on the east while on the west side the Fôret de Villers Cotterets greatly aided the defenders, though they were forced to give back somewhat more on this side of the salient. By holding firm on these flanks the Allies compelled the Germans to come to a pause. Successful defense in these places was the determining factor in checking the offensive

selves conducted raids. Some of our engineers had been entangled in the battle of Cambrai and in the German offensive toward Amiens, but these operations were of little consequence compared with the gigantic battles in which the French and British were engaged. Some doubt still existed in Allied quarters as to the fighting ability of the Americans. Up to that time only British and French troops, including colonials, had shown themselves capable of

meeting the Germans on equal terms. There were pessimists in both England and France who feared that the newcomers, most of them recently from civil life, would not measure up to the task of holding back the German horde.

On the day after the Germans began their offensive toward the Marne, the American First Division, commanded by Major-General Robert L. Bullard, launched a local counter-offensive against German positions at Cantigny, on the southeast side of the German salient that projected toward Amiens. The attack was carefully planned and was effectively prefaced by artillery fire. At fifteen minutes before seven, Colonel Ely, with the 28th Infantry, and Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., with a battalion of the 26th Infantry, went over the top, with clockwork regularity, moving forward behind the barrage at a rate of 55 yards per minute. The attack was made in three waves, and the infantry were preceded by tanks furnished by the Allies. The German intrenchments were speedily taken and were organized against six counter-attacks. The German losses were more than 1,500, including 225 prisoners. The American losses were 1,067.

The enterprise had been conducted in a workmanlike manner, and those engaged in it were highly complimented by their allies. But its importance was speedily dwarfed by the tremendous German drive to southward. This drive made serious inroads upon Foch's reserves, and both he and Pershing felt that the time had come to throw in more of the men from beyond seas. Of course, our men were eager to go in. They had grown weary of waiting and were impatiently straining on the leash like eager hounds. As one "doughboy" put it, it had been like standing on the bank of a river and being forced to watch a friend drowning in the stream without being permitted to jump in and attempt to save him.

Two American divisions, the Second, under Major-General Omar Bundy, and the Third, under Major-General Joseph Dickman, were rushed by trains and motor-trucks to the region of Château-Thierry on the Marne, the point where the Germans

were nearest Paris. The Second, whose headquarters were at Chaumont-en-Vexin, was one of the first four divisions in France, and it had had trench experience and was expecting to go into the line alongside the First. The Third had landed more recently, had not yet received its artillery, and was to have gone to a quiet sector under the support of French artillery when the change of plan resulted in its being placed in the path of the enemy. One of the brigades of



BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES G. HARBORD

the Second was composed of splendidly-drilled, straight-shooting Marines under Brigadier-General Harbord. The motto of the Marines, as is well known, is, "First to fight," and, in the next month, they were to add a brilliant page to their past laurels. The other units of both divisions were regulars, but a great majority of the men had volunteered since the war began.

The motorized machine-gun battalion of the Third was sent at once to the firing line, for machine-guns were greatly in demand.

They had hardly reached the front when word came that the Germans had entered the northern part of Château-Thierry and were pouring along the streets toward the bridge over the Marne, intending to establish themselves on the southern bank. The American machine-gunners and French colonials undertook to dispute their progress, and the Americans were given the task of defending the approaches to the bridge. Using the machine-guns with great accuracy, Americans drove the Germans back. The French colonials counter-attacked, and swept the Germans out of the town, but the enemy returned in the night, and under cover of darkness again began working their way toward the bridge. At the same time, a heavy bombardment of the French and American positions was opened by German artillery. Screened by clouds of thick smoke from smoke bombs, the Germans advanced to assault the bridge, and some of them were actually upon the structure when an explosion, which the Americans had thoughtfully prepared, blew the bridge and those upon it into the air. The few Germans who reached the southern bank were at once captured. For days the Americans and their French comrades held the southern bank and put a limit in that quarter to the German progress.

Meanwhile, the other units of the two American divisions were put into position to support the French troops ahead, though the 23d Infantry, Companies C and D of the Fifth Machine Gun Battalion, Company C of the 2d Engineers, and a battalion of the Marines were sent almost at once into the fight. The sight of so many thousands of Americans hurrying to meet the enemy greatly heartened the French soldiers and the crowds of fleeing refugees. Word that the "Sammies" were at last "going in" in large numbers spread through France. Says a war correspondent of the march on the last day of May:

"The confusion at the rear was at its height, and the time was night after the Germans had made further gains. Rumors grow in the night and hasten the steps of those in retreat. The marching columns in the darkness, intensified by the heavy shade

of the trees, must make their way past ambulances and motor trucks that shot by in ruthless possession of the road, and among refugees and their carts and batteries and broken elements of troops and peripatetic cavalry. Out of the darkness as our troops were identified, came cries of '*Les Américains!*' in the husky voices of French drivers, the weary voices of men who had fought their hearts out without food or sleep, the faint voices of the wounded and the tremulo of old women and little children among the refugees. '*Les Américains!*' meant more that night than they ever had in France."

For a few days, the Second Division acted mainly in support of the French, but on the night of June 3d, the division began taking over a twelve-mile front on both sides of the Paris road. They were not content merely with holding their positions and fighting a purely defensive battle. From the day of the arrival of the first American troops in France, General Pershing had sought to inculcate in his army the spirit of the offensive. In the words of General Bundy, "Every American officer and soldier knew that the best way to hold our line was to attack the enemy."

In front of the American lines were two positions, possession of which was of advantage to the enemy. One of these was the village of Bourrèches, the other Belleau Wood. This wood was about a mile and a half long, with an average width of about four-fifths of a mile. It was very broken, and in places there was a thick undergrowth. The Germans had been quick to see the value of such a place, and were using it as a place of assemblage for infantry and machine guns and trench mortars in preparation for a further advance. The forces within it also had the protection of artillery placed in concealed positions in the rear. General Bundy was anxious to capture the two places, and his superior, General Degoutte, agreed.

On the afternoon of June 6th, the Marine Brigade, under General Harbord, began the attack, in conjunction with a forward movement of the French 164th Division, which was on the left. "The marines went for-

ward to the attack at 5 p. m., after a short artillery preparation—short because more artillery ammunition could not at that time be spared. They at once met with strong opposition from German infantry and machine guns located in the woods. This veritable jungle gave the best possible concealment for the machine-gun nests, while the rocks and ravines protected the enemy from rifle and grenade, and even from artillery fire. With a gallantry not exceeded

succeeding days. The 6th Marines had suffered the loss of its commander, Colonel Catlin, who fell severely wounded early in the advance."

Bourèches was taken the same evening and was held, despite counter-attacks. On June 11th, the Marines, after longer artillery preparation, renewed their attack in Belleau Wood and made further progress. The Germans threw in more troops and also bombarded the American positions with



NO MAN'S LAND—BELLEAU WOOD.

in the annals of the war, the Marines kept at their task. When one enemy machine-gun nest was captured, they found themselves targets for others, whose gunners, undiscovered, had withheld their fire until the moment when it would be most effective. When nightfall came, after the long summer's day, all of Belleau Wood was not in the Marines' possession; but they had taken part of it, and had firmly established themselves in position to renew the attack on

high explosive and gas shells. The American artillery retaliated vigorously. For a time the Marines in Belleau Wood were relieved by the 7th Infantry of the Third Division, but after receiving replacements and resting a few days, they returned to the attack. This time they were aided by terrific artillery preparations, which searched with heavy shells every part of the wood remaining in enemy hands, as well as the approaches from the north. Many of the

Germans were killed; the rest were either driven out or taken. In these conflicts for the wood the Marines took 800 Germans,



COLONEL A. W. CATLIN

and by their valor so impressed the French that the name of the wood was changed to "*La Bois de la Brigade de Marine.*"

Meanwhile, the division's position was not an enviable one. The Germans held a high ridge which overlooked much of the ground the Americans occupied, while they also controlled the air and watched the American movements from "sausage" balloons and airplanes. Any movement of troops in the open during the day could not take place without almost certain exposure to artillery fire. Furthermore, no cooking fires could be lighted near the front, as their tell-tale smoke would at once draw a storm of shells from the German guns. The rolling kitchens had to be put in sheltered places several miles in the rear, and food had to be carried forward from them in large cans on mule-drawn ration carts. The

food was generally cold by the time it reached the men in the front line. Worse still, the French ration, which the Americans were receiving, consisted in part of canned beef from the island of Madagascar. Says General Bundy: "It has a peculiar taste which our men did not like. They called it 'monkey meat,' and it soon became known by that name throughout our army."

While the Marines were taking Belleau Wood, the Third Brigade, composed of regulars, under Brigadier-General Edward M. Lewis, had patiently held their lines under almost constant artillery and machine-gun fire. They were now given an opportunity to attack the village of Vaux, which was strongly held by the Germans. Preparations were carefully and systematically made, and, after a heavy bombardment, Vaux was stormed (July 1st) in a most workmanlike manner. Five hundred prisoners were taken, with a number of machine-guns and other material.



MAJOR-GENERAL EDWARD M. LEWIS.

Elsewhere on the western front more and more Americans were going into the trenches. At Cantigny, on June 20th, the First Di-

vision made another advance, while still further north, on July 4th, Australian infantry, brigaded with the British army, helped the American troops to perform a notable exploit at Hamel.

At Cantigny and around Château-Thierry the Americans had dispelled all doubt as to whether they could fight. The spirits of the Allies bounded skyward. In London and Paris startling stories were told of American valor, of the great accuracy of our riflemen, of the pantherish fury of the men from overseas, who rushed into action resolved to slay or be slain. It was hinted in official communications and openly stated privately that the Americans did not bother much to take prisoners, and, though this was untrue, tales of American furiousness in battle undoubtedly helped to keep up French and British morale. One of the stories which went the rounds in London was to the effect that the Australians, who were notorious for not being any too gentle in their methods, freely conceded that the Americans were good soldiers, but "a bit rough!"

Our allies could no longer doubt that, given adequate training and equipment, the Americans would make as good soldiers as any in the war, and the thought was vastly heartening. Even the Germans, who had consistently made light of our fighting qualities, were finding out their mistake and the discovery was disquieting. Secret reports made by German officers and captured by our men spoke of our soldiers with great respect. A captured letter spoke of the Americans as "devilhounds." The showing made by our men furnished serious reflection for the German High Command. Thus far the moral rather than the material results of our participation had been most important, but 300,000 Americans were now landing in France every month, and the day was near when we could strike really weighty blows. Only a fraction of the Americans in France were yet on the firing line, but already the "rifle strength" of the

Allies on the western front exceeded that of the Teutons. By "rifle strength" is meant men "standing in the trenches ready to go over the top with the bayonet." The Allied total in July, according to figures compiled by the British staff, was 1,556,000; of the Teutons, including a few Austrians, only 1,412,000.

It is too much to claim, as has sometimes been done, that the Americans in the Château-Thierry sector saved Paris. The



PRISONERS CAPTURED BY 4TH BRIGADE U. S. MARINES.

drive was really checked, as we have seen, by allied resistance on the lips of the salient, but the exploits of the American troops were brilliant, while the moral effect upon the Germans and the Allies was prodigious and in opposite directions. The work of the Second Division was well summarized by Major-General Omar Bundy, its commander, on July 10th. After the division was finally withdrawn he wrote:

"After more than a month of continuous fighting, the division has been withdrawn

from the first lines. It is with inexpressible pride and satisfaction that your commander recounts your glorious deeds on the field of battle.

"In the early days of June, on a front of twenty kilometers, after night marches, and with only the reserve rations which you carried, you stood like a wall against the enemy advance on Paris. For this timely action you have received the thanks of the French people whose homes you saved, and



MAJOR-GENERAL OMAR BUNDY

the generous praise of your comrades in arms.

"Since the organization of our sector, in the face of strong opposition, you have advanced your lines two kilometers on a front of eight kilometers. You have engaged and defeated, with great loss, three German divisions, and have occupied the important strong points of the Belleau Wood, Bou-rêches, and Vaux. You have taken about fourteen hundred prisoners, many machine

guns, and much other material. The complete success of the infantry was made possible by the splendid coöperation of the artillery, by the aid and assistance of the engineer and signal troops, by the diligent, watchful care of the medical and supply services, and by the unceasing work of a well-trained staff. All elements of the division have worked together in perfect harmony as a great machine. Amid the dangers and trials of battle, every officer and every man has done well his part. Let the stirring deeds, the hardships, the sacrifices of the past month remain forever a bright spot in our history. Let the sacred memory of our fallen comrades spur us on to renewed efforts to add to the glory of American arms."

While the Americans were fighting their little but desperate battles around Château-Thierry, the Germans launched, on June 9th, another blow designed to connect the salient they had driven to the Marne with that projecting toward Amiens. In most accounts of the war not enough emphasis is laid upon this battle. Had the Germans succeeded, they would not only have inflicted enormous losses in men and material upon the French, but they would have had a broad front within striking distance of Paris, and their next drive would undoubtedly have been toward that city. A correspondent writing from the front was right when he said, "The second week of June will rank as one of the bloodiest and most decisive periods in the world's history."

Fortunately, General Foch had anticipated the blow and had prepared for it. Fortunately, also, forests, hills, and rivers gave the French many positions that could be defended with comparative ease. Strong French forces had been concentrated, and the artillerymen had made every preparation to give the enemy a warm reception. The utmost vigilance was maintained, and all troop movements and artillery registration had been noted. The front line was thinly held, while successive lines of greater strength were established for miles back.

At midnight of June 8th, the Germans concentrated a heavy artillery fire on the twenty-mile front from Montdidier to

Noyon, while, as usual, there was a northern diversion in the form of a bombardment of the British lines in the region of Arras. The enemy was again profuse with gas shells, and the bombardment covered not only the immediate front, but a deep zone behind it, especially the villages and roads where the enemy considered it likely that he would catch the French local reserves. No sooner had the German artillery storm burst than it was answered by a perfect hurricane of French shells. Any point where

what had taken place in the three previous offensives. Even the lightly-held front line offered destructive resistance. For example, Plemont Hill, a position of comparative insignificance, garrisoned by a French battalion, held out for two days, though completely encircled and covered with a hail of shells. The defenders kept in communication with their comrades further back by means of carrier pigeons. On the morning of the second day, a handful of dismounted cavalry fought their way back



THE EFFECTS OF GAS.

enemy troops might be concealed or might advance was taken under the fire of the French "75's" and heavier guns, while other batteries were held in reserve to bombard positions that might be lost. The enemy's infantry suffered severely even before the "zero hour," when at 4.30 in the morning the gray-coated masses of General von Hütier dashed forward. They were met by waves of fire from artillery and machine guns that mowed them down by the thousands.

Events moved very differently from

from the hill and reported that the garrison had already repulsed no less than fourteen attacks. The grassy slopes of the hill wore a hideous carpet of German dead over which new forces still advanced with the same madness as the Carthaginians of old, "bringing their children, themselves, and their belongings into Moloch's furnace."

In a few places the French were forced back somewhat, but in no place did the Germans break through, and, even when driven back, the French often returned and retook the lost positions. The Germans

fought with a desperation never before surpassed. In the words of a war correspondent, "The limit of human endurance has been forced yet another notch higher. Along a front of nearly twenty miles the Germans are driving more than a quarter of a million forward through a sea of blood. The defenders say that it is as though the whole German army were engaged against them. No sooner is one battalion annihilated until another takes its place, and another, and another."

On the second day, the enemy, at frightful cost, took a few villages, and, on the third day, with the help of fresh divisions, managed to descend a mile astride the Matz River and to occupy its northern bank almost to the junction with the Oise and to envelop Ourscamp on the east. But the French were battling with their backs to the wall, and Foch was determined not to be driven back. French forces under General Mangin furiously counter-attacked in the Matz River region, drove back the enemy, and took a thousand prisoners and some cannon. Heavy fighting continued for some days longer, then the conflict slowly died away, with the net result that the Germans had been completely foiled.

In this critical period too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the important part played by Premier Clemenceau. Prior to becoming the head of the government his cry had always been "Hold fast!" and now it was still "Hold fast, for America comes!" The German successes of March and May endangered his hold upon the Chamber of Deputies, but he did not shirk responsibility, and his declaration was, "I make war!" Almost daily he visited the front, nor did he stop in the back areas where he was safe from the enemy's fire. He went into the front-line trenches, mingled with the poilus, the bearded ones, exhorted them to stand fast, to hold for France, and breathed words of hope and cheer. Frequently, it is said, he actually "went over the top." Once he was close to capture. But into the French armies, at this time of supreme trial, he succeeded in breathing something of his own unconquerable spirit. It was the desire of this old man of seventy-eight to

give the last of his strength for France, yet he was anxious that his strength should hold out. "Can I live for six months longer, going as I am?" he asked his physician, and was told that perhaps he might. He was borne up by the confident belief that the war was about to turn. Great preparations, some of them secret, were being made which he believed would bring "the day of glory to France." In him truly the spirit of the Marseillaise was incarnate.

Since launching their March offensive, though foiled of their great object, the Germans had won striking successes. In three months they had conquered over six thousand square kilometers of land, which was more than the French and British in all their great battles on the Somme, at Arras, and in Flanders had been able to win. Furthermore, by July 1, the Germans claimed to have made 191,454 prisoners, "not including the wounded passed back to the hospitals," and they had captured over two thousand cannon, besides immense quantities of supplies.

But their losses in these offensives had been enormous, and many signs were noted by Allied observers of diminishing German man-power. During the drives the enemy had displayed feverish haste which spoke eloquently of their conscious need to bring the great adventure to a speedy climax. But this haste had involved enormous losses, and in places the columns of assault had literally been massacred by the French and British artillery and machine guns. An English war correspondent wrote of the situation:

"Up to now the German armies have been sustained, not only by reinforcements from Russia, but by the long rest of the winter months; otherwise they could not have accomplished what they have done. These sources of strength are being rapidly exhausted. The human material—cannon food—is failing in quality. The field depots have been emptied of recruits. Men from the depots in Germany are rushed to the front. Cavalry officers are dismounted to fill gaps in the infantry. Men detached for special work are called back to their units, and still the war god is unsatisfied.

"Incorporation of the 1920 class began in April and May. Miners and mechanics are again turned into the fighting ranks, ill as they can be spared from industry. It is probable that not a division has been left in the East that would be fit for the western front. Wounded men and invalids imperfectly cured are pressed back into service. And behind the armies thus replenished there is the nation, hungry, enfeebled, terrorized, uttering words of despair even in

was daily weakening under the strain of losses, of hope deferred, and of never-ending calls upon their strength. Meanwhile, each day on the average saw 10,000 vigorous, husky Americans landing at French and English ports to fill the gaps in the Allied armies and to help administer the final blow.

Furthermore, the submarine situation was greatly improved. The number of ships sunk was constantly decreasing. The



U. S. BATTERY IN POSITION—FLOYSEY

its letters to the front. Ludendorff may well hurry!"

It is beyond question that the failure of the last offensive was most disheartening, both to the army and to the High Command. Nearly 100,000 men had been sacrificed in vain. The High Command had hoped to reach positions from which the final *Kaiserschlacht*, the crowning blow, along the whole line could be launched, but had utterly failed. The morale of the Germans

official statement of the British Admiralty showed that, during April, 220,709 tons of British and 85,393 tons of Allied and neutral vessels, a total of 305,102 tons, were destroyed by submarines or lost by accident. This was 76,000 tons short of the losses for March and nearly 600,000 tons short of the losses for April, 1917. During the month, 40,000 tons more shipping was built by Great Britain and the United States than was lost.

Official announcement was also made that, in the month, twelve German submarines had been sunk or captured in British waters by American or British destroyers. This meant that absolutely conclusive proof had been obtained as to twelve, for the Admiralty refused to recognize any evidence except the recovery of a cap bearing the name of a submarine, a portion of the craft itself, or a live or dead German of the crew. In at least two other cases U-boats were certainly destroyed, though evidence of the sort the Admiralty required could not be obtained.

The inability of submarines to interfere seriously with the transportation of troops from America had been conclusively proven. Nearly all the transports sunk were sent down while on their homeward way and less carefully guarded than when crowded with troops. Thus, on May 21, the transport *President Lincoln*, of 18,000 tons, was sunk while returning home. The vessel was struck by three torpedoes and went down in eighteen minutes, but the losses numbered less than thirty. Eight days previously the British troopship *Moldavia* was torpedoed and sunk on the way to Europe, and the Admiralty reported fifty-six American soldiers unaccounted for. Considering the number of men who were being transported, the toll taken by the U-boats was infinitesimal. Americans jubilantly remarked that it was safer to cross the ocean on a transport than to go motoring on a Sunday afternoon.

The Germans sought to conceal the breakdown of their submarine campaign from their people. In the hope of harassing the United States and keeping up the spirits of their own people, they sent submarines to the coast of the United States. Late in May one or more U-boats appeared off the coast, and, in less than a month, sank a score of vessels, but many of these were small schooners, and only a few were of large size, the biggest being a tank steamer of 7,200 tons. It was noted that the U-boats generally avoided attacking convoyed vessels, and their policy in this matter was symptomatic of a great change that had taken place in such warfare. U-boat captains had come to realize that it was in-

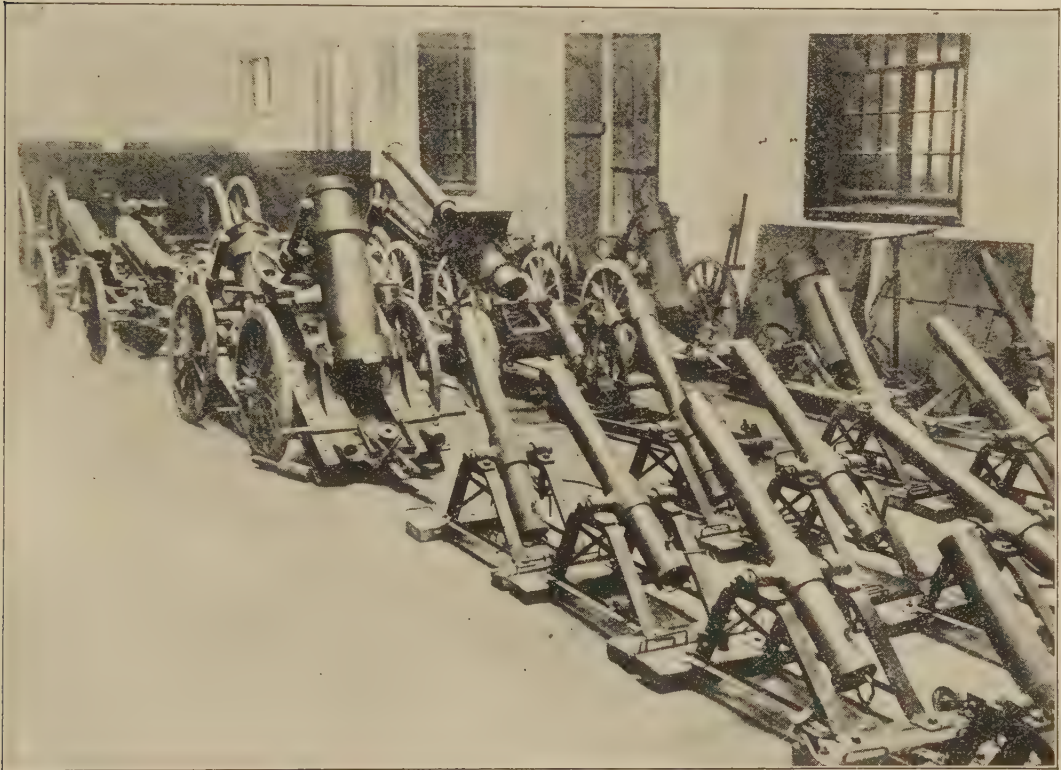
initely perilous to permit their craft to be seen by patrol vessels armed with the deadly depth bomb. From being the hunter the submarine was rapidly coming to be the hunted.

The appearance of submarines on the American coast had long been expected, and preparations had been made to combat them. Though they were not able to accomplish anything decisive, their presence was of course unpleasant and troublesome. The first information to the effect that they were engaged in a trans-Atlantic campaign was brought to New York City on June 4th by the crew of the schooner *Edward H. Cole*, which had been sunk on the afternoon of June 2d, fifty miles southeast of Barnegat, New Jersey. The crew obtained a good look at the U-boat, and estimated that it was about 200 feet long and about twenty-foot beam, and that she carried three-inch guns fore and aft, and a one-pounder, quick-firer amidships. The mate of the schooner noticed the submarine moving around his vessel at high speed, but believed that it was an American craft with naval reserve cadets on board, trying to have some fun with the sailors on the merchant ship. He thought he would have some fun with his skipper, who was taking a nap in the cabin. He yelled down the skylight for the captain to hurry on deck, as there was a German submarine close astern getting ready to attack. Still chuckling over his joke, he took his marine glasses and looked through them at the U-boat. To his amazement, he discovered that the German ensign was flapping limply against her short flag-staff. Decidedly flabbergasted, he shouted to the captain, "It's no joke this time. By gosh, it is a German submarine!"

In the campaign off the American coast the Germans were careful to avoid taking life unnecessarily. The prisoners captured were well cared for, and an effort was made to secure their safety. Captain Gilmore of the schooner *Edna* was kept on board a submarine for a week, and was treated with such extreme courtesy that he expressed the belief that the Germans were anxious to conciliate American public opinion. Of his experiences he said:

"The officers of the submarine included a spare Captain, who was apparently on hand to take charge of any prize that might be worth while turning into a raider, the commander of the U-boat itself, and two others. These gave up their berths to me and the master of the *Hattie Dunn*, and the Germans of the crew gave up their bunks to the sailors and slept in hammocks themselves. The officers gave us wines, cordials, and fine cigars, and in general treated us

Italians in the hope of capturing Venice and overrunning the Lombard plain. The fact that such an attack was impending caused great apprehension in Allied countries, for a smashing Teutonic victory would practically put Italy out of the war. The inability of the Italians to withstand an attack the previous year increased the uneasiness. Foch had, therefore, to consider not only how he could beat back the German legions in France, but to keep in mind the pos-



GUNS CAPTURED BY ITALIANS FROM AUSTRIA.

with such marked hospitality that it seemed apparent that they were carrying out a course that had been laid upon them. The commander said that he had fuel and supplies for a month in American waters, and intended to stay here for that time before going back."

The German repulse described above was quickly followed by glorious events on the Italian front. It had been a foregone conclusion that at some time the Teutons would launch an offensive against the

sibility that he might have to render aid to the Italians. Considerable French and British forces and even a few American airmen were already on the Italian front, and their presence helped to encourage the Italians, whose spirit had risen magnificently to meet the crisis.

On June 15th, the long impending blow fell. The Austrians launched a great offensive not only in the mountainous region of the north, but also along the Piave River. During the next few days Allied observers

held their breath, for defeat would have disastrous results. If the Italians were driven back, it meant either that they must be left to their fate or that French and British troops must be hurried from France to aid them, thus weakening the already too thinly held lines facing Ludendorff's legions. But the news which came from Italy soon dissipated all fears. In the mountains the attack was frustrated with heavy losses. On the plain the enemy in a few places managed to cross the Piave and even to gain a footing on the Montello plateau. On June 18, the Austrians claimed, probably with exaggeration, to have captured 30,000 prisoners and 120 guns. But the Italians, French, and British met the attacks with high determination. Torrential rains providentially raised the Piave in the Austrian rear. After bitter fighting, the assailants were beaten back with great slaughter. The victors took thousands of prisoners, many guns, and much other booty, while the Austrian morale was greatly depressed by the failure. Instead of gaining ground, the Austrians lost important positions. The Italians did not at once follow up their victory and attempt a general offensive, but in Allied quarters it was felt that the Austrian menace was past. A great load was lifted from Foch's shoulders. The Italian front was safe and he could now safely throw all his resources against the enemy in France. There can be no doubt that military historians will say that the Italian victory was a large factor in bringing about the final happy result toward which all Allied resources were now directed.

As the German offensive entered upon its fifth month it was becoming apparent that the task the War Lords had undertaken was beyond their strength. They had won considerable territory, had captured great numbers of prisoners and guns, but, thanks to America, the Allied armies were stronger than ever, while those of Germany were weakened by losses that the diminished man-power of the Fatherland could not make good. At home dismal doubts were beginning to supplant the exultant confidence of three months before. Even Ludendorff and Hindenburg were be-

ginning to see the specter of failure rising before them. Had it not been for political reasons the German High Command would probably have abandoned the offensive and resumed defensive tactics. It was clear that they must either go forward or retreat, for the great salients they had driven into the Allied lines, though dangerous to their foes, were even more perilous to themselves. But to accept the defensive and retreat would be a confession that the grandiose plan had failed, and the War Lords feared the effect upon the German people of such a confession. For political reasons the War Lords must make a new effort. A new will-o'-the-wisp must be held up before the deluded German people. Therefore, the War Lords prepared a new effort, which they called the "*Friedensturm*," that is, "the storm that will bring peace!"

On the Allied side difference of opinion existed as to where the next German blow, if there was a blow, would fall. Some military critics believed that it would be directed against the British. But the British had made good their losses in men and guns and had prepared so many reserve lines of defense that the prospects in that quarter were not promising. The sector chosen by Ludendorff was the Rheims salient. This salient lay to the eastward of the ground gained by the invaders in their drive beginning on May 27th. Near the tip of the salient stood the ruined city of Rheims, while a large part of the salient consisted of the rough plateau known as "the Mountain of Rheims." The Allied troops in this salient were a constant menace to the Germans in the Marne salient. The immediate German objectives were Rheims, Châlons, and Epernay, but a sweeping success might have been followed by a drive at Paris down the valley of the Marne, perhaps by a general attack all along the Western Front.

While the Germans were preparing their attack the Allies were not idle. French, British, and Americans carried out numerous local offensives which harassed the enemy and won important strategic positions. Of this character were the American attacks at Vaux and the American-Australian advance at Hamel, already described. These

minor operations netted the Allies some thousands of prisoners and considerable territory and were symptomatic of increasing confidence. Early in July, also, Italian and French forces in Albania took the offensive against the Austrians and won a notable success, conquering hundreds of square miles of territory and capturing many prisoners. The Teutonic tide was beginning to ebb.

A weakness of the Ludendorff plan of

Allied commanders. Not only were great numbers of French and some Italians concentrated in the threatened sectors, but about 300,000 Americans were assembled on the Marne front or in immediate support. Tactics which had proved their value in defeating the German drive of June 9th were adopted and elaborated upon. The plan of Foch is thus described by a French officer:

"To hold back the enemy and prevent



AMERICANS USING OBSERVATION INSTRUMENTS LEFT BY GERMANS.

attack was that it required immense preparation and much time. The blows, when delivered, were very heavy, but such an interval must elapse between each that the enemy had time in which to recuperate. It was not until the middle of July that all was in readiness for the new stroke. This time, fortunately, the Germans wholly failed to conceal their purpose. Several days before the attack came the Allied leaders knew it was impending and where it would fall.

Careful preparations were made by the

him from gaining any ground: those were the tactics of defense. This result once attained, and the German assaults broken up, counter-attacks were to be made with the utmost vigor by all of our available forces, taking advantage of the perilous position in which the German army had placed itself on account of the enormous 'pocket' which it had made between Soissons, Château-Thierry, and Rheims. These two parts of the battle were closely linked together, and one was as important as the other. In or-

der for the counter-attack to succeed it was necessary that the defense should be proof against any assault. Every reader will understand that it is impossible for many reasons to set forth here in full all the details which went to make up the ingenious system of defense which had been devised by General Pétain; it may suffice to say that its leading idea was to allow the Germans to launch their first assault into space, as it were, by causing his own first line to fall back slowly, reserving his chief defensive for the second and third. In a fencing bout, when you have to deal with an opponent whose game consists in lightning-like and repeated thrusts, it is the part of wisdom to give way in time, yielding as much ground as is absolutely necessary at the moment when he makes his thrust. His rapier, instead of reaching your breast, finds itself in empty air, and in that moment your counter-thrust is made."

These tactics involved, of course, the sacrifice of the men left to hold the first line. Their duty was to die, if need be, where they stood, after holding back the enemy's assault as long as possible, so that by the time he reached the second line his ranks would be thinned and his first wind and strength exhausted.

By the 6th of July it appeared so certain that the Germans would attack in the neighborhood of Rheims that, on the 7th, General Gouraud, who commanded the Fourth French Army holding the line to the eastward of Rheims, issued a stirring order to the French and American troops under him, exhorting them to hold firm against the impending storm. He said:

"To the French and American Soldiers of the Army:

"We may be attacked from one moment to another. You all feel that a defensive battle was never engaged in under more favorable conditions. We are warned, and we are on our guard. We have received strong reinforcements of infantry and artillery. You will fight on ground which, by your assiduous labor, you have transformed into a formidable fortress, into a fortress which is invincible if the passages are well guarded.

"The bombardment will be terrible. You will endure it without weakness. The attack in a cloud of dust and gas will be fierce, but your positions and your armament are formidable.

"The strong and brave hearts of free men beat in your breasts. None will look behind, none will give way. Every man will have but one thought—'*Kill them, kill them in abundance, until they have had enough.*' And, therefore, your general tells you it will be a glorious day."

On July 10th, the French intelligence service reported that the Germans had



GENERAL GOURAUD.

fixed upon the 14th or 15th for the attack, and the French thereupon began raiding the German lines in order to discover positively whether the information was correct. On the evening of July 14th, a French lieutenant named Balestier and four comrades made a raid and brought back prisoners from whom it was learned that the drive would begin next morning. The artillery preparation was to start at ten minutes past midnight, and at a quarter past four in the morning the infantry were to go over the top behind a creeping barrage. In the words of a French officer, "It was the most wonderful

haul that could possibly have been made," and for this great service to the cause of civilization Lieutenant Balestier later received the Cross of the Legion of Honor.

Meanwhile, French and American airmen had been exceedingly active, and on the day that Lieutenant Balestier performed his heroic exploit, the son of a famous American ex-President lost his life. Though denied the right to fight in the war in person, Colonel Roosevelt had given his four sons to the cause which he had so long and earnestly supported. Two of them, Theodore, Jr., and Archibald, were severely wounded. A third, Kermit, who had accompanied his father on his African and South American expeditions, saw active service as a captain with the British in Mesopotamia, but later joined Pershing's army in Europe and fought in the desperate battle of the Meuse. The youngest of all, Quentin, a boy hardly out of his teens, had entered the air service, and, after a course of training, reached the front. Early in July he scored his first victory and shot down a German plane. On July 14th, he went out with comrades on a mission and did not return. For a few weeks it was hoped that he might have been captured, but ultimately certain news was received that he had been slain. A German press report thus describes the encounter:

"On Sunday, July 14th, an American squadron of twelve battleplanes was trying to break through the German defense over the Marne. In the violent combat which ensued with seven German machines one American aviator stubbornly made repeated attacks. This culminated in a duel between him and a German non-commissioned officer, who, after a short fight, succeeded in getting good aim at his brave but inexperienced opponent, whose machine fell after a few shots near the village of Chambray, ten kilometers north of the Marne.

"His pocket case showed him to be Lieutenant Quentin Roosevelt, of the aviation section of the United States Army. The personal belongings of the fallen airman are being carefully kept, with a view to sending them later to his relatives. The earthly remains of the brave young airman

were buried with military honors by German airmen near Chambray at the spot where he fell."

Subsequently the grave was found by Quentin's American comrades, who erected a neat cross bearing an appropriate inscription. Colonel and Mrs. Roosevelt looked forward to visiting the grave when the war was over, but only Mrs. Roosevelt lived to do so. They decided to leave the body in France, their conclusion being, in the



LIEUTENANT-COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT, JR.

words of Colonel Roosevelt, "Where the tree falls, there let it lie." In an article entitled *The Great Adventure* Colonel Roosevelt paid an eloquent tribute to his eagle son and other gallant men who had given their all for freedom and civilization.

"Only those are fit to live," wrote the former President, "who do not fear to die, and none are fit to die who have shrunk from the joy of life and the duty of life. Both life and death are parts of the same great adventure. Never yet was worthy adventure worthily carried through by the

man who put his personal safety first. Never yet was a country worth living in unless its sons and daughters were of that stern stuff which bade them die for it at need, and never yet was a country worth dying for unless its sons and daughters thought of life not as something concerned only with the selfish evanescence of the individual, but as a link in the great chain of creation and causation, so that each person is seen in his true relations as an essential

tent if we can then pass them to the hands of other runners. The torches whose flame is brightest are borne by the gallant men at the front and by the gallant women whose husbands and lovers, whose sons and brothers are at the front. These men are high of soul as they face their fate on the shell-shattered earth or in the skies above or in the waters beneath; and no less high of soul are the women with torn hearts and shining eyes; the girls whose boy lovers



AMERICAN PRISONERS IN HANDS OF GERMANS.

part of the whole, whose life must be made to serve the larger and continuing life of the whole. Therefore, it is that the men who are not willing to die in a war for a great cause, are not worthy to live. . . .

"In America to-day all our people are summoned to service and sacrifice. Pride is the portion only of those who know bitter sorrow or the foreboding of bitter sorrow. But all of us who give service and stand ready for sacrifice are the torch bearers. We run with the torches until we fall, con-

have been struck down in their golden morning, and the mothers and wives to whom word has been brought that henceforth they must walk in the shadow.

"These are the torch bearers; these are they who have dared the great adventure."

An hour and ten minutes before the time set for the Germans to begin their artillery preparation, the French guns suddenly opened a furious bombardment all along the line, decimating many of the waiting German units, silencing many of their guns, and

otherwise playing havoc with the German plans. It would have been well for the Germans had they postponed their attack, but they were determined to carry it through. Their artillery, when it began firing, was also prodigal with shells, and the combined bombardment was so violent that it was plainly heard in Paris.

The attack reached from Château-Thierry to the Main de Massiges, far to the eastward of Rheims. The Germans intended to overflow the region to the right and left of Rheims and the Mountain of Rheims, to envelop these places, and then to push on to Epernay and Châlons. According to the German plan, their troops were to reach these two cities on the first or second day of the battle. The capture of Châlons would have gravely imperiled the allied communications between the eastern and western forces.

When the German infantry advanced to the assault they met a hot reception. Signal rockets were sent up by the advanced Allied posts, and at once the barrage fire of French and American batteries fell upon the German columns, slaughtering thousands of the assailants. The plan of defense worked out to perfection. The feebly manned French first line was, of course, overrun by the Germans, but the men holding it fought intrepidly and held out for hours against the swarming Germans. These islands of resistance served to check the German waves, and, by the time the assaulting columns reached the principal line of defense, two or three kilometers further back, their force was largely exhausted. By noon, General Gouraud was beginning to feel confident that his lines would hold. A general commanding one of the French army corps remarked confidently that "they had broken the beast's paw." Much of the credit for the success of the French in this quarter of the field was due to the intrepid spirit of General Gouraud, "the mere sight of whom made men brave."

Prisoners taken early in the combat reported that the Kaiser was watching the battle from Ludendorff's house at Blanc-Mont. He waited in vain for victory, nor was he ever again to taste the sweetness of

success. Thenceforward, the bitter cup of defeat was to be his only potion.

In the repulse of the Germans to the eastward of Rheims a gallant American negro regiment, the 369th Infantry, from New York City, and the Forty-second Division played an honorable part. This last was the famous Rainbow Division, made up of units from nearly all the States. It had had considerable training in trench fighting, and was recently out of the Baccaret sector. It was well organized, its *esprit de corps* was



MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES T. MENOHER.

unsurpassed, and its commander, Major-General Menoher, was so well thought of by the French that an order had been issued that if the enemy broke through in that sector he was to take command of both French and American infantry and artillery. The artillery of the Rainbows laid down beautiful barrages, and in some places the American infantry helped their French comrades to repulse the attack. One American battalion broke six successive charges with steady rifle and machine-gun

fire. In one trench where Americans fought side by side with French chasseurs, the dead bodies of more than sixty Germans were afterward counted. The Rainbows had made up their minds to stick, and they stuck, despite high explosive shells, gas, and German storm troops. "Everybody," wrote an American correspondent, "seemed to have done his part in that grimmest and most trying of all battle experiences by making a wall of human flesh and will against waves of attacking infantry supported by all the storms of death that modern projectiles can offer."

Southwest of Rheims some of the French and Italian forces under General Berthelot were forced to cede some ground, but they gave up nothing vital and were greatly aided by the natural strength of the country. Further south a half dozen German divisions forced their way over the Marne. In front of the French the assailants temporarily made good their foothold. The American forces in this region belonged to the Third and the Twenty-eighth divisions, but the Third played the larger part. The Third's artillerymen and riflemen slaughtered the Germans by hundreds as they sought to cross the river in boats under cover of a smoke screen. The German artillery fire was severe, and the Germans had expected that the Americans would remain safely in their dugouts and would come out and surrender as soon as the assailants appeared. Instead, in some places the Americans rushed down to the river bank and directed a well-aimed fire against the crowded German boats. One gallant regiment, the Thirty-eighth Regulars, under Colonel McAlexander, won immortal glory by holding its position, though surrounded on three sides. Its riflemen and machine gunners practically annihilated the Sixth German Grenadier Regiment and took over 400 prisoners.

In some other places the defenders temporarily were driven back from the river, but it was characteristic of the Americans in this war that they never gave up a position without at once proceeding to retake it. General Dickman of the Third ordered a counter-attack, which swept all before it.

By midnight there were no Germans except dead and prisoners on the south side of the Marne west of Jaulgonne. The Americans had not only repulsed their assailants, but had almost annihilated them and had taken over 600 prisoners, news that vastly heartened defenders in other sectors. Once more the Americans had proved equal to the crisis, and the work of the Third Division in this battle is reminiscent of the grim spirit which, in other days, other Americans had held the lines at Bunker Hill, New Orleans, Gettysburg, and a score of other famous fights.

By the end of the third day of battle, General Foch had good reason to feel satisfied. In most places the Germans had been beaten back with terrific losses, and nowhere had they made any very great advance or taken many prisoners or guns. They had made some progress up the Marne valley toward Epernay, and it was apparent that the Marne salient was in some danger. But the hour for which Foch had long been waiting had come. He saw that the time had arrived to grasp the initiative, to pass from defensive to offensive warfare. His preparations were already made, and under his direction the French and Americans proceeded not only to dash the cup of victory from the enemy's lips, but to smash it into splinters in his face.

Napoleon once remarked that the most difficult operation of warfare is to determine the right moment in which to take the initiative, that the decision can be successfully made only by a man of the highest talent. Foch possessed the talent to recognize that moment. The Austrian sword no longer hung threateningly over Italy, and with the Americans swarming into France he could be sure of an inexhaustible reserve of unsurpassed material. Hitherto he had been forced to husband his men and resources. Now he could spend them lavishly without fear that his reserve would be exhausted.

But it was not merely for the arrival of American troops that Foch had been waiting. In November of the previous year, following the victory of the tanks at Cambrai, the Allied General Staff had decided to

construct a great number of lighter and swifter tanks. This was kept a secret. By the time of the March offensive, some tanks had been built, but the number was not yet large enough. Despite the critical situation resulting from the German offensive, the Allied chieftains refused to use the tanks already constructed, being determined to wait until enough had been built to make them a decisive factor. Meanwhile, factories in France, Great Britain, and America were busy, feverishly making tanks and other material.

the prosecution of the war, enjoyed the unwavering confidence of the French and British governments. Fortunately, also, the Allied spokesmen were able to quiet the impatience of their people by pointing to the coming of the Americans as the reason for delay."

As already stated, many of the new tanks were lighter and swifter than the old models. They carried not only machine-guns, but also small cannon for use against enemy machine-gun nests and other strong points. The Germans had supplied their troops



RATION CAMP 77TH DIVISION IN FRANCE.

The building of the tanks helps to explain much that was mysterious in the course of the Allied campaign during the spring and early summer. "Too much has been written," says General Malleterre, a French military critic, "about British 'muddling through' and French 'improvisation.' The criticism in Parliament and press, after the German offensive of the spring, was hard for our generals to bear. They could not answer it, and thus reveal to the enemy their hand. It was fortunate that the military authorities, who were responsible for

with light cannon that could be moved forward by hand. The Allies did better and furnished their men with cannon transported in armor-clad tanks that could move forward swiftly over almost any obstacle, and that could smash flat barbed-wire entanglements, and, in case of necessity, ride down a machine-gun.

"On July 18th," says General Malleterre, "Marshal Foch was ready, with his tanks, his cannon, his shells, his Americans. Then began the battle of liberation."

CHAPTER CLXXXVI—THE BATTLES OF LIBERATION



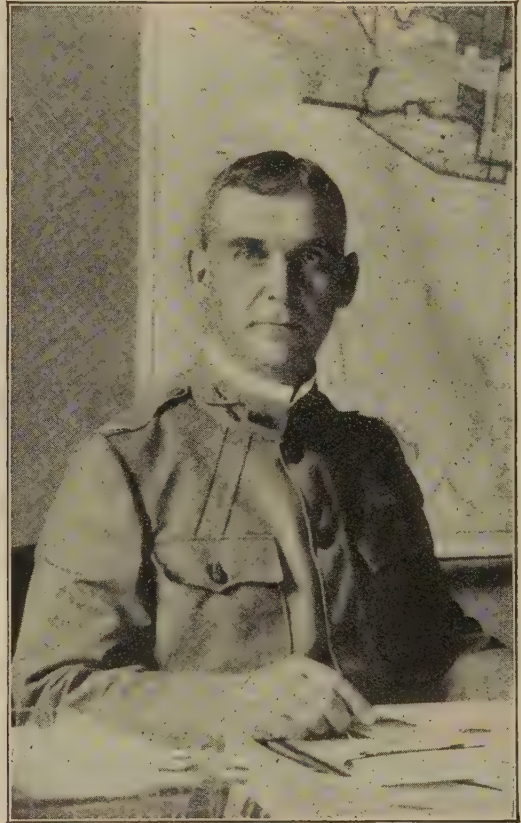
WITH the aid of Pétain and Pershing, Foch had arranged a great counter-blow at the Marne salient. Two powerful armies under Generals Mangin and Degoutte, both officers

who liked to go forward, had secretly been assembled on the west side of the salient, concealed in the forest of Villers-Cotterets and other cover.

In the front line of these armies were two American divisions, the First and the Second. The First was now commanded by Major-General Charles Summerall, Major-General Bullard having been promoted to command an army corps. Summerall had won distinction in 1900 in the march for the relief of Peking and, in character was "Cromwellian in his downrightness, in his driving initiative, and his devout crusader's faith in his cause and his men." The First had recently been relieved from its position at Cantigny and had received a few days of rest in billets. The Second was under the command of Major-General Harbord in place of Major-General Bundy, who, like Bullard, had been made a corps commander. It had had two weeks of rest after its experience around Belleau Wood and Vaux.

By the night of the 17th, the First Division, after hard marching, was in position for attack, southwest of Soissons in the army of General Mangin. On its right "was the famous Moroccan Division, including the Foreign Legion, which, in brilliant action after brilliant action, has written its name in blood which has turned to the gold of immortal glory in the annals of the French Army." The Second was to attack on the right of the Moroccans. It did not receive its orders until the night of the 16th, and it was only by good luck and superhuman efforts that it arrived in time for the attack.

A furious storm fortunately concealed the final preparations on the night of the 17th. At dawn the next morning, without a preliminary bombardment, the French and American infantry, aided by the new French tanks, suddenly dashed forward behind a rolling barrage. The Germans were taken completely by surprise. In a few



MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES P. SUMMERALL.

hours thousands of prisoners and many guns were captured. By nightfall the Crown Prince's forces had been swept back several miles. Whole German staffs were taken in their headquarters, and though German reserves were hurriedly thrown into the conflict, they could not turn the tide. The Germans had been caught at a great disadvantage, and it soon became clear that un-

less they withdrew their men from the Marne salient a stupendous disaster would be inevitable.

French poilus and American Sammies vied with each other in the good work. Everyone understood the importance of time and speed, and no time was given the enemy to recover from their surprise. "Keep pushing while things are going our way!" was the feeling in every breast.

Soon German prisoners were streaming back toward the wire cages already prepared for their reception. "There was certainly something appealing and satisfying," wrote a correspondent, "in the sight of a hundred soldiers of the Kaiser led by an American with a rifle over his shoulder, with three or four Americans keeping the column in line and one American bringing up the rear. If the guard marching ahead happened



MEDICAL CORPS REMOVING WOUNDED FROM VAUX, FRANCE.

"We were bunching hits when the pitcher was rattled. We had the 'jump,' and we must keep it." There was no stopping to consolidate positions. The assailants pushed right on through to the German artillery, while the American and French guns moved forward to support the attack. Even the wounded were filled with the spirit of victory and some fought on, refusing to go to the rear.

to be a little Italian from the East Side of New York, it heightened the effect; and you may be sure that the smaller the guard the more blissfully conscious he was of the tactical advantage of his position."

Some of the German officers showed their humiliation in their faces, but many of the privates seemed glad that for them the war was finished, despite the fact that they were greeted with much raillery by transport

drivers and passing troops. The prisoners physically were far beneath the standard of the stalwart Americans, many of them being boys or old men, while others wore spectacles and were otherwise physically defective. "No bunch like that can lick us!" cried an American soldier, upon seeing the German prisoners. A German officer himself felt the contrast and said, "We have old men and boys, who have fought for four years, against your youth, which is as fresh

them to concentrate forces to meet the coming storm. Dr. George Wegener, a leading German war writer, paid the following tribute to the effectiveness of the tanks:

"The enemy had in secret built a large number of tanks of a surprisingly small type, which had the advantage of greater mobility and were easily maneuvered. These tanks led the way, and between and behind them, morally strengthened by their presence and protection, came storm troops.

"To low visibility in the early morning was added the difficulty of a complete view of the territory on which the attack took place, on account of the broken nature of the ground; the high standing corn concealed the advancing infantry masses and hid the low-built tanks. Thus our artillery could not be effective. Such were the circumstances and the nature of the French attack."

On the first day of the counter-blow, the success of General Mangin in the northern sector was somewhat the greater. His Franco-Americans, debouching from vantage points in the region of Cœuvres, pushed forward about eight kilometers, capturing many prisoners and guns. General Degoutte's forces made somewhat slower progress, owing to the strength of the enemy positions in such places as Troesnes Woods and Hautvison, but once these strong points were overcome, the advance was more rapid.

On the second day, the Franco-Americans pushed forward resolutely against stiffening resistance. By the end of the second day they had seized heights dominating Soissons and had taken 17,000 prisoners and about 400 cannons, some of them of middle-caliber gauge. The Allies on the eastern side of the salient, reinforced by English and Scottish troops, now took the offensive, as did those facing the Germans who had managed to cross the Marne. New French, British, and American divisions were constantly thrown into the fight, and the enemy was given no rest from the relentless pressure.



U. S. OBSERVATION BALLOON CAMP DE SAUGE.

as we were in the beginning. I'd like to have had the men who marched through Belgium with me this morning. It would not have been so easy for you. You are too young, too lusty, too swift. We can't do it!"

Both the Americans and the tanks had fulfilled all expectations. By using the tanks it had been possible to attack without previous artillery preparation, and the Germans had been given no warning to enable

The Allies were seeking, of course, to cut off the salient at its top and to capture the Germans within the pocket. The German High Command quickly perceived the peril and rushed forward reserves from every direction, by rail and motor trucks, to hold open the way to escape. At the same time they began evacuating the pocket from the bottom. This was a long and slow process, for not only were there hundreds of thousands of Germans within the salient, but there were veritable mountains of shells and other war material. Nor was the task made lighter by the fact that Allied airplanes and long-range artillery sought out every road and concentration point with their bombs and shells.

On the night of July 19th, the Germans evacuated the south bank of the Marne. The Third, Twenty-sixth, and Twenty-eighth American divisions, aided by French on the right and left, pushed the enemy hard in this region. Château-Thierry was retaken and the north bank of the Marne. The Allies met determined resistance, and every wood or thicket held German machine gunners, whose task it was to sacrifice themselves to delay the advance. But the Germans were caught at a disadvantage and had to give way.

For days the relentless pressure continued, with the Germans slowly giving ground. By July 24th, the Allies had taken Jaulgonne and were over the Marne. Four days later the Americans and their French comrades were over the Ourcq and had taken Fère-en-Tardenois. On the heights north of the Ourcq the Germans made a stronger stand, and threw fresh Guard divisions into the fight. The town of Sergy changed hands many times in twenty-four hours, but the Americans would not be denied and held the town. By August 5th, the Germans were over the Vesle River, and the Americans had taken the important supply depot at Fismes. The Marne salient was only a memory.

French and Americans had vied with each other in the battle, and the friendly rivalry had borne splendid results. As at Yorktown in the long ago, the two had made an irresistible combination. The

French were profuse in praise of their allies, and General Mangin issued an order in which he said that the Americans, shoulder to shoulder with their French comrades, ran to the fight "as if going to a feast. . . . I am proud of having commanded you during such splendid days and to have fought with you for the deliverance of the world." On August 6th, the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor was conferred upon General Pershing by President Poincaré, who spoke eloquently of American aid, and then kissed the General on both cheeks, in accordance



GENERAL TASKER H. BLISS.

with the French custom. King George of England soon after conferred upon Generals Pershing and Bliss the Order of the Bath and the Order of St. Michael and St. George respectively, and also gave decorations to other officers.

Seven American divisions had taken part in the counter-offensive. They were the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th of the Regular Army, the 26th National Guard Division, composed of troops from New England, the 28th made up of the Pennsylvania National Guard, and the 42d (the "Rainbows"), who had hurriedly been shifted from the line

east of Rheims and had fought their way from the Marne to the Vesle. This division defeated the 4th Prussian Guards. The 1st and 2d divisions alone captured 7,000 prisoners and 100 guns.

All the divisions did well, even some that were comparatively raw at the bloody work. Nor was their victory easily bought. The First Division lost over 7,200 men, mostly infantry, and the full complement of infantry in a division is only 12,000. The

and over five hundred men marched out and were sent to the prison cages.

Hundreds of times the Americans were held up by machine guns. In some cases they would wait for a tank or the artillery to abate these nuisances. In others they charged the guns, sometimes successfully, sometimes they were beaten back with bloody losses. Not infrequently in such charges the German gunners would keep shooting until the assailants were almost



AMERICANS ATTACKING A MACHINE GUN NEST.

23d Regiment of the Second went into battle with 3,400 men and 99 officers; it came out with 1,429 men and 37 officers. But it had captured about 2,200 Germans.

Innumerable interesting stories were told of the battle. A battalion of the First, for example, swept past a quarry, and members of a "mopping-up" party saw Germans disappearing into a cave. A summons to surrender, with the alternative of being bombed out, produced the desired effect,

upon them, when they would throw up their hands and yell "*Kamerad!*" imploringly. Such pleas did not always avail with men who had just seen their real comrades shot down.

One of the most exciting methods of silencing a machine gun was to stalk it from the side or rear. Instances occurred in which a single American slipped unperceived to a point of vantage and killed an entire crew with bullets or hand grenades.

Though outgeneraled and caught at a disadvantage, the German High Command conducted the retreat with great skill. Still the German losses in killed, wounded, and prisoners were very great. The Allies took over 30,000 prisoners, 700 guns, millions of shells, and vast quantities of other war materials, while the Germans were forced to destroy much more to save it from capture. Altogether it was the greatest victory the Allies had won on the west front since the first battle of the Marne.

Throughout the Allied world the tidings were greeted with transports of joy. On the night that word was received in the United States that our troops, in company with the French, had struck a great blow, advancing several miles the first day and taking thousands of prisoners, a thrill of joy ran through the land. Men believed that at last we had topped the hill and were beginning to go down on the other side. The name of Foch was on every lip. In many towns bells were rung, whistles blown, and impromptu celebrations held. After many months of bad news, victory tasted very sweet.

A grateful France conferred upon Foch the title of Field Marshal. He speedily proceeded to justify the distinction. "To make war is to attack," had long been his favorite maxim. He lived up to it now. At a conference held on July 23d, when the success of the counter-blow was assured, he asked that the leaders of the British, French, and American armies should each prepare plans for offensives to be begun as soon as possible. Thereafter the Germans were given no rest.

On August 8th, the British Fourth Army, under General Rawlinson, and the French First Army, under General Debeny, launched a new counter-offensive against the point of the salient projecting toward Amiens. Both armies were under the direction of General Haig, and the British Army included the Australian and Canadian corps, perhaps the best fighting organizations then in existence. A regiment of the 23d American Division also took part. In order to deceive the enemy, the British had displayed great activity in Flanders, as if

about to undertake an offensive there. Training operations in which both infantry and tanks co-operated were carried out on days when the enemy's reconnoissance and photographic airplanes were likely to be active. The Germans, in fact, were made to think that an offensive in Flanders was impending. Furthermore, the High Command also labored under the delusion that the Allies would attempt to force their way over the Vesle, and the Crown Prince held great forces in readiness to beat back such an effort. But, for the present, an attack in either place was no part of the Allied plan.

At 4.20 a. m., on the morning of the 8th, the massed British and French artillery opened an intense fire on the whole front of attack, completely crushing the enemy's batteries, some of which never succeeded in coming into action. Simultaneously the British infantry and tanks advanced to the attack; the French assault was begun about an hour later. The Germans were taken completely by surprise, and under cover of a heavy ground mist the British speedily gained their first objectives. The Canadians and Australians played an exceedingly honorable part, and, in the words of Haig's report, their skill and determination "proved irresistible."

As in the counter-offensive of July 18th, the tanks played a brilliant part. According to Haig, the whole scheme of the attack was dependent upon them. The British alone used some four hundred, many of them the light, swift "whippets." The tanks smashed down barbed-wire entanglements, silenced machine guns, and absolutely terrified the Germans. The "whippets" and the French light tanks, "the mosquitoes," frequently pushed far ahead of the infantry, creating havoc wherever they went, and one of the reports that drifted back from the front was to the effect that one of the whippets had been seen chasing a frightened German general up a road. The success of the blow and the light Allied losses were largely due to these land warships. The Germans had provided their men with a type of very heavy rifle known as anti-tank guns, but these weapons happily were not very effective. In fact, it is not

too much to say that without the tank the Allies could not have won the war in 1918. The name of Colonel Swinton, the inventor, must ever be held in grateful remembrance.

Behind the tanks followed the infantry. Even cavalry took up the pursuit. By night the British had advanced six or seven miles and had taken over 13,000 prisoners and between 300 and 400 guns. The French had taken 3,500 prisoners and many guns. The Germans were blowing up shell dumps

the true facts regarding the turn of events and to minimize Allied successes. Concerning the Marne defeat Ludendorff said: "The enemy evaded us on July 15th, and we thereupon, as early as the evening of the 16th, broke off operations. It is always our endeavor to stop an undertaking as soon as the stake is not worth the cost." He emphasized Allied losses in their counter-offensive and minimized their success, declaring that "by the afternoon of the 19th



KING GEORGE DECORATING AMERICAN SOLDIER FOR GALLANTRY.

in all directions, while their transports, artillery, and infantry were streaming eastward toward the Somme, offering splendid targets for French and British airmen. On succeeding days, the victors continued to exploit their success. Montdidier and other towns were recaptured, the Calais to Paris railroad was freed from German artillery fire, and altogether about 35,000 prisoners and 700 guns were taken.

The new victory added to Allied joy. In Germany every effort was made to conceal

we already were fully masters of the situation and shall remain so. . . . 'Gain of ground' and 'Marne' are only catch-words without importance for the issue of the war. We are now, as before, confident."

Von Hindenburg also dilated upon how economically the German troops were used, and explained the withdrawal from the Marne salient on this ground and the need of retiring to positions where the troops could be more easily supplied.

Emperor William, on July 31st, issued

his usual vainglorious proclamation, boasting of past victories over a "world of enemies," and adding: "You are in the midst of the hardest struggle. The desperate efforts of the enemy will, as hitherto, be foiled by your bravery. Of that I am certain, and, with me, the entire Fatherland."

German newspapers painstakingly explained to their readers that it was often necessary to accept a defensive rôle in order to make subsequent attacks more irresistible. But after the Allied victory before Amiens the fact that the great German bid for victory had failed could no longer be disguised. Henceforth "*durchhalten*"—hold through—must again be the watchword. A deep pall of gloom began to settle down upon the German people.

On August 12th, the Pan-German *Deutsche Zeitung* admitted that the Allied offensive had produced "the most serious reverse of the war." On the same day *Vorwärts*, the Socialist organ, declared:

"Neither in the east, where still greater confusion is to be expected, nor in the west have the radiant promises been fulfilled of those who would lead the German people through the war like an unsuspecting child, comforted by stereotyped assurances that everything is going excellently."

Light upon the real feelings of official Germany in this crisis was thrown by Count von Hertling a few days before his death in January, 1919. He said that as late as July, 1918, he was confident that before the first of September the Entente would send the Germans peace proposals. "Certainly our situation was most dangerous," said he, "in the sense that we had played our last card. But what did that matter, since we were sure we were winning?" Information of most favorable nature reached the Imperial Government from agents in France. "It was on account of this information that the High Command, notwithstanding the opposition of the government, was able to continue bombarding Paris. It was obviously hoped to hasten thus the process of demoralization, about which well-meaning agents furnished daily fantastic reports. We expected grave events by the end of July. That was on the 15th.

On the 18th, even the most optimistic among us understood that all was lost. The history of the world was played out in three days."

In a book published after the war, General Ludendorff says that the defeat of the Germans on August 8th, east of Amiens, finally resulted in the German High Command losing hope for military victory. He calls that date "Germany's black day." At a conference held a few days afterward with Chancellor von Hertling, Admiral von Hintze, and Field Marshal von Hindenburg, Ludendorff "clearly stated that the war could no longer be won militarily."

Meanwhile, Foch was preparing other blows, for he was determined not to give the enemy any breathing time. The very victories the Germans had gained earlier in the year had put them in vulnerable and untenable positions, and good strategy decreed that the Allies should harry them to the uttermost and inflict all the losses possible before they could withdraw to the old Hindenburg Line.

Foch's system was superior to that of Ludendorff's plan, which had been to gather all available resources for one stupendous, smashing blow. Ludendorff had won victories, but his system had a vital weakness, in that several weeks were needed to prepare a new stroke, and meanwhile his enemy had an opportunity to recuperate. Foch, like a skilled boxer, struck now here, now there, and the Germans were kept continually on the run. The Allied losses, of course, were enormous, but the Americans pouring into the conflict filled the gaps thus created, while the German reserve of men was exhausted, and their army grew weaker daily. Though making no promises and even deprecating high hopes, Foch was striving for a final decision—for a knockout.

On August 20th, Foch flung General Mangin's Tenth French Army against the German positions between the Oise and the Aisne, and next day General Byng's Third British Army and Rawlinson's Fourth Army against those in the region of Bapaume, farther north. Mangin's army, which included some Americans, made much progress, despite difficult terrain, took over

20,000 prisoners and many guns, recaptured Noyon, Roye, Chaulnes, Juvigny, and other places, and approached the old German positions along the Hindenburg Line. This success menaced the Germans in the Vesle salient and on the Chemin des Dames and endangered their forces between the Oise and the Somme.

The British swept across the old Somme battlefield, and, in a few days took 34,000 prisoners, 270 guns, and vast stores of ma-

"The change of fortune is balm to their spirits," wrote Philip Gibbs from the battle-front, "and every yard of the way is a splendid revenge. Because they have the enemy on the run they are eager to go on till they can walk no further. Officers and men, like many I have met to-day, are high-spirited, full of odd jokes and laughter, excited a little beyond the reserve and quietude of the English way, because Fritz is still hopping it, as they say, and every



SOLDIERS OF U. S. PASSING IN REVIEW, PARIS, JULY 4, 1918.

terials. This success made it impossible for the Germans to stand on their old lines of 1916 in the Somme region. The British also took Albert, Bapaume, and Péronne, and pierced the Hindenburg Line. Australians and Canadians, as well as British, again participated in this brilliant smash. The Germans were forced eastward, and Byng's and Rawlinson's men trudged after them over ground which some of them had been forced to abandon the previous March.

hour brings them news of more villages recaptured, more woods from which the Germans have fled, more ground gained on the right or left."

While Generals Mangin, Byng, and Rawlinson continued to push ahead, Foch and Haig hurled General Horne's British army against the famous Drocourt-Queant Switch east of Arras. It was this line which had stopped the British advance after they had broken the Hindenburg Line in the spring of 1917. The Germans had

expended all their ingenuity in strengthening it. What happened is significant of the change which had taken place in warfare in the course of a year. To have taken such a line in 1916 or '17 would have required many days of bombardment and the result even then would have been doubtful. As it was, the British fought their way up to the line, and at five o'clock in the morning of September 2, the masked artillery broke loose with the roar of a great crash barrage. When the barrage was raised the British swarmed over the top, accompanied by many tanks of all sizes. The tanks burst through the barbed-wire entanglements and suppressed obnoxious machine guns. The German counter-barrage was exceedingly heavy, but many of the German infantry, the moment the British appeared, jumped out of their trenches and held up their hands as a signal of surrender. In two hours the British had broken through the entire system on a front of six miles, and some of the tanks and motor machine guns had made their way to the Canal du Nord, several miles beyond. More than 16,000 prisoners and about 200 guns and much war material were taken in these and the preliminary and subsequent operations. The victory was one of the most brilliant performances of the British army during the war and opened the way to further successes. The leading part was taken by the Canadians, who, once more, showed themselves equal to any task.

The British followed up their victory vigorously. In the period of September 12th to 18th, the British Third and Fourth Armies, aided by the French First Army, co-operating south of Holnon, took Havrincourt, Epepy, and other places, captured thousands more prisoners and many guns, and secured for themselves the remaining positions needed for an attack on the Hindenburg Line.

Meanwhile, General Pershing had been organizing an American field army. It had long before been settled that the first independent American effort in France should be the reduction of the famous St. Mihiel

salient. This salient had been driven by the Germans in October, 1914, following their defeat at the Marne. It projected to the southeastward of Verdun and reached the Meuse River, cutting the important Verdun-Toul-Nancy railway. So long as it was held by the Germans it was not only a menace to France, but it effectually barred the way to an offensive against Metz or down the Meuse valley. The ground within it was rugged and easily capable of defense and had been carefully fortified by the Germans. French efforts in 1914 and 1915 to reduce the salient had proved un-

Headquarters, 42nd Division,
American Expeditionary Forces, France,

11 September 1918.

G 3 Memorandum No. 6 -

With reference to Field Orders No. 17, these Headquarters,

D day is September 12th,
H hour is 5 (five).

The bombardment will commence at H minus 4 hours.

By command of Major General Mencher:

Wm. N. Hughes, Jr.,
Lieut. Colonel, General Staff,
Chief of Staff.

Distribution
3 copies as per Field Order No. 17.



ORDER TO 42ND DIVISION TO BEGIN BOMBARDMENT AT
ST. MIHIEL.

availing and had been beaten back with bloody losses.

For the task General Pershing assembled a force of about 600,000 men, mostly Americans, but including some French troops. The French and British also supplied large numbers of guns, airplanes, and tanks. Great care was taken to effect the concentration as secretly as possible. Most of the movement of troops and guns was done at night, and during the daytime they were hidden in forests and other places of concealment. By the time set for the attack to begin, the whole region was saturated with troops, and there was hardly room to place all the guns.

A hundred thousand detailed maps were

issued to the troops, giving in the most minute detail the natural features of the salient and their defenses. These maps were supplemented by 40,000 photographs taken by airplanes. The maps and photographs were for the guidance of the artillery and infantry, and were distributed among the officers of the army a few hours before the attack. Five thousand miles of wire were laid on the borders of the salient before the attack, and 6,000 telephone instruments

Carrier pigeons were also ready for use in supplementing the telephones. Thirty-five hospital trains were provided, 16,000 beds in advanced areas, and 55,000 in units further back.

The attack was to be of the familiar pinchers type; that is to say, attacks were to be made on both sides of the salient. The hope was to cut the neck of the salient and make a big bag of prisoners and cannon. The time set for the infantry at-



AMERICANS GOING INTO ST. MIHIEL SALIENT.

were attached to these lines. After the battle began, trucks started across No-Man's Land, unreeling wires until they reached places where the reels had to be carried by signal corps men afoot. Telephone squads carried the lines right up to the fighting front, as the fighting front advanced, and it is said that soon they had a system in operation as large as that of a city of 100,000 persons. It required 10,000 men to construct and operate the system.

tack was 5.30 o'clock on the morning of September 12th. The day before, a rain set in which turned the roads into quagmires, but, nevertheless, General Pershing did not postpone the undertaking.

At one o'clock in the morning the thousands of guns around the salient opened with a terrific roar. About a million and a half shells were used. "It was," says Frederick Palmer, "our challenge as an army to the enemy. The labors and sacrifices of the

people at home were concentrated in this inferno of accumulated preparation. Our guns were speaking the power of the Mississippi's flow; of the heat of the deserts; of the coal and metals from our mines; of the throbbing life of our cities and towns and the long lines of railroad track from coast to coast; of the cotton fields and wheat fields—to support the flesh and blood of our men waiting in the front-line trenches to commence our first attack as an army. It was the thought of our men which made you pray that all the shells screaming over their heads would go straight to their targets; it was the thought of them that stilled the pulse in suspense."

Notwithstanding our efforts at secrecy, the Germans had received an inkling of the impending offensive and had already begun to evacuate the salient. The attack caught them in the midst of this operation. The troops that remained were too weak in numbers to make a very strong resistance, and, besides, they were demoralized by the artillery fire and the dash of the assailants. Everywhere both the Americans and their French comrades made rapid progress. St. Mihiel, at the point of the salient, was quickly taken, while troops from the 26th Division, coming from the north, met troops from the 1st Division, coming from the south at Vigneulles further down the salient and closed the road to German retreat. Before this occurred, many of the remaining German troops had escaped, but 16,000 were taken prisoners, including some Austrians, together with 443 cannons and much war material. The American and French losses were less than 7,000.

Twenty-seven hours after the attack began, the salient was only a memory. More than 150 square miles of territory and twelve villages had been liberated, and many French people were recovered from a vile durance that had lasted four years. They greeted their deliverers with great rejoicing. Aged men and women kissed the hands of officers and correspondents, weeping and laughing, and the prematurely aged children imitated their elders. For the French troops, however, the greetings were even deeper in feeling, and the French sol-

diers were even more affected by the scene than were the delivered.

Many months before, General Pershing had said that in this war he did not intend that there should be any Bull Run. He certainly kept his word. The *début* of the American army was most auspicious. The Allied world rang with praise. The London *Times* called the exploit "a magnificent first entry." It characterized the blow as "neat, quick, and complete. The American troops clipped off the salient with a single movement. We rejoice that the first great enterprise undertaken by the United States forces on the Western front has had such swift and dramatic results. The place and the time alike were happily chosen, and the Germans have had a salutary example of the power of the American sword. . . . The German General Staff has made many amazing blunders, but it never made a worse or more egregious error than when it sincerely believed that the United States, either from lack of ships or from lack of capacity to raise great armies, could not 'deliver the goods.' Once more Prussian arrogance has wrought its own undoing. We may leave the grossly deceived German people to settle with its masters the account now due for the way it has been hoodwinked. Signs are not lacking that it is on the eve of a terrible awakening. More was destroyed at St. Mihiel than a German salient. General Pershing shattered at a blow the monstrous web of lies which has sustained the pretense that the immense weight and the almost illimitable resources of the United States would be of little or no account in the European field of war. He has shown in one brilliant day that the Americans are as quick and apt to learn the art of war as they have been to develop the pursuits of peace."

In the words of Pershing in his official report, "The Allies found they had a formidable army to aid them, and the enemy learned finally that he had one to reckon with."

The American victory enabled General Pershing to threaten Metz and the rich Briey iron fields, from which Germany drew most of her all-essential iron ore. But for

the moment these were not the American objectives. Foch had other plans. On the very day after the reduction of the salient, artillery and troops began moving "toward the area back of the line between the Meuse River and the western edge of the forest of Argonne." The immediate object of attack would be the German line in this region, but twenty-five miles to the northward, at Mézières and Sedan, lay the main enemy artery of communication between

The German losses in six months had been enormous. Fully 200,000 prisoners and about 2,500 cannon had been captured by the victorious Allies. The morale of the weakened army left much to be desired. The vital question which remained to be answered was, Could the Germans hold the Hindenburg Line until winter gave them an opportunity to conduct a peace offensive against a war-weary world?

It had been the understanding at the



GERMAN PRISONERS TAKEN BY AMERICANS, ST. MIHIEL SECTOR.

Germany and Belgium and northern France. This was Pershing's next goal.

The Germans had already begun to evacuate the Lys salient in Flanders, and by the middle of September they were once more practically on the Hindenburg Line, whence they had launched their great offensive in the previous March. But that line and the line behind it had been broken in the region of Arras, while Pershing's blow had taken from the Germans the St. Mihiel salient.

Allied conference of July 23d that it would depend upon the nature of the success that might be attained in the different operations as to whether an attempt should be made to drive the Germans from France and Belgium in 1918. But events moved forward so auspiciously that it was ultimately decided that as soon as possible after the reduction of the St. Mihiel salient four convergent and practically simultaneous offensives should be launched. The Americans

were to move northward west of the Meuse River toward Mézières. The French west of the Argonne Forest were to co-operate with the American attack and with the same general objectives. The British were to renew the offensive on the Quentin-Cambrai front in the general direction of Maubeuge. Belgian and other Allied forces were to attack in Flanders in the direction of Ghent.

In a word, the Allies meant to assail that

On the other hand, the long period of sustained offensive action through which the British armies had already passed, had made large demands both upon the troops themselves and upon my available reserves. . . . In the face of them [the British losses] an attack upon so formidably organized a position as that which now confronted us could not be lightly undertaken. Moreover, the political effects of an unsuccessful attack upon a position so well known



27TH NEW YORK DIVISION SMASHING THE HINDENBURG LINE.

great zone of defenses known the world over as the Hindenburg Line.

This decision was not taken without some misgivings. In the words of General Haig: "The results to be obtained from these different attacks depended in a peculiarly large degree upon the British attack in the center. It was here that the enemy's defenses were most highly organized. If these were broken the threat directed at his vital systems of lateral communications would of necessity react upon his defense elsewhere.

as the Hindenburg Line would be large and would go far to revive the declining morale not only of the German Army but of the German people."

There were some timid souls who urged that it would be better to wait until the spring of 1919, when American preparations were more thoroughly made before undertaking to administer the final blow. Happily for humanity, the bolder course was followed. "Grand strategy called loudly for the American Army to hit with

all its strength," and even raw divisions were flung into the maelstrom.

But Foch, the master of all the allied armies, had not confined his plans to the Western front. In every theater of war he arranged that the soldiers of civilization should take the offensive against the powers of darkness.

In Palestine, since the capture of Jerusalem the previous winter, the forces of General Allenby had won some minor successes and had maintained control of that holiest of cities. A large Turkish army under command of a German officer, Field Marshal Liman von Sanders, confronted Allenby's forces and held a line from east of the river Jordan and south of Samaria through the plain of Jiljulieh, the ancient Gilgal, to the sea. Allenby's army was composed of British and colonial troops and a small French contingent, while a friendly force of Arabs, chiefly cavalry, under the King of the Hedjaz, operated to the east of the Jordan. General Allenby's forces were well equipped with airplanes, an instrument of warfare in which the Turks were almost wholly deficient.

In preparation for a decisive blow, Allenby formed an admirable plan and concentrated his forces accordingly. The troops were generally moved by night, being kept concealed in the olive and orange groves by day. Owing to the enemy's weakness in planes, he remained unaware of the preparations for his destruction. By September 19th, all was in readiness.

Allenby first feinted with his right center and then launched an irresistible attack with his left against the Turkish lines near the sea. A wide gap was opened, and long columns of British cavalry and Australian light horse poured through to get to the enemy's rear. Traversing the Plain of Sharon, the cavalry reached the Plain of Esdraelon or Jezreel, where of old the Israelites fought many battles. Here also lies Armageddon, which is to be, according to Revelations, the scene of the decisive battle at the end of the world. Nazareth was taken, and other towns famous in Biblical history, and the Damascus railroad, the single line of Turkish communication, was cut.

Surrounded on every side and subjected to constant attacks from overhead, the Turkish army soon became a wild mob of frightened fugitives. The transport columns were so effectively bombed by British and Australian airmen that the enemy abandoned them and fled to the hills. A war correspondent wrote:

"From Balata, where the road from Nablus falls through craggy hills and narrow passes to Wadi Farah, there is a stretch more than six miles long covered with debris of the retreating army. In no section of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow could there have been a more terrible picture of hopeless, irretrievable defeat. In this area alone were 87 guns of various calibers, fully 1,000 horse- and oxen-drawn vehicles, nearly 100 motor lorries, cars filled with kitchens, watercarts, and a mass of other impedimenta. The road was black with the carcasses of thousands of animals and bodies of dead Turks and Germans."

By a hasty personal flight General von Sanders managed to escape, but 75,000 of his men, including 3,700 Germans and Austrians, 360 cannon, his papers, and practically all his military stores were captured. In fact, his whole army was virtually annihilated. No more decisive victory is to be found in the pages of history.

For the first time since the days of the Crusades, the flags of Christian nations waved over all of the Holy Land. The Crescent, symbol of Mohammedanism, cruelty, and oppression, was gone and gone forever. What Richard the Lion-Hearted and his paladins had attempted in vain had been performed by General Allenby and his Twentieth Century crusaders.

Without loss of time, Allenby's forces pushed northward, taking Damascus and other historic places, and, in the middle of October, they captured Aleppo and cut the Berlin and Bagdad Railway. By so doing they isolated the Turkish army facing General Marshall in Mesopotamia. This army had suffered serious reverses earlier in the year. Finding its position hopeless, it soon surrendered. Meanwhile, the Allied warships occupied Beirut and other seaports.

General Allenby's spectacular stroke and

the defeat of Bulgaria practically put Turkey out of the war. Enver Pasha and the rest of the murderous gang who had dragged Turkey into the war were driven from power, and a new Government whose policy was a speedy peace was formed.

Almost simultaneously, equally decisive events were taking place in the Balkans. On September 15th, the Allied armies under command of General Franchet d'Esperey, one of the heroes of the first battle of the

mentally strong. The Allied force was an extremely composite one, consisting of British, French, Greeks, Italians, Jugoslavs, and Servians—in all about 29 divisions, or 750,000 men.

British and Greek troops struck at the enemy's left, the Italians drove forward against the Austrians in Albania, while the French and Servians dashed against the center. The Servians were filled with a desperate determination to win back the



ARABIAN TROOPS AIDING BRITISH IN CAPTURE OF DAMASCUS.

Marne, began a determined offensive from the lines north of Salonica. Three Bulgarian armies and a small Austrian army held a line running from the Ægean Sea on the east to the Adriatic on the west. There was also the so-called Eleventh German Army, but its commanders and General Staff alone were German; the troops were Bulgarians. In all, the Bulgarians and their allies had 16 divisions, or about 400,000 men, and the positions they held were im-

homes that they had lost three years before, and they overcame obstacles that a cold-blooded observer would have said were humanly impossible.

All along the line the Allies made progress, despite formidable natural obstacles and determined resistance. The valiant Servians, with French, Greek, and Jugoslav assistance, speedily pierced the Bulgarian center on a front of 16 miles, taking several thousand prisoners and many guns.

The following passage from the official report will give some idea of the brilliance of the achievement:

"Access to the chaos of rocks that forms the peak of the Sokol is possible only by two narrow roads upon which the enemy artillery and machine guns are concentrating their fire. On the left the granite rises perpendicularly; the attacking units depart for the assault, carrying ladders. Balancing themselves on the irregularities of the cliff, the men climb up under a barrage fire of extreme violence. . . . The battalion clings to a foothold 150 yards from the summit. During the whole day it resists the enemy's counter-attacks. Only at 10.30 in the evening does it gain the summit by a vigorous effort."

The Allies pursued their advantage with great enthusiasm. By the 24th, the British held Doiran, while the Servians and French were across the Czerna and Vardar Rivers. With their center broken, nothing remained for the Bulgarians and Austrians except retreat. The Servians and French pushed further up the Vardar Valley, capturing Veles and Uskub, cutting off the 11th Army and forcing it ultimately to surrender. The British and Greek troops invaded Bulgaria and took the great mountain fortress of Strumnitza. For the Austrian and Bulgarian armies to westward nothing remained save a precipitate retreat, while for the Allies the way was open for an advance against the Bulgarian capital and into old Servia.

It had long been apparent to King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, the so-called "Fox of the Balkans," that, in 1915, he had committed a fatal mistake in taking up the Teutonic cause. For months his Government and people had vainly been seeking some way of escaping the desperate situation in which they found themselves. With his army in retreat, the King sent urgent appeals for assistance to Vienna and Berlin, but the Austrians and Germans had troubles of their own and returned only evasive replies. The Bulgarian people were weary of the war, and with visions of their country being visited with devastation similar to that which they had wreaked on Servia,

they grew frantic for peace. Premier Malinoff had long been in favor of deserting the sinking Teutonic ship, while pacifist crowds surrounded the Government building in Sofia, demanding surrender and voicing bitter anger against King Ferdinand for the plight into which he had brought them. Revolution and anarchy threatened, and the anti-German feeling became so great that a massacre of all the Germans in Sofia seemed possible. Though Ferdinand, only a month before at Nauheim, had personally promised Kaiser Wilhelm to remain faithful, he now consented that an effort should be made to end the war.

On the evening of September 27th, a Bulgarian officer approached the Allied army under a flag of truce and asked for an armistice of 48 hours to permit the arrival of authorized delegates who desired to arrange a more definite armistice and ultimately terms of peace. On the ground that the request might be a *ruse de guerre* to permit the regrouping of the hard-pressed enemy forces, General Franchet d'Esperey refused to permit a suspension of hostilities, but expressed a willingness to meet the delegates.

The delegates arrived at Salonica on the following day, and on the evening of the 29th an armistice was actually signed. It amounted to an unconditional surrender. Bulgaria agreed to evacuate all the territory she occupied in Greece and Servia, to demobilize her army, to surrender all means of transport to the Allies, and to concede to them free passage through Bulgaria for the development of military operations.

Thus, just three years lacking nine days after Bulgaria joined the Central Powers, she surrendered at discretion to the Allies. The Fox of the Balkans had backed the wrong horse. He was forced to abdicate the throne on October 4th, in favor of Crown Prince Boris. The former king left at once for Vienna. He declared that he had wished to remain faithful to his allies, but that "unexpected circumstances which transformed the situation compelled my abdication and forced me to quit Bulgaria in the interests of the people. They were unwilling to continue the war, and there was opposi-

tion between them and me. Serious troubles broke out in Sofia. I was unwilling to be an obstacle to the general desire for peace, so I left."

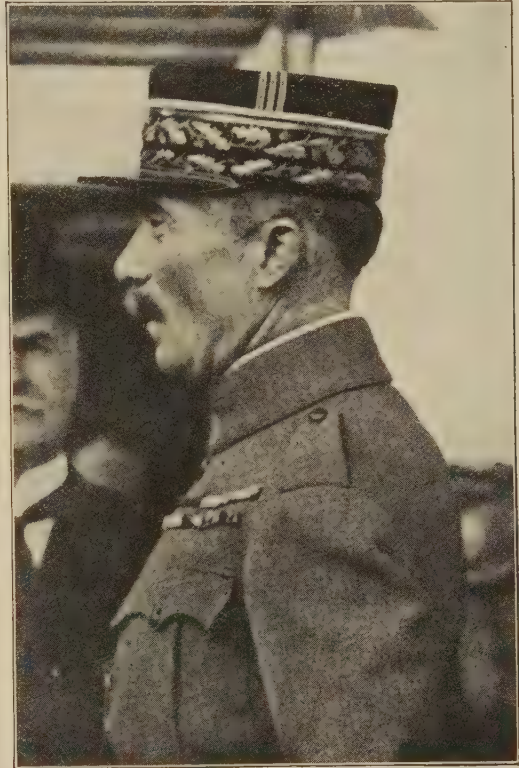
The elimination of Bulgaria from the war was an event of immense importance. The Berlin to Bagdad Railway was, for the Teutons, now available only to the Danube. The dream of a great *Mittel Europa* under Teutonic domination was definitely dissipated. The Balkan forces of the Allies, numbering several hundreds of thousands of men, could be hurled either at Austria or Turkey, or at both. As for Turkey, with her Palestine army annihilated and her communications with her Teutonic allies cut save for a precarious route by way of Russia and the Black Sea, there remained only an early surrender. Direct communications between the Allies and Roumania could speedily be reopened, and the re-entrance of that power into the war seemed probable.

The Allied forces, and especially the Servians and Italians, moved swiftly northward, harassing the Austrians. On October 13th, the Servians recaptured Nish and pushed onward. Meanwhile Servian and Montenegrin peasants unearthed weapons which had escaped confiscation by the occupying troops and began to attack their hated oppressors in the rear. Before long Servian troops stood on the banks of the Danube. They had redeemed their native land and were ready to carry the war into the enemy's country.

The home land to which the Servians returned was war-worn and desolate, for the Teutons and Bulgarians had wrought their will there even more relentlessly than in Belgium and northern France. Great numbers of the people had been carried into captivity or had starved, while hundreds of thousands had died of typhus fever and other diseases. A very large part of the male population had been slain in battle or taken prisoners. Many of the houses had been destroyed, and the country had been denuded of live stock and other valuables. Yet the land was their home, and joy filled the hearts of the long-absent Servians as they swarmed northward through

the mountain passes in pursuit of their oppressors.

Nine days before the recapture of Nish, Italian and British cruisers, protected by Italian destroyers and American submarine chasers, forced their way into the harbor of Durazzo, an important Austrian naval base on the coast of Albania, and destroyed many vessels, including two or more submarines. The whole of the Teutonic edifice



GENERAL FRANCHET D'ESPEREY.

in this part of the world was toppling to earth like a house of cards.

The moral effect of the collapse of Bulgaria was prodigious. In Allied countries Bulgaria was compared to a rat deserting a sinking ship. The figure was not inapt, nor was the strength of the comparison lost in enemy countries. At last the net was drawing close round the enemies of mankind.

With Bulgaria out of the conflict, and with Turkey tottering, with Foch's ever-increasing legions sweeping over "the glacis of the fortress called Germany," the end

could not be far off. Parts of Austria-Hungary were already in virtual revolt, and the will to fight on, even in Germany, was rapidly weakening. It was clear to the War Lords that the only way to save anything out of the wreck was to obtain a speedy peace.

Already, just as d'Esperey's army began its victorious drive, the Austro-Hungarian government, with the secret approval of Germany, had invited all the belligerent governments to enter into non-binding dis-



CROWN PRINCE BORIS, OF BULGARIA.

cussions at a secret conference in some neutral country with a view to calling a peace conference. The communication declared that the Central Powers were "only waging a war of defense for the integrity and the security of their territories," and stated that a continuation of "the bloody struggle must transform Europe into ruins."

Happily the Allies realized that the Austrian proposal was a trap designed to enable the Central Powers to save at the council table what was being lost on the

battlefield. Their reply was a curt refusal and a redoubling of their military efforts.

Before the end of September, the Allied armies on the Western Front had forced Ludendorff's legions back into the zone of defenses from which they had advanced in their spring offensive. But it was a different army from that which had sallied forth six months before. Then it had been inspired by the confident hope that victory in the "Kaiser's Battle" would enable a triumphant Germany to dictate terms of peace to a vanquished world. Now it was an army dispirited by defeat. Much of its artillery was lost; hundreds of thousands of its bravest were dead, wounded, or taken, and their places could not be filled. Behind it pressed a victorious host of confident and determined enemies, reinforced by almost two millions of fresh soldiers from a land whose "flag had never known defeat."

In the last days of September the Allies began the epic struggle that will probably be known as the Battle of the Hindenburg Line. General Pershing and a great army of Americans, under the immediate command of General Liggett, aided by French forces on their left, launched a drive northward down the Meuse valley, while far to the northwest Belgians, British, and French, under King Albert, took the offensive in Flanders. Meanwhile, other British and French armies delivered mighty blows against the fortifications in front of Cambrai, St. Quentin, and Laôn.

On the early morning of September 28th, King Albert's army began an attack on a front in the region of Ypres. There was no preliminary bombardment, but many tanks took part in the advance. The Germans, who were attempting to hold their positions with less than five divisions, were quickly driven from Messines and Passchendaele Ridges. By the end of the day, British divisions had advanced far beyond the furthest limits of the 1917 line, and with slight losses had captured more ground than had been won two years before at a cost of a quarter of a million casualties. The Belgians, also, won important successes, capturing Kortewilde, Zandvoorde, Zonnebeke, Poelcapelle, and other places, and clearing

the Germans from Houthulst Forest. Like the Servians, the Belgians were fighting to regain their homes, and there was no halting them. In the first week of the offensive, King Albert's army took over 12,000 prisoners and hundreds of guns. The British navy aided the attack by bombarding the coastal defenses along the North Sea. Dixmude was taken on September 29th, and Roulers on October 2d, and the evacuation of Lens and Armentières soon followed. An enveloping movement was begun against the great city of Lille, while the German hold on the Belgian coast was threatened.

The American drive down the Meuse Valley began on September 26th, and for obvious reasons we will describe it in much greater detail than the other operations.

The widely separated blows in Flanders and the Argonne were speedily followed by desperate assaults upon the Hindenburg Line at points between, and the conflict spread until from the region of Metz to the North Sea there was one mighty battle. The curtain had risen upon the final scene of this mightiest of human dramas. On the night of September 26th, the British began what may be called the Battle of Cambrai and the Hindenburg Line by opening a heavy bombardment along the front of the First, Third, and Fourth Armies. With the Fourth Army were the 2d Corps of Americans, commanded by Major-General Read and consisting of the 30th Division under Major-General Lewis, the "victor of Vaux," and the 27th Division under Major-General J. F. O'Ryan.

The German defenses in this region were immensely strong, and lay sometimes to the west, but more generally to the east of the line of the Scheldt Canal. Says General Haig in his report:

"The general configuration of the ground through which this sector of the canal runs produces deep cuttings of a depth in places of some sixty feet, while between Bellicourt and the neighborhood of Vendhuile the canal passes through a tunnel for a distance of 6,000 yards. In the sides of the cuttings the enemy had constructed numerous tunneled dugouts and concrete shelters. Along the top edge of them he had

concealed well-sited concrete or armored machine-gun emplacements. The tunnel itself was used to provide living accommodations for troops, and was connected by shafts with the trenches above. South of Bellicourt the canal cutting gradually becomes shallow, till at Bellenglise the canal lies almost at ground level. South of Bellenglise the canal is dry.

"On the western side of the canal south of Bellicourt two thoroughly organized and extremely heavily wired lines of continuous



MAJOR-GENERAL HUNTER LIGGETT.

trench run roughly parallel to the canal, at average distances from it of 2,000 and 1,000 yards respectively. Except in the tunnel sector the double line of trenches known as the Hindenburg Line proper lies immediately east of the canal, and is linked up by numerous communication trenches with the trench lines west of it.

"Besides these main features, numerous other trench lines, switch trenches, and communication trenches, for the most part heavily wired, had been constructed at

various points to meet local weakness or take advantage of local command of fire. At a distance of about 4,000 yards behind the most easterly of these trench lines lies a second double row of trenches, known as the Beau-revoir-Fonsomme line, very thoroughly wired and holding numerous concrete shelters and machine-gun emplacements. The whole series of defenses, with the numerous defended villages contained in it, formed a

explain to the soldiers how immeasurably important it was "that troops should now hold their ground more than ever, and that there can be no question of going back a single step farther. We want to show the British, French, and Americans that any further attacks on the Siegfried Line will be completely broken, and that this line is an impregnable rampart, with the result that the Entente Powers will condescend to



CLOTH HALL, YPRES, AFTER BOMBARDMENT.

belt of country varying from 7,000 to 10,000 yards in depth, organized by the employment of every available means into a most powerful system, well meriting the great reputation attached to it."

The German High Command realized the vital necessity of holding these defenses. They knew that if the Hindenburg Line, or, as they usually called it, the "Siegfried Line," was lost, Germany's last hope was gone. They had sent round lecturers to

consider the terms of peace which it is absolutely necessary for us to have before we can end this war."

On the 27th, some corps of the First and Third Armies attacked in the direction of Cambrai on a front of about thirteen miles. The attack was assisted by about 65 tanks, and the assailants were fortunate in forcing a crossing of the Canal du Nord at a point where the canal runs through a tunnel. The Germans resisted stubbornly, but at

the end of the day the British had bitten deeply into the zone of defense and had taken over 10,000 prisoners and 200 guns. Next day the attack was continued.

Meanwhile the guns of the Fourth Army continued to thunder against the defenses in its front. The bombardment was so heavy that the German garrisons were driven to take refuge in their deep tunnels and dugouts, and their carrying parties were unable to bring up food and ammunition.

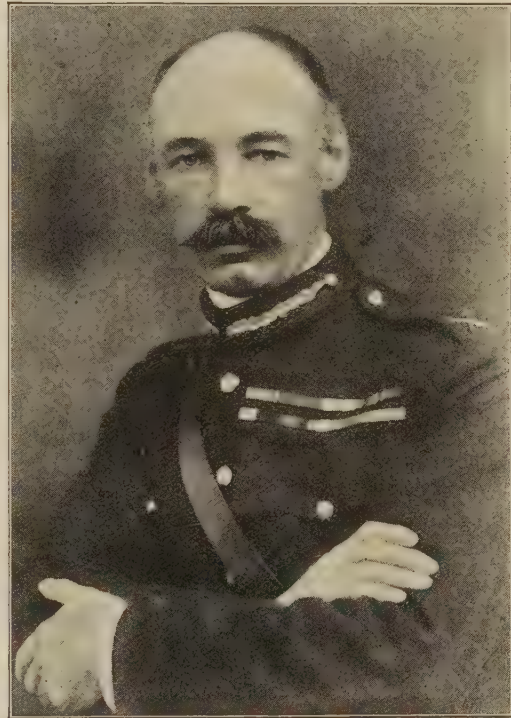
On the 29th, at 5.50 in the morning, General Rawlinson's Fourth Army attacked under a heavy barrage on a front of twelve miles between Holnon and Vendhuille. At an earlier hour two corps of the Third Army attacked between Vendhuille and Marcoing. The 46th Division of the Fourth Army won great glory in the capture of Bellenglise. To take this place the men had to cross the Scheldt Canal. Says General Haig:

"Equipped with lifebelts, and carrying mats and rafts, the 46th Division stormed the western arm of the canal at Bellenglise and to the north of it, some crossing the canal on footbridges which the enemy was given no time to destroy, others dropping down the sheer sides of the canal wall, and, having swum or waded to the far side, climbing up the further wall to the German trench lines on the eastern bank. Having captured these trenches, the attacking troops swung to the right and took from flank and rear the German defenses along the eastern arm of the canal, capturing many prisoners and German batteries in action before the enemy had had time to realize the new direction of the attack. So thorough and complete was the organization for this attack, and so gallantly, rapidly, and well was it executed by the troops, that this one division took on this day over 4,000 prisoners and 70 guns."

Elsewhere also great successes were won. Britons, Australians, Canadians, and Americans vied with each other in the deadly work, and where all were superlatively brave none could claim the palm of superiority.

The Americans on this sector were the 27th and 30th Divisions, the former from New York, under Major-General J. F.

O'Ryan, the latter composed largely of mountaineers from Tennessee and North Carolina under Major-General Edward M. Lewis. The 30th called themselves the "Wild Cat Division," and by their deeds they justified their name. The 30th quickly broke through the German lines for all its objectives, while Lewis's "Wildcats" not only smashed through the Hindenburg Line, but some of them reached Gouy. Of the Americans a British correspondent wrote:



GENERAL SIR HENRY RAWLINSON.

"Those young American soldiers came into their first big battle full of courage and impetuous desire. Leading the advance, they broke the strongest defenses of the Hindenburg Line up by Bellicourt, stormed their way across the canal to the machine guns on the other bank, and went forward that day like huntsmen in a chase that must never be forgotten. In one of the greatest battles of the war, when we crossed the Scheldt Canal and broke the last barrier of the enemy's defensive positions, it was these Americans who stormed one of the

most formidable sectors of the line and overpowered the enemy."

In the next few days the gap in the Hindenburg defenses was widened, and all German counter-attacks were hurled back. In nine days of epic battle thirty British and two American infantry divisions and one British cavalry division engaged 39 German divisions and captured over 36,000 prisoners and 380 guns.

Of all the mighty blows struck in these glorious months, this blow was the heaviest



MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN F. O'RYAN.

and most decisive. Had the Germans themselves delivered it, they would have said that it had been delivered by the "hammer of Thor." In the words of Haig: "The enemy's defense in the last and strongest of his prepared positions had been shattered. The whole of the main Hindenburg defenses had passed into our possession, and a wide gap had been driven through such rear trench systems as had existed behind them. The effect of the victory upon the subsequent course of the campaign was decisive. The threat to the enemy's communications

was now direct and instant, for nothing but the natural obstacles of a wooded and well-watered countryside lay between our armies and Maubeuge."

Further south French armies were making almost equally rapid progress. By the end of September General Bertholot had taken St. Quentin, while General Mangin's army was astride the Chemin des Dames, and was within a few miles of the important town of Laôn, one of the main bulwarks of the German line.

Meanwhile the Americans had begun the greatest battle in their history and one of the greatest of this war. As we have already said, immediately after the taking of the St. Mihiel salient the Americans had begun to concentrate troops in the region to the northward of Verdun. It was expected in many quarters that their victory at St. Mihiel would be followed up by a drive toward Metz. But this was not, for the time being, a part of General Foch's plan. Instead, he deemed it more desirable that the Americans should advance northward down the valley of the Meuse. They were to be supported on the left flank by a French attack. Between the two armies lay the dark, gloomy, rugged forest of the Argonne, an obstacle naturally so formidable that the Allied commanders deemed it better to advance on each side of it and to flank the Germans out of it rather than to attempt to take it by direct assault. About 25 miles north of the point of attack, between Mézières and Sedan, lay the main railway line between the German armies in Belgium and northern France and the Fatherland. The Germans were expecting an attack somewhere in this region, but were mistaken as to the place where the blow would fall. On September 15th, General Von der Marwitz, who commanded the German Fifth Army on this front, issued the following order:

"According to information in our hands, the enemy intends to attack the Fifth Army east of the Meuse. The objective of this attack is the cutting of the railroad line Longuyon-Sedan, which is the main line of connection of the western army. . . .

"The Fifth Army once again may have

to bear the brunt of the fighting of the coming weeks on which the security of the Fatherland may depend. The fate of a large portion of the Western Front, perhaps even the safety of our nation, depends upon the firm holding of the Verdun front."

The American and French preparations were made with all possible secrecy. General Pershing, who was still in command of the First Army, took up his headquarters in the Mairie of the little town where Pétain

counting the baggage train. One division alone filled four miles of road, so that in all there were about 60 miles of troops, without counting artillery and supply trains.

As much as possible the movement was made by night, and, as in the concentration in defense of St. Mihiel, the troops were kept concealed in forests by day. Some of the American divisions took over the line from the French on the 20th of



107TH INFANTRY, 27TH DIVISION, SOMME, FRANCE.

had directed the defense of Verdun, and Nivelle, the retaking of Fort Douaumont. He directed in person the concentration of men, guns, and other material. The troops were moved largely in motor trucks, two dozen to a truck, and most of the trucks available were still of French make. The mere task of concentration was an enormous one, for 15 divisions were moved toward the theater of action. It took about 1,000 trucks to move an American division, not

September, but a thin screen of French troops was kept in front in order that enemy raiders would not discover the presence of the Americans. So successfully was the American movement concealed that a German brigade order issued on September 24th, and later captured by the Americans, stated that there would be an attack on the morrow in Champagne and another against Metz. The French really did attack in the Champagne sector on the day after that on

which the Germans expected the assault, but there was no attack against Metz.

The region in which the battle was to take place was one which nature had rendered comparatively easy of defense. It was full of rugged hills and ravines and contained numerous woods. The most important of the woods was the Argonne Forest, which was considered to be so strong naturally as to be virtually impregnable. Furthermore, it was a region with a great scarcity of roads, and this was to

Hindenburg Line. Behind these two zones of defense lay the very strong Kriemhilde Stellung, and beyond this the surveyed but not completed Freya Stellung. Of these lines the most important was the Kriemhilde Stellung, and it formed the bulwark of German defense during the greater part of the battle. The German lines consisted of trenches, small forts, and concrete pill-boxes for machine guns and light artillery. The dugouts were very strongly constructed, and the artillery positions were well fed by



GERMAN SHELTER IN ARGONNE.

prove one of the greatest obstacles to rapid American advance. Much of the region where the attack began had been fought over during the terrific battles around Verdun in 1916. The earth was pock-marked with great shell craters, and the tops of the hills had been blown off by artillery fire.

The German defenses were most formidable. Before the Americans were three and sometimes four lines of defense. The Hagen Stellung and the Volker Stellung made up what was popularly known as the

roads and light railways. Furthermore, the Germans knew the whole region thoroughly. They knew all the places where troops could be concentrated and concealed, and they knew the ranges of such places from their own batteries.

The initial American attack was to be made by three army corps, the I, III, and V, consisting of nine divisions. The I Corps was made up of the 77th, 28th, and 35th divisions. The V Corps consisted of the 91st, the 37th, and the 79th. The III Corps

consisted of the 33d, the 80th, and the 4th. Six of these nine divisions had never been in a real battle before, and both men and officers would have profited by further training, but the state of the war made it expedient that every available force should be thrown into the conflict.

Nearly 4,000 guns had been concentrated for the attack. A considerable part of these guns, especially the heavy guns, were French, manned by French artillerymen

by French crews. There were about 500 airplanes of all types attached to the army, many of which were of French make and some of which were manned by French airmen. Authorities differ as to whether the Americans or the Germans had the superiority in the air. Neither had such a preponderance of strength as to prevent the other from obtaining valuable secrets by reconnaissance machines.

The German forces on the front attacked



AMERICAN TANKS GOING FORWARD, ARGONNE.

loaned for the purpose. Of the remainder, nearly all had been bought from the French, but were manned by American gunners. The army was unfortunately short of transport both in the way of horses and motor-trucks. One or two of the divisions had been equipped with light Browning automatic rifles. The rest of the machine guns were of the French Chauchat type. One hundred and forty-two tanks, which had been bought from the French, were operated by our own Tank Corps, while 73 others were manned

were at first very weak. As explained above, the Germans were expecting the attack to come toward Metz, and had concentrated a large part of their available force in that region. Furthermore, the terrific losses of more than four years of warfare had so weakened the German army that it had scant reserves and was compelled to hold many parts of the line lightly. There were, on the morning of September 26th, only four German divisions in front of the Americans. One of these, the Second Land-

wehr division, consisted of men over 35 years of age. It was stationed in the Argonne Forest and had been in this section for more than a year. To the east lay the First Guard division, one of the best in the German army, but it had suffered heavily in the Chemin des Dames and Marne battles and was recuperating on what was supposed to be a quiet sector. The 7th Reserve Division was also being built up once more after having been almost wiped out in recent battles. The other division, the 117th Reserve, was composed in large part of Alsatians and Poles, and its morale was far from high. It was lucky for the Americans that the forces encountered were comparatively weak, for the German defenses were so strong that had they been better manned they might have withstood the assault.

At 2.30 on the morning of September 26th the preliminary bombardment began. Three hundred and thirteen thousand seventy-eight shells were fired in the course of the day. Five-thirty o'clock had been set as the "zero hour," and, when the moment came, the Americans went over the top with a yell.

The attack made progress at all points, though naturally more rapidly at some places than at others. On the right the 33d Division crossed Forges Brook, and in places duck-boards were thrown over under the enemy fire, while in others the soldiers waded forward in swampy ground under machine-gun fire. By noon this division had reached its objectives along the Meuse. On the left the height of Vauquois and Varrennes were speedily taken, while good progress was made at many places in the center. The Germans did not attempt to hold determinedly at first, but retired to positions at the rear, leaving machine gunners in strong points to delay the advance. By evening the Americans in many places had advanced a half dozen miles or more and had taken many prisoners and guns.

It had been the extreme hope of the American commanders that we might be able to rush the Hindenburg Line and to assault the strong Kriemhilde Stellung before the Germans were able to bring up

reserves. French officers considered this schedule rather "more than human," but if it could have been realized it would have meant that the Americans would have accomplished in a few days what ultimately took six weeks of bloody effort. This hope was dashed by the German resistance at Montfaucon. This ridge and the woods about it gave great opportunities for defense and the Germans made the most of the opportunity. By 2.30 in the afternoon the 4th Division managed to advance abreast of Montfaucon on the east, while the 37th Division, composed of former Ohio National Guard regiments, made good progress to the west of it. Montfaucon itself lay in the path of the 79th Division, composed of drafted men from Virginia and Maryland, who had received their training at Camp Meade and were now engaged in their first battle. The barbed-wire in front of this division had been so thick that they failed to get through on schedule time, and had a hard struggle in overcoming machine-gun nests, because the barrage had moved forward before they were ready to attack. By evening, however, the 79th was on the slopes of Montfaucon. A final effort was made to keep the drive moving. An assault was attempted with the aid of two tanks, but there was very little artillery support available, and the assailants were deluged with shells, hand-grenades, and machine-gun fire. After heavy losses the attempt was given up for the day. Next morning, the 79th and the 37th again attacked, and, with the aid of a machine-gun barrage and the tanks, finally took Montfaucon. In the afternoon, the 79th again moved forward, but the advance was slow, and by night the division was in a badly exhausted condition and was still about half a mile short of the first day's objective.

The resistance at Montfaucon and some other strong points enabled the Germans to reorganize and bring up reserves to hold the Kriemhilde positions. The "more than human" American schedule had not been realized, yet a great victory had been won. In a single day our troops had made an average advance of from three to seven miles and had taken several thousand pris-

oners. The French on the other side of the Argonne Forest had also done well and had made a good advance.

At Montfaucon the Americans took the famous concrete observation post from which the German Crown Prince had safely watched the progress of the attack on Verdun in 1916. They found it an interesting place, with tremendously thick walls, proof against shell fire, properly fitted to safeguard the heir apparent to the throne of the

keep their guns well supplied with ammunition, while their thorough knowledge of the ground made it possible for them to search out with shell-fire every point where the assailants were likely to take cover. Meanwhile, in the words of General Pershing, "in the chilled rain of dark nights our engineers had to build new roads across spongy, shell-torn areas, repair broken roads beyond No-Man's Land, and build bridges. Our gunners, with no thought of sleep, put



KAISER DECORATING SOLDIER.—SEDAN.

greatest of the War Lords. In it they captured many valuable maps and other German official papers.

During the next few days the Americans pressed still further forward, taking many new positions and searching out and destroying German machine-gun nests. The Germans brought up an increasing number of divisions and guns, and made an increasingly strong resistance. By means of light railways the Germans were able to

their shoulders to the wheels and drag ropes to bring their guns through the mire in support of the infantry, now under the increasing fire of the enemy's artillery. Our attack had taken the enemy by surprise, but quickly recovering himself, he began to fire counter-attacks in strong force, supported by heavy bombardments, with large quantities of gas. From September 28th until October 4th we maintained the offensive against patches of woods defended by

snipers and continuous lines of machine guns, and pushed forward our guns and transport, seizing strategical points in preparation for further attacks."

Meanwhile, the southern end of the Argonne Forest had been outflanked on the east by the Americans and on the west by the French. American troops moving up from the south made progress in the mazes of the wood, fighting a bitter battle against

frightful, and soon the supply of food gave out. The men resorted to chewing oak leaves and had to leave their dead unbearably, because exhaustion, exposure, and starvation left them too weak to handle shovels and too few to leave their guns. One day an American who had been taken prisoner was released by the Germans, bearing a typewritten message declaring that resistance was hopeless, and calling upon the battalion to surrender. Major Whittlesey returned no answer, but to Americans around him he consigned the Germans to the nether regions and kept up the fight. After five days, rescuing parties fought their way to the position and saved the beleaguered men. Only about one half had survived, and of the 394 soldiers to leave the ravine alive 156 were wounded. The story of the "Lost Battalion" attracted great attention throughout America. Major Whittlesey was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-colonel and was awarded the Congressional Medal.

Thus all along the line from Metz to the North Sea the initial assaults of the Allies on the Hindenburg Line had made substantial progress. On September 29th, a correspondent of the *London Times* wrote:

"It has been a wonderful week, richer in promise than any that we have seen during the war. From all sides there is great news. On the Western front the Germans have not collapsed, like their Allies in the East, and are resisting stubbornly, and even counter-attacking at many points along the huge front over which active operations are in progress. But we seem to have brought the enemy to a point where parry and riposte are equally powerless to do more than temporarily delay the forward march of the Allies, and we are getting home blow after blow. The splendid advances of the Belgians and British on the left and the Americans on the right are matched by the glorious efforts of the French in the center, and it really seems as though before the unquenchable faith and untiring patience of



MAJORS WHITTLESEY AND KENNY.

concealed German machine guns. On October 2d, the First Battalion of the 308th Infantry of the 77th New York division, with certain elements of two other regiments, were cut off in a ravine and surrounded by the enemy. They were commanded by Major Charles W. Whittlesey, a most determined officer. The Germans poured a hurricane of shells and machine-gun bullets into the position held by the beleaguered Americans. The losses were

heavy, and soon the supply of food gave out. The men resorted to chewing oak leaves and had to leave their dead unbearably, because exhaustion, exposure, and starvation left them too weak to handle shovels and too few to leave their guns. One day an American who had been taken prisoner was released by the Germans, bearing a typewritten message declaring that resistance was hopeless, and calling upon the battalion to surrender. Major Whittlesey returned no answer, but to Americans around him he consigned the Germans to the nether regions and kept up the fight. After five days, rescuing parties fought their way to the position and saved the beleaguered men. Only about one half had survived, and of the 394 soldiers to leave the ravine alive 156 were wounded. The story of the "Lost Battalion" attracted great attention throughout America. Major Whittlesey was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-colonel and was awarded the Congressional Medal.

our wonderful soldiers the enemy's strength and organization is beginning at last to crumble away. Even the pessimists among the French—for there are some, though not one that I have ever met among the fighting men—are saying to-day, '*Enfin ça marche.*'"

From Metz to the North Sea the whole German line was shaken, and it fell to the British to deliver the decisive thrust that broke that famous defensive line into fragments. On October 8th, Generals Byng and Rawlinson drove once more against the Germans in the vicinity of Cambrai. The drive widened the breach in the German zone of defenses, and, for the first time since the beginning of trench warfare in the west, the Allies were really through the German system of defense and were fighting in the open. Twenty-four German divisions were beaten, and 12,000 prisoners and 250 guns were taken. Cambrai fell, and the beaten enemy retired behind the Selle River.

As a result of this victory and of French and American successes, the Germans evacuated the Laôn salient, one of their strongest positions, while the ruins of Rheims were at last freed from the menace of German artillery. From Metz to the North Sea the Teutons were in retreat, and the Hindenburg Line had passed into history. To save themselves from complete annihilation, the Germans were compelled to sacrifice great numbers of their best troops in bloody counter-attacks designed to gain time for their shattered army to retreat.

In the final battle around Cambrai the 27th and 30th American divisions had again had a part. In actions from the 27th of September to the 19th of October they captured over 6,000 prisoners and advanced over 14 miles through trenches and shell craters, despite all the opposition the enemy could offer.

On October 14th, King Albert's army resumed the offensive in Belgium and again captured thousands of prisoners and hundreds of guns. On October 17th, the British entered Lille and Douai. On the same day the Germans evacuated Ostend, and British naval forces entered the harbor; the following day they occupied Zeebrugge. The

German hold upon the Belgium coast had been broken forever.

Before evacuating many of the French and Belgian towns, the Germans wantonly looted and destroyed them. Noyon was blown up by explosives fired by electrical devices after its evacuation. Of the 10,000 houses in what was once the garden city of Lens not one remained standing. Those which had survived shell fire had been deliberately razed, and the gardens about them ruined. The machinery in the great coal mines in this region had been blown up, and the mines had been flooded. The destruction was so great that experts estimated that it would be eighteen months or two years before much coal could be mined, and at least five years must elapse before the pits could be brought back to their normal output. By order of the German commandant the city of Cambrai had been evacuated of its inhabitants, and, after the town had been systematically looted, it was blown up by explosives set off by time devices.

"What touched one most," wrote Philip Gibbs, "was the wreckage of the smaller houses and the little shops and restaurants. I looked into houses where women's sewing machines still stood on tables, as they had done their work with their babes around. Perambulators stood on thresholds, and children's dolls lay on floors as they had been dropped because of the terror that had followed the notice on the walls signed by Commandant Gross. China and glass were in cupboards and on kitchen tables unbroken, amidst a litter of clothes turned over by German soldiers searching for things to take away."

The destruction thus wrought drew sharp threats of reprisal from the French Government and horrified the world. For once the Germans were impressed, and the great city of Lille and some other places were left practically intact. In the morning after the evacuation of Lille, an Allied aviator flying over the city saw great crowds of people in the streets, waving sheets and flags as if to attract his attention. Soon it was ascertained that the Germans were gone, and the Allied forces entered. Practically all the able-bodied men had been de-

ported, as had been some of the girls, but the great mass of the population remained and were wild with joy at their liberation. Writing of the redemption of Lille and other places, a correspondent said:

"To-day I have seen scenes of history which many people had been dreaming through all these years, until at last they were sick with deferred hope. I have seen Belgian and French soldiers riding through



CAMOUFLAGED OBSERVATION POST.

liberated towns, cheered by the people who had been prisoners of war in their own houses for all these dreary years, under a hostile rule which was sometimes cruel and always hard, so that their joy now is wonderful to see, and makes something break in one's heart at the sight of it, because one understands by these women's faces, by the light in the children's eyes, and by the tears of old, bearded men what this rescue means to them and what they suffered."

"I have just witnessed the most touching spectacle of my life," wrote a French journalist, describing scenes in Lille. "The whole city, in a delirium of joy, was ready to throw itself upon us, the first to enter Lille. To-night at nine o'clock, near Armentières, an officer shouted to us, 'Lille is taken!' We speeded our auto on the road of victory. Two miles from Lille two young girls ran out in front of our auto, crying amid sobs of joy: 'They have gone! They have gone! *Vivent les Anglais! Vive la France!*'"

"We went a little further, and then a huge shell crater obliged us to abandon our machine and proceed on foot. Two more girls, who had run out of the city to meet their deliverers the sooner, cried, while tears streamed down their cheeks, 'They won't come!'

"A hack appeared, and we got in, but a crowd, every member of which was weeping, seized us. One man climbed on our shoulders. Another shouted to us: 'My name is Guiselin. I am City Counselor. The Germans offered me a million to betray my country. The cowards, the cowards!' and then he burst into sobbing.

"Carried by the crowd, we arrived at the City Hall. Deputy Mayor Baudon stood at the door. When we entered, every one rushed to embrace us. An old man with white hair stood with a violin at the top of the grand staircase and played the 'Marseillaise.' Outside the crowd seethed like the sea. We were the first messengers from the motherland.

"'Speak, speak to us!' they cried. We opened the windows and told of our victory. A shout went up that filled the city. We told of the Bulgarian capitulation. Again the cheers rang out. We told of the Turkish promise to quit the war, and again the crowd cheered. Then we told them that President Wilson had refused to grant an armistice and demanded Emperor William's head. The crowd, in a frenzy, tossed everything it could lay hands on into the air.

"At the prefecture the Acting Prefect, M. Regnier, embraced us, and there was a fresh outburst of cheering from the crowd. It was for Mayor Delsalle and for his son,

a French officer of the Legion of Honor, and wearing the War Cross. This officer, an aviator, heard at eleven o'clock that the city had been freed. He leaped into his machine, flew quickly to Lille, and landed in the Place du Théâtre. Alighting, he rushed home to his father. His was the first French uniform the liberated citizens had seen, and the sight of it increased their delirium of joy."

By this time the whole Allied world was

guns. Tens of thousands of prisoners and many hundreds of guns were added in the next two weeks.

In Germany the War Lords were making desperate but futile efforts to keep up the courage and the determination of their deluded people. Late in September, before Bulgaria's surrender and before the break of the Hindenburg Line, the Kaiser addressed the soldiers at Rufach in Alsace as follows:



GREETING THEIR LIBERATORS.

going mad with rejoicing. In ninety days Foch had broken the German offensive, had driven the invaders back from the line from which they had emerged in the spring, and had broken that line into fragments. Bulgaria had made peace, and the fall of Turkey could be, at latest, only a question of a few weeks. Victory was becoming almost as monotonous as defeat. The Allies from July 15th to October 1st had captured over 250,000 men and between 3,500 and 4,000

"Neither the French nor the Americans will break through our front in Alsace-Lorraine. We shall defend with the last drop of our blood these provinces which belong to us and which the Almighty has intrusted to us to administer as His stewards, and we shall keep them for the benefit of their inhabitants and the glory of God. Our faithful allies are with us in this. The last drop of blood of every Austrian and Hungarian soldier, the last drop of blood of every Bul-

garian and Turkish soldier will be shed before our enemies wrest from us land which belongs to Germany. Our enemies cannot and will not succeed. We are under Divine protection."

Somewhat before this, in an effort to fire the German heart, the Kaiser made an extended speech to workers in the Krupp factory. It was an appeal to the nation to "hold through." He closed as follows:

and our loyal allies, and now we have peace with Russia, and peace with Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro is finished.

"Only in the west do we still fight, and is it to be thought that the good God will abandon us there at the last moment? We should be ashamed of the faint-heartedness which comes when one gives credence to rumors. From the facts which you yourselves have experienced forge for yourselves



114TH REGIMENT, 29TH DIVISION, ADVANCING THROUGH ST. LEDGER WOODS.

"Each one of us has received his appointed task from on high. You at your hammer, you at your lathe, and I on my throne. We must all, however, build on God's assistance. Doubt is the greatest ingratitude toward the Lord, and now I ask you all simply and honestly, Have we, then, really ground for doubt?"

"Just look at the four years of war! What immense achievements we have behind us! Half the world stood against us

a firm belief in the future of your Fatherland. We often at home and at the front, in church and in the open air, have sung '*Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*.' So it is resounded in the blue vault of heaven and in the thunderclouds. The nation from which such a hymn originated must be invincible.

"My request, my demand of you and through you to all the workers who have proved themselves so admirable and capable, and through you again to the entire

German people, is this: For me and for my relations to my people my words of August 4, 1914, hold good. I know no party. I know only Germans.

"It is now no time for factions. We must all now combine into a block, and here the most appropriate word is to be as hard as steel, and a block of the German people welded into steel shall show its strength to the enemy.

"Whoever, therefore, is determined to obey this summons, whoever has his heart in the right place, and whoever intends to keep faith, let him stand up.

"Now promise me, on behalf of the entire German labor, 'We intend to fight and to hold out to the last, so help us, God.' Whoever so intends let him answer 'Yes.'"

(The assembly loudly chorused "Yes," and the Emperor continued.)

"I thank you. With this 'Yes' I go now to the Field Marshal. Now it is for every one of us to fulfill his vow of duty and to exert his body and mind to the utmost for the Fatherland. Every doubt must be banished from mind and heart.

"Our watchword now is, The German swords are raised, hearts are strong, and muscles are taut. On to battle against everything that stands against us, no matter how long it lasts, so help us God. Amen. And now, farewell."

In this speech there was something of the old vainglory, but also a new note which discriminating readers did not fail to discern. It was clear that the Kaiser was anxious, even frightened. Allied readers laughingly remarked that he appeared to be fearful lest his boasted partnership of "*me und Gott*" was about to be dissolved.

The truth was that the time was past when words could save the Central Powers. Foch's legions pressed onward as remorselessly as fate. After the defeat of Turkey and Bulgaria and the breaking of the Hindenburg Line, even the War Lords themselves realized that the game was up, and secretly put forward a new civil government to open negotiations for peace.

In the spring, at the time of the great offensive, German ideas of peace had been exceedingly high. Even practically all the

Socialists demanded that Germany must emerge a conqueror. Herr Müller, a Radical deputy of the Reichstag, wanted "freedom of the seas," the assurance of our greatest possible independence of foreign imports, and much else. Our new neighbor States in the East must give us settlement land for the increase of our national strength." Herr Schlee, National Liberal member of the Reichstag, insisted that the Allies must "bear the enormous cost of the war," and also that "the German people must be better off after the war than before."

Herr Bacmeister, an avowed Pan-German, declared that Germany must retain the coast of Flanders, so that in any future war her navy could destroy British trade. "Germany must also hold the line of the Meuse and the Sambre, must control Belgian railways and canals, and must keep as much of the French and Belgian coal and iron fields as she wants. In the East she must take plenty of land for the settlement of her peasants, Servia must be extinguished, France and Italy must be smashed, and indemnities should be exacted, though annexations and the recovery of world trade would be better."

There can be no question that from War Lords down to peasants the almost universal feeling was that Germany must exact a peace at the point of the sword. She should then proceed to take what she wanted both in land and money.

But Foch and his crusaders had changed the currents of Teutonic thought. By the end of September, the German people were frantically eager for peace. Count von Hertling resigned the Chancellorship and was succeeded by Prince Maximilian, of Baden. The new Chancellor was known as a man of moderate views as compared with the typical Junker, though in some of his utterances he had displayed decided hostility toward America.

Philip Scheidmann, a leader of the Social Democrats, and Brüder, another Socialist, were given positions in the new Cabinet, and an effort was made to convince the world that there had been a transformation in the nature of the German Government.

Certain reforms in the direction of greater democracy were adopted with ludicrous haste.

On the night of October 4th, Prince Maximilian transmitted to President Wilson, through the Swiss Government, the following historic note:

"The German Government requests the President of the United States to take in hand the restoration of peace, acquaint all

immediate conclusion of an armistice on land and water and in the air."

On October 5th, Prince Maximilian stated the policy of his government to the Reichstag and informed that body of his peace offer. When the news was published in Berlin, excited crowds tore the newspapers from the hands of the venders and exultantly shouted, "Peace at last!" Even strangers, meeting on the street, would sometimes kiss each other and shout peace congratulations.

In Allied countries decided differences of opinion developed as to German purposes in making the proposal. Some persons thought that the German leaders, knowing Wilson's proclivities toward peace, hoped that he would prove so eager to accept the offer that he would make great concessions. In all Allied countries a fear developed lest what was virtually won on the battlefield might be lost around the council-table. The almost universal opinion was that if the Germans desired an armistice they should make their proposal to Marshal Foch in the field. A strong sentiment developed that the only terms granted should be "unconditional surrender." Fresh devastations in France and Belgium and new submarine atrocities served to increase the demand for rigorous dealing with the Huns. In the sinking of the passenger ship *Leinster* in the Irish Sea only a few of the 150 women and children on board were saved. The seventeen survivors of the crew of the freighter *Ticonderoga*, torpedoed on her way to France, reported that the rest of the 250



PRINCE MAXIMILIAN, IMPERIAL GERMAN CHANCELLOR.

the belligerent States with this request, and invite them to send plenipotentiaries for the purpose of opening negotiations.

"It accepts the program set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress on January 8th, and in his later pronouncements, especially his speech of September 27th, as a basis for peace negotiations.

"With a view to avoiding further bloodshed, the German Government requests the

men were lost, most of them having been killed in cold blood after they took to their boats.

Out of over 300 passengers and crew of a Japanese steamer torpedoed off the Irish coast, only 29 were saved.

In his speech of January 8th, referred to by the German note, President Wilson had formulated a program for peace under fourteen heads. In these he incorporated the chief Allied demands, together with

some of his own personal opinions. The fourteen points were as follows:

"I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in public view.

"II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

"III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

"IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

"V. Free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

"VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest coöperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good-will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

"VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sov-

eighty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

"VIII. All French territory should be freed, and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

"IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

"X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the first opportunity of autonomous development.

"XI. Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Servia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

"XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

"XIII. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose

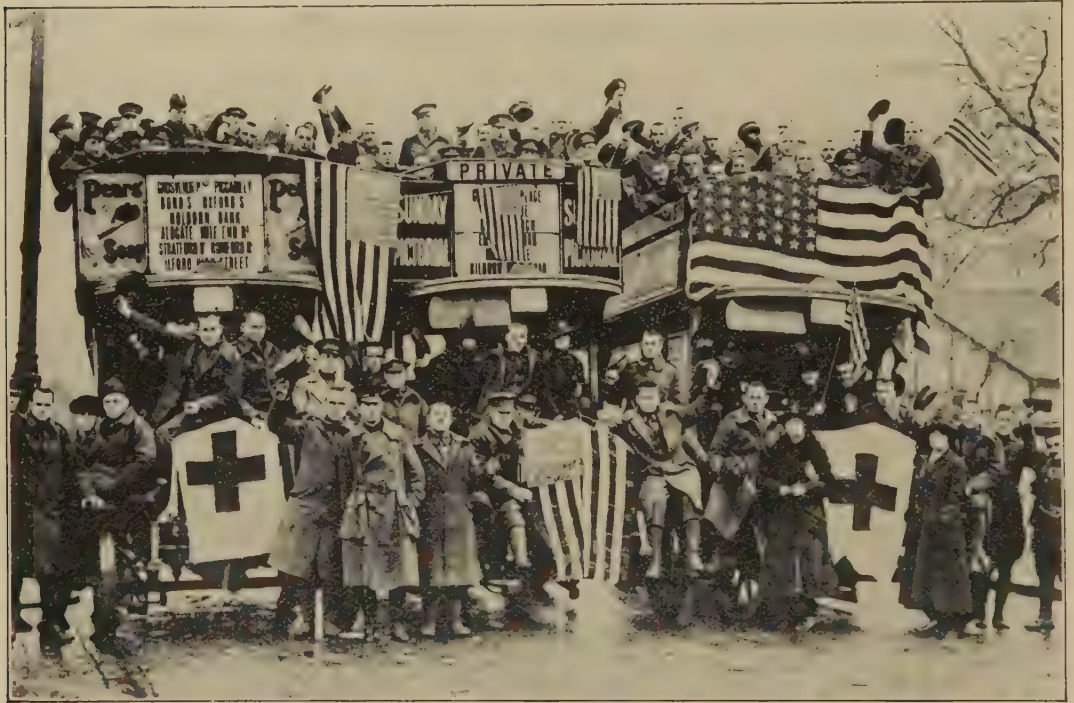
political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

"XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike."

In his speech of September 27th, Wilson had elaborated his idea of a League of Nations and, in a somewhat more general way,

est. We cannot 'come to terms' with them. They have made it impossible. The German people must by this time be fully aware that we cannot accept the word of those who forced this war upon us. We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement."

Discerning men, when they read the German proposal at once realized that the doubtful part was the statement that Germany accepted the President's program "as a basis for peace negotiations." Obviously



RED CROSS TAKING U. S. SOLDIERS ON LONDON SIGHT SEEING TOUR.

the specific terms of peace. Of the governments of the Central Powers he had said bluntly:

"We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the Governments of the Central Empires, because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other Governments that were parties to this struggle, at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest. They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own inter-

this last phrase might mean anything or nothing.

In replying, Secretary Lansing, speaking for the President, brought up this point and demanded whether Germany actually accepted the terms laid down and whether the "only object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon the practical details of their application." The President, he added, could not ask the Powers with which the United States was associated to grant an armistice so long as the armies of the Central Powers remained upon their soil. He also said that the President con-

sidered it of vital importance to learn whether the Chancellor was "speaking merely for the constituted authorities of the Empire who have so far conducted the war."

Meekly to answer such a note involved great humiliation for Germany, but by this time the Hindenburg Line had been captured, and the German armies were hard pressed by the victors. The sword, not skill in words or argument, was the determining factor. Therefore, Solf, the German Foreign

Minister, declared that the Kaiser and the War Lords were no longer supreme. Most of the Allied peoples regarded the change as mainly camouflage, but even a pretense of change was encouraging. Every sensible man realized, however, that it would be easy for the War Lords to overturn the new "popular" government should it suit their purpose.

Whatever may have been President Wilson's personal inclination, the fact was made abundantly clear to him that neither



GERMAN TANK CAPTURED BY YANKS.

Secretary, hastened to reply, on October 12th, that Germany actually accepted the peace program, and was willing, as was Austria-Hungary, to evacuate invaded territory. The existing Government, he declared, had been "formed by conferences and in agreement with the great majority of the Reichstag. The Chancellor, supported in all his actions by the will of this majority, speaks in the name of the German Government and the German people."

This last statement amounted to a dec-

laration that the Allies nor the people of the United States would countenance any suspension of hostilities that was not favored by the Allied commanders, for such phrases as, "Leave it to Foch!" were heard on every hand. In a note of October 14th, therefore, the President, through Secretary Lansing, informed Germany that the conditions of an armistice must be left to the military authorities, and no arrangement could be accepted by the United States that did not guarantee the supremacy of the Allies in the field.

He referred in scathing language to the fact that "at the very time that the German Government approaches the Government of the United States with proposals of peace its submarines are engaged in sinking passenger ships at sea, and not the ships alone, but the very boats in which their passengers and crews seek to make their way to safety; and in their present enforced withdrawal from Flanders and France the German armies are pursuing a course of wanton destruction which has always been regarded as in direct violation of the rules and practices of civilized warfare. Cities and villages, if not destroyed, are being stripped not only of all they contain, but often of their very inhabitants. The nations associated against Germany cannot be expected to agree to a cessation of arms while acts of inhumanity, spoliation, and desolation are being continued which they justly look upon with horror and with burning hearts."

He also quoted from a previous speech in which he had declared that one condition of peace must be "The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at least its reduction to virtual impotency." He referred, of course, to the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs, and he now stated that the words quoted "naturally constitute a condition precedent to peace, if peace is to come by the act of the German people themselves."

In a separate reply to Austria-Hungary the President pointed out that since the enunciation of his "fourteen points" certain events had occurred which rendered necessary some modifications of that program. He had previously demanded that the peoples of Austria-Hungary must be "accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development." Since then the United States had formally recognized that a state of belligerency existed between the Czechoslovaks and the German and Austro-Hungarian empires, and hence "mere 'autonomy'" for these peoples would not suffice as a basis for peace.

Three months before, the governments of the Central Powers would have sneered at such demands, but Foch had worked great changes in their minds. Some German newspapers voiced their anger and defiance, but the semi-official organs displayed a tendency toward some kind of acceptance. With their allies falling away, with their armies in disastrous retreat, with much of their artillery lost, their supplies of ammunition running short, and their submarine campaign defeated, even most of the War Lords realized that the situation was hopeless.

The German army had at last met defeats that could not be explained away. In the metaphor of General Maurice, it was no longer possible for the leaders of Germany to dangle a carrot in front of the donkey's nose by pointing to successes in the field and insisting that victory would soon be won if the people at home would only make renewed sacrifices. Discontent was sweeping through the Empire. Civilians and even soldiers and airmen were escaping to neutral countries, while troops in the field displayed an ever-increasing readiness to surrender. At Essen, despite the Kaiser's speech of the previous month, crowds paraded the streets singing revolutionary songs, uttering insulting remarks about the Kaiser, Ludendorff, and Hindenburg, and carrying placards bearing such inscriptions as: "Down with war," "We want peace," "We are dying of starvation." The Allied aviators were creating havoc in the Rhine towns with their bombs, and throughout Germany there existed the fear that the Allied armies would invade the Fatherland and treat German towns as German troops had treated towns in Belgium and northern France. In Austria-Hungary conditions were even worse, and it was evident to the Germans that the total collapse of their ally might come at any moment.

In Allied countries hatred of Germany had become so strong that many good people actually hoped that the war would not end until more Germans were killed and until the devastation visited upon so many countries had been returned with interest. The continued sinking of vessels

by U-boats, with consequent loss of life, and the destruction of evacuated French and Belgian towns aroused bitter feelings. On all sides the warning cry was heard that there must be no slackening of effort. In America, for example, the fourth Liberty Loan was subscribed to with unequaled liberality. There were over twenty million subscriptions, and the total was over six billions and a half, a greater amount than

while British troops on the Piave front obtained a footing on some islands and captured 400 prisoners. Altogether, nearly 3,000 Austrians were taken on the first day. These successes were followed up in the next few days, and the Tenth Army, consisting of Italian and British forces under Lord Cavan, crossed the Piave River at the Island of Grave di Papadopoli above the Montello and established themselves firmly



FRENCH CORPS RELEASING LIQUID FIRE.

had ever been raised at one time by any nation.

It was now Austria's turn. On October 24th, General Diaz's army began offensive operations on the Trentino front and on the middle Piave River. His army was composed of 51 Italian, three British, two French, and one Czecho-Slovak divisions, and one American regiment. In the Grappa region the Italians captured Mt. Solarolo and advanced on the slopes of Pertica and Prassolan, near Asiago. French troops took Sissemol, with 800 prisoners,

on the eastern bank, while troops of the Eighth and Twelfth Armies crossed the river higher up.

Meanwhile, Austria-Hungary itself was falling into chaos. Emperor Charles issued a manifesto, promising a federal State for each race in the monarchy, but this did nothing to allay the tumult. Provisional governments were set up by the chief Slavic races at Prague, Agram, and other cities. Food supplies were cut off from Vienna and German Austria by the Czechs. Count Burian, the Austrian Foreign Min-

ister, resigned, as did the Wekerle Cabinet in Hungary. Croatian and Slavic troops openly mutinied. The polyglot Austro-Hungarian Empire fell to pieces like a piece of conglomerate from which the binding element has been removed.

Count Andrassy, who succeeded Count Burian as Foreign Minister, hastily transmitted a note to Wilson, announcing that Austria-Hungary accepted all the conditions which had been made as necessary preliminaries to negotiations. He said that his Government was prepared, without awaiting results of other negotiations, to enter into an immediate armistice on all the Austro-Hungarian fronts. It was clear to the Austro-Hungarian leaders that their troops could not withstand the offensive, and they were also frantically eager to secure a suspension of hostilities to allay dissatisfaction at home. In short, they were in as great a hurry now to stop the war as in July, 1914, they had been to precipitate it. The conflict was not turning out in the way they had expected. Thinking men in Allied and neutral countries spoke sarcastically of the transformation that had taken place in regard to war in the Dual Monarchy.

Such pleas availed nothing. It was felt throughout the Allied world that it would be a mistake to permit Austria to make peace without suffering a humiliating defeat, nor were General Diaz and his soldiers willing to forego the pleasure of winning sweet revenge for the defeat of the previous year at Caporetto.

Disheartened by defeats on other fronts and demoralized by the course of events at home, the Austrians were in no condition to make really effective resistance. The Allies pushed forward across the Piave on a front of 30 miles, taking tens of thousands of prisoners and hundreds of guns. The communications between the Austrian forces near the Adriatic and those in the mountains north of the Lombard plain were cut, and disorganization speedily set in. Soon the whole Austrian army was fleeing in wild disorder without any thought of resistance. The Italians, British, and French pursued relentlessly, gathering in prisoners and incalculable booty.

One of the most remarkable exploits of the whole war was performed on the night of October 31, 1918, when two Italian officers, Colonel Rosetti and Dr. Paolucci, aided by an ingenious apparatus for passing obstructions, swam into the harbor of Pola and attached a torpedo to the bottom of the Austrian flagship *Viribus Unitis*. They were in the water eight hours, but they succeeded in overcoming all obstacles. Soon after they had completed their work, however, they were discovered and forced to surrender. On being taken on board, Colonel Rosetti informed the commander of the flagship that his vessel was in "serious danger." The captain at once ordered that all should leave the ship. Some did so, but as nothing happened for some time, many returned, taking with them the prisoners. Presently, however, an explosion took place and the vessel sank very rapidly. The captain of the ship was mortally wounded and died in a hospital some hours afterwards. The gallant Italians were saved and were made prisoners of war, but were released after the signing of the armistice a few days later. The *Viribus Unitis* was the newest and largest of the Austrian super-dreadnaughts, with a displacement of 20,010 tons and armament of twelve 12-inch guns, and she had cost \$13,000,000.

On November 3, Austrian representatives signed, in the field, an armistice which amounted virtually to complete capitulation. By the terms of this armistice the Austro-Hungarian forces were to be withdrawn from all invaded territory and from the Trentino, the region of Trieste and a designated part of Dalmatia. All military equipment therein was to be surrendered to the Allies, and the Austro-Hungarian army was to be demobilized. The Allies were to have the right to use roads, railroads, and waterways in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and to occupy such strategic points as they should deem necessary in order to conduct military operations or to maintain order. This meant that they were to have the privilege of sending troops through Austria to attack Germany from the south. All Allied pris-

oners and interned subjects in the hands of the Austro-Hungarians were to be repatriated, but without reciprocity as regards Austro-Hungarian prisoners. Fifteen Austro-Hungarian submarines and all German submarines which were in, or might thereafter enter, Austro-Hungarian waters must be surrendered, while all other submarines were to be disarmed and put under the supervision of the Allies. In addition, three battleships, three battlecruisers, nine destroyers, 12 torpedo boats, one mine-layer, and six monitors on the River Danube

carcasses of horses, pieces of shells, pistols, rifles, broken-down auto trucks, and machine guns. Many Austrians are dying from sheer fatigue and starvation, and not wounds. The Italians are doing all they can to hurry up food supplies. This is difficult, and in the meantime dead horses are eaten, the flesh being cooked by the roadside at fires kindled by the soldiers.

"Large bodies of Austrians are helpless. The correspondent passed between Overtorio and Trent, a distance of sixteen miles, an



AUSTRIAN TROOPS IN CARPATHIANS.

were to be surrendered, and all other warships were to be disarmed and placed under Allied supervision.

The armistice was to begin at 3.00 p. m., on the next day. The Allies continued their pursuit until the last moment, and captured a total of about 300,000 prisoners and not less than 5,000 cannon. Those who escaped were a mob and not an army. A correspondent described the last scenes as follows:

"Great masses of men wait for long hours to move a few feet or a few hundred yards, to halt anew on a road littered with the

unending column of men marching none knew whither. They asked orders from an officer who was with the correspondents. When asked if they knew about the armistice, they said: 'We want food. Food is the only thing we are interested in. We are indifferent to war and peace and death—everything but food.'

"It is estimated that nine Austrian divisions were taken with their staffs. Thirty-nine divisions were partially disorganized, and fifteen, although in bad condition, are retreating from the advancing Italians. These troops, while equipped for their re-

treat, are without orders, and go traveling here and there like droves of sheep."

Austria-Hungary ceased to exist. The Dual Monarchy had displayed more staying power than most historians had deemed possible, which was in part due to the support rendered by Germany. But the end had come, and with the disappearance of the monarchy there fell from power the House of Hapsburg, the oldest royal family in Europe. Emperor Charles abdicated and went into retirement.

The revolution was effected almost without bloodshed. Just before the outbreak of the revolution in Hungary the Emperor Charles and his wife, the Empress Zita, were at the castle of Gödöllő near Budapest. Up to the last the Emperor seems to not have realized the true state of affairs. From the time he ascended the throne, he had been anxious for peace and for the introduction of reforms, while, according to some accounts, his wife actually sympathized with the Entente powers against Germany. But Charles, as is usual with the last ruler of a royal line, lacked decision of character and was unable to impose his will upon the men by whom he was surrounded. If the German attack in the summer of 1918 on the Western Front had been less successful, the outcome might have been different, but in Germany and Austria alike it was hoped that the German victory would be so overwhelming that all would yet be well. When the German armies were defeated and the great retreat began, the situation in the Dual Monarchy was beyond hope of recovery. Even then, however, the men about the Emperor refused to face the cold facts and misled their sovereign with false hopes and unwise advice.

On October 26, the Emperor and Empress went to Vienna by special train, taking Count Karolyi with them. It was expected that the Count would be appointed Prime Minister, but in Vienna the Emperor was persuaded by some of the reactionaries not to do so. Instead he named Count Hadig Prime Minister of Hungary. This ministry lasted for twenty-four hours, when revolution broke out in Budapest. Shortly after midnight of October 28, the Gov-

ernor of Budapest telephoned to Schönbrunn, asking to speak to the Emperor personally, but the royal chamberlain answered that His Majesty was asleep and that he dared not awaken him. A little later the Governor, who had received still more alarming news, again rang up the royal residence and demanded that the king be called to the telephone. This time the chamberlain summoned the Emperor, who went to the telephone in his night clothes. As the king stood there with the receiver at his ear he was informed that the situation in Budapest was very grave. Public buildings were occupied by the revolutionary troops. A few of the people, however, remained faithful, and the Governor declared that nothing but force applied at once could save the situation. "I want," said the Governor, "Your Majesty's authority to order the soldiers who remain true to shoot the revolutionary ring leaders. If you do not, all is lost." The agitated monarch cried to the chamberlain, "What am I to do?" Then, without waiting for reply, he telephoned back, "No. Do not shoot."

He then went back to bed, but half an hour later, having thought over the matter, he went to the telephone and asked to be given the Hungarian Prime Minister at Budapest, it being his intention to employ force through the head of the Government. But matters had been moving rapidly in the short interval, and the telephone operator at Budapest refused to put through the call. The chamberlain then took the transmitter and ordered the telephone girl, in the king's name, to make the connection. "We take our orders now from the Hungarian National Council, and not from kings nor their servants," was the sharp reply. The operator persisted in refusing to obey, but in response to a question, replied that all power was now in the hands of the National Council.

After a hurried consultation between the Kaiser and the chamberlain, the Empress was summoned. Her thought at once was of her children in the palace of Gödöllő, and not of her crown. She went to the telephone and asked the girl in the telephone exchange to put her into connection with

the palace. The girl felt a thrill of sympathy and complied. The Empress frantically requested Prince René of Parma to bring the royal children at once by motor car to Vienna. The children were roused from their sleep, were placed in motor cars, were not molested, and reached the castle of Schönbrunn in safety.

But this asylum did not furnish safety for royalty long. The whole system was doomed. Toward the Emperor personally

to conciliate the good-will of the people were, however, unavailing.

The revolutionary movement soon extended to Austria. News came of the appalling disaster on the Italian front. The words "retirement" and "abdication" became more and more common, and the Emperor realized that the end of the monarchy had come. On November 11 he gave orders to prepare for his departure. He remained in his rooms nearly all day



TRANSFERRING WOUNDED AUSTRIANS TO HOSPITAL.

there was but little hostility. He had not created the fatal situation of which he was one of the victims. Deliberately overstepping the bounds of old traditions, he extended his walks outside the limits of the castle garden, and for the first time the Viennese could salute the Emperor walking unaccompanied. They did so kindly and gently, and no insult or offense came from them. The Empress and her children also walked outside the boundaries and were likewise treated with respect. These efforts

and was hardly seen by the domestics, but a rumor of what had happened spread through the household and created great excitement. Toward seven in the evening, many of the old and faithful servants gathered in rooms near the principal door of the castle and stood waiting in silence. Presently the Emperor "appeared and walked with his head somewhat bent, contrary to his custom. Empress Zita followed, with the children and nurse. An automobile stood waiting at the foot of the stairs. The

imperial family entered the car, and it started to its destination just as dusk was falling."

The formal abdication issued by Charles V ran as follows:

"Since my accession I have incessantly tried to rescue my peoples from this tremendous war. I have not delayed the re-establishment of constitutional rights or the opening of a way for the people to substantial national development. Filled with an unalterable love for my peoples, I will not,

My warmest wishes are that an internal peace will be able to heal the wounds of this war."

The dethroned monarch and his family took refuge in the remote castle of Eckartsau, in the solitude of the mountains, amid an almost primeval forest, far from any village or habitation. The next year they removed to Switzerland.

Thus disappeared from the stage the last ruler of the house of Hapsburg, the oldest and in some respects the proudest of all the



YANKS ADVANCING OVER BRIDGE AT ST. QUENTIN.

with my person, be a hindrance to their free development. I acknowledge the decision taken by German Austria to form a separate state. The people has, by its deputies, taken charge of the Government. I relinquish every participation in the administration of the state. Likewise, I have released the members of the Austrian Government from their offices. May the German Austrian people realize harmony from the new adjustment. The happiness of my peoples was my aim from the beginning.

royal families that ever ruled. For more than 600 years they had occupied the throne of Austria, and for many centuries they had also united with it the proud title of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. But this empire had come to an end after Austerlitz, and, for more than a century, the Hapsburg power had been gradually declining. Like the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs were medieval anachronisms in a modern world, and the course of events swept them from power. It was the irony

of fate that the two royal houses which began the war should be dethroned at its end.

Economic conditions in the old Dual Monarchy had fallen into complete chaos. Owing to the scarcity of almost everything and to the depreciation of the currency, prices were astonishingly high. For a suit of clothes a man must pay 2,000 crowns, or \$400. A correspondent, writing from Vienna in December, said that he saw in the shop windows simple little white blouses with a price ticket of 500 crowns. They certainly were not worth more than 50 before the war. "The climax was reached when at lunch for two apples I saw myself charged 20 crowns (\$4)." Under such conditions there was inevitably great suffering among the poor, and scarcity of food and clothing and the generally demoralized conditions created a soil in which Bolshevist doctrines could flourish.

In Hungary, Count Stephen Tisza, who had had much to do with precipitating the war, was assassinated by three soldiers, who entered his house in Budapest. A republic was declared, with Count Karolyi, who had headed the revolution, as Premier. In Austria a National Assembly met on November 13 and unanimously demanded that a German-Austrian republic be proclaimed, and that it form a part of the German republic. In both countries, however, much confusion followed. Bolshevism reared its head, while a Czechoslovak republic was established in the region of Bohemia and a Jugoslavic state was created in the south. This state, according to the claims of the Jugoslavs, was to include Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, and other districts, including Istria and Trieste. The territorial aspirations of the Jugoslavs in the Adriatic region came in conflict with those of the Italians, as will be set forth in later pages. Prince Alexander, heir apparent to the throne of Serbia, was made regent of the new state.

Czechoslovakia had revolted even earlier than Hungary. On October 19, a provisional government declared independence. On December 20, 1918, Professor Thomas G. Masaryk arrived at Prague to assume the

duties of President of the new republic. He was greeted with great enthusiasm by the people and by Acting President Kramer, who now became Premier. Among those who witnessed his inauguration were French, British, Italian, and American officers. The United States was considered by the people to have aided in the work of liberation, and American flags were prominent among the decorations.

Turkey surrendered even before Austria. General Allenby's capture of Damascus and his rout of the Turkish army opened the way to Aleppo and to final Turkish defeat. British cavalry and armored cars entered Aleppo on Saturday morning, October 26, and cut off the Turkish traffic on the Constantinople-Bagdad Railway at that point. This railroad, the artery that fed the Turkish forces opposing General Marshall on the Tigris and Euphrates, had already been cut off from Berlin by the surrender of Bulgaria. On October 29 General Marshall's forces on the Tigris, after a stubborn fight, defeated the Turks at Kaleb Sherghat and cut off their communications with Mosul. On the 30th the Turkish army surrendered. The main objectives of both the Mesopotamian and Palestinian expeditions had been attained. The remaining Turkish forces were checkmated and helpless. A strong force of British, French, and Greek troops assembled along the Maritza River in Thrace for an advance on Adrianople and Constantinople.

Ever since the victory of Allenby in Palestine and the withdrawal of Bulgaria it had been clear that the Turks must submit. They procrastinated as long as possible, but finally they released General Townshend, who had been captured at Kut-el-Amara, and sent him to inform the British Admiral in the Ægean Sea that Turkey wished to open negotiations. Turkey's plenipotentiaries soon arrived at Mudros on the Island of Lemnos, and, on October 30, an armistice was signed by them and by Vice-Admiral Calthorp on behalf of the Allies.

The terms of the armistice were even more drastic than those imposed on Austria-Hungary. The Turks were required to per-

mit Allied occupation of the forts on the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus and the passage of Allied warships into the Black Sea. This meant, of course, that the Allies thenceforth would be able to dominate the Black Sea and to take from the Germans the warships they had captured from the Russians. All Allied prisoners of war and all interned Armenians must be handed over to the Allies. Practically the whole Turkish army was to be demobilized, and

ians, must leave the Turkish dominions within a month, and Turkey must cease all relations with the Central Powers.

One by one the partners in the great assault on civilization had been forced to surrender. Germany now stood alone, facing a world of exasperated and triumphant enemies. Great difference of opinion existed in the outside world as to what the Germans would do. Would they, too, accept terms that would bring to an end their



318TH REGIMENT ADVANCING THROUGH SMOKE SCREEN, MEUSE.

all Turkish war vessels were to be surrendered. The Allies were to be allowed to occupy certain other strategic points, and the Turks must withdraw their troops from Persia. Allied officers were to be placed on all railroads in the Turkish Empire, and all garrisons remaining in Arabia and Mesopotamia must surrender, as must all Turkish officers in Tripoli, where some had been engaged in stirring up insurrections against the Italians. All Germans and Austrians, whether military men or civil-

golden dream? Or would they, rather than submit to humiliation, stand at bay, defiant to the end, preferring rather to die fighting than surrender?

In a third note, dated October 20, the German Secretary of Foreign Affairs defended the German military and naval forces against charges of inhumanity brought in President Wilson's preceding communication, and continued to insist that a real change in government had taken place, and that the offer of peace and an armistice had

come from a Government "free from any arbitrary and irresponsible influence" and "supported by the approval of an overwhelming majority of the German people."

In a third answer (October 23) the President reiterated that an armistice lay in the sphere of the military authorities, and pointed out bluntly reasons why extraordinary safeguards must be demanded. He declared "that the nations of the world do not and cannot trust the word of those who have hitherto been the masters of German policy." He added that if the United States "must deal with the military masters and the monarchical autocrats of Germany, or if it is apt to deal with them later in regard to the international obligations of the German Empire, it must demand, not peace negotiations, but surrender."

Meanwhile, the French, British, and Americans had moved onward, and every day the military situation from the Teutonic viewpoint became more desperate.

In the region of the Meuse the French and Americans had continued their relentless pressure. Owing to the northward bend of the Aisne River north of Argonne Forest, the German reserve line in this region was further back than the strong Kriemhild Stellung, which the Americans now confronted. The French, therefore, were able to advance further with less effort than were the Americans, and, for some time, the salient which they had driven was deeper than that made by Pershing's men.

The Kriemhild Stellung was the line on which the Germans had elected to make their main stand. In reality it was not so much a line as a zone of defense two or three miles in depth. The Germans had taken advantage of the natural strength of the ground and had fortified every spot that was capable of defense. There were trenches and barbed-wire dugouts, permanent works, concrete pillboxes, and every other device which four years of trench warfare had shown to be effective in stopping an advance. The German artillery maps were so well worked out that the German artillerymen knew every spot where the Americans could take shelter and systematically shelled

such places. They seem to have been somewhat short of shells, but what they had could be brought forward easily by their light railroads and other roads, and they used shells in what would have been deemed great profusion earlier in the war. American transport, on the other hand, was much hampered by lack of horses and trucks, but most of all by the fact that



GENERAL SIR ARTHUR CURRIE

Commander of the Canadian forces on the Western Front.

there were only three roads running toward the enemy lines.

In the first week of the Meuse battle the Americans had drawn near the Kriemhild Stellung but had not yet reached it. In the second phase of the great battle it was their task to reach and burst through this formidable barrier. Of this period of the battle, General Pershing said in his report:

"The Allied progress elsewhere cheered the efforts of our men in this crucial contest, as the German command threw in more and more first-class troops to stop our advance. We made steady headway in the almost impenetrable and strongly held Argonne

Forest, for, despite this reinforcement, it was our army that was doing the driving. Our aircraft was increasing in skill and numbers and forcing the issues, and our infantry and artillery were improving rapidly with each new experience. The replacements fresh from home were put into exhausted divisions with little time for training, but they had the advantage of serving



LIEUTENANT-GENERAL ROBERT BULLARD.

beside men who knew their business, and who had almost become veterans overnight. The enemy had taken every advantage of the terrain, which especially favored the defense, by a prodigal use of machine guns manned by highly trained veterans and by using his artillery at short ranges. In the face of such strong frontal positions we should have been unable to accomplish any progress according to previously accepted

standards, but I had every confidence in our aggressive tactics and the courage of our troops.

"On October 4 the attack was renewed all along our front. The 3d Corps, tilting to the left, followed the Briulles-Cunel Road; our 5th Corps took Gesnes, while the 1st Corps advanced for over two miles along the irregular valley of the Aire River and in the wooded hills of the Argonne that bordered the river, used by the enemy with all his art and weapons of defense. This sort of fighting continued against an enemy striving to hold every foot of ground, and whose very strong counter-attacks challenged us at every point. On the 7th the 1st Corps captured Chatel-Chênéry and continued along the river to Cornay. On the east of Meuse sector one of the two divisions, coöperating with the French, captured Consenvoye and the Haumont Woods. On the 9th the 5th Corps, in its progress up the Aire, took Flêville, and the 3d Corps, which had continuous fighting against odds, was working its way through Briulles and Cunel. On the 10th we had cleared the Argonne Forest of the enemy."

The advance northward through the Argonne was largely the work of the 77th draft division from New York. Their advance was made possible, however, by the French advance to the westward and by brilliant attacks to the eastward by the 1st and 82d Divisions. The 1st, by hard fighting, in keeping with its past reputation, forced its way northward to the Kriemhild Stellung and thus protected the right flank of the attack on the Argonne ridges. On the 7th, the 82d Division crossed the Aire River Valley, climbed the high hills on the other side, and captured the strongly fortified town of Chatel Chênéry and pushed the Germans off the dominating points. On the 10th, the 77th emerged from the northern end of the Argonne, and that gloomy forest lay wholly within the Allied lines.

It now became possible to create a Second American army, and, on October 9, General Pershing turned the immediate command of the First Army over to Lieutenant-General Hunter Liggett. The Second Army, occupying a sector in the Woevre

and designed for a push eastward into Lorraine, was placed under Lieutenant-General Robert L. Bullard, who had won distinction as commander of the 1st Division and then of the 1st Corps.

Meanwhile, the Germans were bringing up more and more troops, for they reasoned that it was absolutely necessary for them to hold the Kriemhild Stellung, their last completed line of defense between the Americans and the vital railway lines at Mézières and Sedan. Throughout the Meuse Battle the Germans brought up against the Americans and the French 46 divisions. One estimate of the total troops sent by them into the inferno is 396,000. Some writers place the German strength much lower, and there can be no question that many of their divisions were greatly weakened, some of them having been reduced to two or three thousand actual fighting men. About a third of the Germans were considered first-class shock troops.

That the Germans were unable to put in a larger force was due to the ceaseless pressure of the British and French on other parts of their line. As early as October 10 word was sent around to the Allied commanders that the last German reserve division had been sent into battle. Even to assemble as many troops as were under General von der Marwitz's command made it necessary to weaken the German lines in the quiet sectors, for example north and south of Metz. As will be mentioned later, a great Franco-American attack was being prepared for this front, and this depletion of defenders there would undoubtedly have proved disastrous to the Germans had they not accepted an armistice before the blow fell.

The truth is that the four years and more of unending warfare were at last having the inevitable result. Germany had long been facing a world in arms, but her man-power was now exhausted, and the end was not far off.

In the same period, the Americans sent in 22 divisions, and the French four, while thousands of recruits were used to replace losses in the different organizations. The total American forces engaged were es-

timated at 631,405; the French were estimated at 138,000, making a total of 769,405 men engaged in this advance.

For weeks the assailants fought a bitter battle against the German line and strong points. The German machine guns were especially pestiferous. Their positions were located with skill, and the assailants could never be certain that they would not be caught by a hail of bullets from an unexpected direction. The task of stalking and silencing machine-gun nests was one which called for skill and courage.

Innumerable instances of heroism occurred, but perhaps the most notable was the experience of Corporal York, of Tennessee. York was a tall, raw-boned, red-headed Tennessee mountaineer, thirty-one years of age, and a member of the 328th Infantry. He was brought up in the little village of Pall Mall, and was a member of the Church of Christ and Christian Union, a sect which believes all warfare wrong. He was very fond of shooting, both with a rifle and a pistol, and was an expert in turkey shoots. When the draft came, York was in a difficult dilemma, because he was a second elder in the church, often led the services, and had helped to establish several Sunday schools in the county. The congregation was unanimous in believing that he ought to ask for exemption as a conscientious objector, but patriotism was strong in his heart, and he declined. Nevertheless, after entering the army, conscientious scruples against war continued to oppress his mind. Fortunately, Captain Danforth, the commander of the company, and a man well versed in the Scriptures, talked the matter over with York and finally convinced him by quoting Biblical texts that it was right to fight in a righteous cause. York became a good soldier, and soon after landing in France was made a corporal.

On the morning of October 8, York and fifteen others, including a sergeant, were sent out to put certain enemy machine guns out of action. After some exciting experiences, York found himself in command of what remained of the detachment. Six of the party had been killed and three others, including the sergeant, wounded. One of

those who remained had been forced to take refuge behind a tree which was commanded by enemy machine guns, so that he was out of action. The other privates were guarding some German prisoners that had already been captured. Just ahead on the side of a hill a number of German machine guns had opened fire at short range, forcing the



CORPORAL ALVIN C. YORK.

Americans to lie flat upon the earth to avoid being hit.

The situation seemed desperate, but York had no thought of surrendering. With the practiced skill of a Tennessee squirrel hunter, he began shooting down the enemy machine gunners. Once a German lieutenant and a half dozen privates charged at him, but he stopped them by a well-directed volley from his rifle and automatic pistol. After he had fired about 24 shots and killed about that many Germans, the enemy surrendered. Soon Corporal York and the survivors of his detachment marched

to battalion headquarters with 132 prisoners, including four officers.

The story of this exploit became known, and York became one of the heroes of the country. On his return to New York, he was greeted by a number of distinguished Tennesseans and later received a great ovation when he appeared in the gallery of the House of Representatives at Washington. He was given a valuable stock farm and many other presents by his admirers. Upon his return to Tennessee, the Governor of the state married him to the girl of his choice. The matter of his having fought in the war was taken up by his church, but the decision was that he had done his patriotic duty and he was not expelled from membership. Several tempting offers were made him to go on the stage, but he had the good sense to retire to his own home amidst his own people. His valor was officially recognized by his promotion to sergeant, and he was given the Distinguished Service Cross and the rare Congressional Medal of Honor.

The Battle of the Meuse reminds one of the Battle of the Wilderness in the Civil War. It was a struggle forward through woods and rough country against an enemy who was often invisible. However, it was many times longer in duration, four or five times as many troops were engaged, and the losses were far heavier. The Americans were constantly under shellfire. They were often bombed by the enemy planes, and their positions were frequently drenched with poison gas. To the difficulty of the terrain and the activities of the enemy were added the miseries resulting from cold, wet weather. It was often impossible for the men to keep dry, and thousands lay in shallow shelter pits they had dug for themselves, each large enough to hide a single man. These pits were commonly known as "fox-holes," and, when it rained, the mud rendered them most uncomfortable.

For many days it was a matter of constantly battering away with artillery fire and persistent infantry attacks for limited objectives. The Germans did not remain quiescent, but launched many counter-attacks, some of which succeeded in regain-

ing strong points that had fallen into American hands. But when driven back, the Americans came again with dogged determination and a "will to victory" that would not accept defeat. When one division became exhausted, it was replaced by a fresh one, for the reserve of troops, unlike the German reserve, was practically inexhaustible. Many of the new divisions went into battle for the first time, but what they lacked in training and experience they made

cleared the eastern river bank in order to protect the American right against flanking fire. By the end of October, our troops were through the Kriemhild zone of defense in places, while in others the Germans still clung to a few remaining strong points. Meanwhile the Americans had been regrouping their forces for a final drive forward. It was clear that the enemy was losing both in strength and morale, and, despite inclement weather, the Americans



18TH REGIMENT AMERICANS NEAR EXERMONT.

up by courage and determination. In the words of an anonymous song:

"They didn't 'ave no tactics but the bloody manual;
They 'adn't learned no orders but 'Ooray'
and 'Give 'em 'ell'!"

Gradually the Americans moved forward on the west side of the river, while on the east side, in brilliant fighting, some American divisions, aided by French troops,

were confident, determined, and full of dash.

"With comparatively well-rested divisions," says General Pershing in his report, "the final advance in the Meuse-Argonne front was begun on November 1. Our increased artillery force acquitted itself magnificently in support of the advance, and the enemy broke before the determined infantry, which, by its persistent fighting of the past weeks and the dash of this attack,

had overcome his will to resist. The 3d Corps took Ancreville, Doullon, and Andevanne, and the 5th Corps took Landres et St. Georges and pressed through successive lines of resistance to Bayonville and Chênéry. On the 2d the 1st Corps joined in the movement, which now became an impetuous onslaught that could not be stayed.

"On the 3d advance troops surged forward in pursuit, some by motor trucks, while the artillery pressed along the country roads close behind. The 1st Corps reached Authe and Châtillon-sur-Bar, the 5th Corps, Fosse and Nouart, and the 3d Corps, Halles, penetrating the enemy's line to a depth of twelve miles. Our large-calibre guns had advanced and were skillfully brought into position to fire upon the important lines at Montmedy, Longuyon, and Conflans. Our 3d Corps crossed the Meuse on the 5th, and the other corps, in the full confidence that the day was theirs, eagerly cleared the way of machine guns as they swept northward, maintaining complete coördination throughout. On the 6th, a division of the 1st Corps reached a point on the Meuse opposite Sedan, twenty-five miles from our line of departure. The strategical goal which was our highest hope was gained. We had cut the enemy's main line of communications, and nothing but surrender or an armistice could save his army from complete disaster."

An interesting feature of the final phases of the Meuse Battle was the use made of some big American naval guns. These guns were taken from the surplus of artillery allowed battleships, and were of 14-inch caliber. Special mounts were built for them. The complement for each gun consisted of eight cars and a locomotive. They were too big to go into the hold of any available merchant ship, so they were lashed to the decks and thus taken to French ports. French officials insisted that the guns were too heavy for their railway bridges and roadbeds, but the American officer in charge promised to make good any damage done, and thus removed objections. Then he was told that they would not go through the railway tunnels. He changed them so that they would go through the tunnels.

The first shipment of the guns arrived at the port of St. Nazaire on July 25, 1918. The first gun was mounted on its railway carriage on August 5. It left St. Nazaire thirteen days later and arrived at the firing point on August 24. All guns were mounted by August 17 and had been concentrated at Haussimont by September 26.

The first shot was fired on September 6 from a gun stationed at Rethondes and shooting at Tergnier, but firing really got under way on September 14, being kept up until 10.59 of November 11, one minute before hostilities ceased. Various targets received the attention of the monsters, but in large measure the big shells were directed against the German railway lines at Longuyon and elsewhere. As the guns had an extreme range of over 25 miles, it was possible to do damage far behind the German lines. In all 789 shells were fired.

Contrary to some newspaper reports, these were by no means the only big guns along the Western Front. For example, they were far outranged by the superguns which shelled Paris, and in caliber and power of shell they were not equal to the German 42-centimeter "Big Berthas." But they did good service, and the feat of getting them from America to the battle front was a notable one.

The American divisions which took part in this memorable battle were the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 26th, 28th, 29th, 32d, 33d, 35th, 37th, 42d, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 82d, 89th, 90th, and 91st. The 1st, 5th, 26th, 42d, 77th, 80th, 89th, and 90th were in the line twice, while others remained in the fighting "for a length of time that required nerves of steel." The battle lasted 47 days. The maximum penetration of the enemy's lines was 54 kilometers. The total number of shells fired was 3,408,725. Three hundred and sixteen German officers and 15,743 men were taken. The booty in material captured included 468 guns, 2,864 machine guns, and 177 trench mortars. The American losses were 115,529, including 15,599 killed or mortally wounded and 8,805 missing. The German losses are unknown as yet, but have been estimated at perhaps 100,000, though they may have

been smaller. The American losses were about five times those suffered by Meade's army at Gettysburg.

The American troops in the battle were all comparatively raw, and many of them had never before fired a shot in anger. It was inevitable that some mistakes should be made, and that some officers should not measure up to their responsibilities. It would occasionally happen in the midst of a bitter fight that a company would emerge

that when the last judgment is made, all of these criticisms will weigh little balanced against the one great fact that the manhood of America proved equal to the supreme test and that, despite lack of training, some faults in equipment and occasional lapses in leadership, the troops moved forward and won through to victory. It was the German verdict that the Americans were "easy to kill but hard to stop," and all criticism is silenced by the fact that at the end



FRENCH BABY TANKS IN ACTION.

from a conflict in the command of a private, all of the officers having either been killed or wounded or having proven unequal to the situation. In such times the real leadership in an organization is apt to come to the front.

Throughout the future, military historians will doubtless have much to say in criticism of the management of this or that division or regiment. Some will be adjudged not to have done the best possible under the circumstances. But it is certain

of six weeks of inferno the American divisions stood astride the main line of the German retreat.

General Foch had planned another great blow which was to have followed on the 14th of November. The plan was for a great attack eastward into Lorraine. It was to have been made by the American Second Army consisting of about 270,000 men, under Lieutenant-General Bullard, and by a much larger French force under General Mangin. General Bullard was to

attack on a front of 30 miles near Fresnes-on-Woevre, where Bullard's left wing linked up with the right of the victorious First Army to Port-sur-Seille, a village eight miles east of the Moselle. After carrying the German works in this immense front, the American army was to push northeast toward the railway at Conflans and the iron and coal fields of Briey, keeping out of reach of the fortress guns at Metz to the southward. General Mangin's army was to attack from Port-sur-Seille to Seons about 60 miles to the southward.

It was Foch's hope that the Americans would be able to isolate the great intrenched camp of Metz from the north, while the French cut it off from the south, and that the French and the Americans thereafter would be able to join hands east of Metz and thus force the stronghold to surrender without suffering the losses inevitable from attacking such extremely powerful defenses. Having masked the fortress, the victors could push on to the Rhine and help to give a final blow to German military power.

A tremendous concentration of artillery was made and there can be no doubt that the attack would have succeeded. There were only about eight German divisions holding the threatened lines, and some of these were of poor material and all were weakened by losses. There had been some Austrian troops on this front, but they were withdrawn about the 1st of November.

Bullard began preliminary attacks on the morning of November 10, and these were continued right up to the taking effect of the armistice the next day, but as yet the fighting was comparatively light. The French attack was to have come on the 14th.

The "Battle of the Rhine," as it had been christened in advance by those who were in the secret, was never fought, but it is the belief of many military authorities that it was partly because the German High Command were aware of the impending attack that they signed the armistice. In all probability one or two more weeks of fighting would have found the German armies as thoroughly routed as were the Austrians.

It is said that Foch himself bitterly regretted the necessity of signing the armistice, and would have preferred to have administered the final *coup de grâce*.

During October the Allies on the West Front had taken more than 100,000 prisoners and over 2,000 guns. Since July 15, they had taken over 360,000 prisoners, over 6,000 guns, about 40,000 machine guns, and some 4,000 minenwerfers. Each day, the German army grew less capable of resistance, and there was a fatal breakdown in morale.

Furthermore, as will be set forth more in detail in later pages, Allied aeroplanes were bombing the Rhine towns almost nightly, while the submarine campaign was breaking down. The British and Americans, at great expense, had established a mine barrier completely across the North Sea from northern Scotland to the coast of Norway, thereby making it highly precarious for a U-boat to attempt to get into the Atlantic.

The German War Lords were well aware that the situation was hopeless. On October 30, Field Marshal von Hindenburg wrote to his Government:

"In consequence of the disaster on the Macedonian Front, with its attendant weakening of the reserves of the West Front, and in consequence of the impossibility of replacing the great losses sustained in recent encounters, there is now, humanly speaking, no longer any possibility of our being able to impose peace on the enemy. Our opponents are constantly receiving reinforcements.

"While the elements of our rear still hold together and may still offer some resistance to the renewed attacks of the enemy, our situation is becoming very precarious and may at any moment place the army command under the necessity of making a comprehensive decision.

"In these circumstances it is imperative that we cease the struggle in order to save the German people and our allies from unnecessary sacrifices. Every day's loss in this respect costs the lives of thousands of German soldiers."

About the same time grave disorders were breaking out in Germany, especially in the

navy. There had been minor mutinies in the navy as early as the spring and summer of 1915. In the spring of 1916 there was a mutiny which ended in the condemnation to death of more than 30 of the ringleaders. A year later another mutiny occurred in which the captain of a battleship was thrown overboard and drowned, while other officers were wounded. One hundred and ninety of those who took part in this outbreak were executed for war treason.

triotic address which ended as follows: "We will fire our last shot and then we will perish like heroes with our flags flying." But the crew of the *Thoringen* had grown weary of dying for the Hohenzollerns and were resolved not to be dragged into such a mad adventure. They sent a deputation to their captain to remonstrate, and while the interview was taking place others of the crew extinguished the fires beneath the boilers and established communication with



TANK MANEUVERS.

The discontent which had occasioned these outbreaks was much greater by the autumn of 1918. On October 31, the Admiral of the German High Seas Fleet signaled to be ready to put to sea. The crews interpreted this signal as meaning that the fleet was to go out and make a last desperate attempt to fight the British navy. The captain of the battleship *Thoringen* turned this suspicion into certainty by assembling his crew and making a florid, pa-

the crew of the *Helgoland*, which was next in line. Soon the crews of both battleships were in open mutiny.

A threat on the part of the Rear Admiral commanding the First Squadron of battleships to torpedo the *Thoringen* and *Helgoland* temporarily brought the mutineers to terms. They were taken off the vessels and were transferred to Wilhelmshaven for trial. But discontent on the other ships showed the impossibility of putting to sea, and,

within 24 hours, most of the crews of the warships and all of the marine garrison of Wilhelmshaven were in revolt. The mutineers were joined by the crews of the Third Battleship Squadron and also by numbers of men who had just been brought back from the coast of Belgium. Emissaries were sent to Kiel, and the fleet men at that port joined the movement with enthusiasm. The revolt spread rapidly to Cuxhaven, Brunsbittel, Emden, and Lübeck. The imperial flag was hauled down, and the red

flag of revolution was hoisted in its place. The officers were powerless to resist and generally submitted. A few were shot and their bodies were thrown into the sea. Prince Henry of Prussia, the Kaiser's brother, escaped from Kiel in a motor car, flying the red flag and pursued by bullets fired by revolutionary marines. By the evening of November 2, nine-tenths of the German fleet and all naval bases from Kiel to Emden were in the hands of the mutineers, who sent emissaries to Berlin, Mu-

nich, and other large towns to stir up the Socialists and to stimulate other revolutionary outbreaks.

A session of the German War Cabinet and of the Crown Council took place in which the Kaiser and the Crown Prince participated. General Ludendorff resigned, and, on October 27, the German Government once more informed President Wilson that it represented the people and that the military powers were subject to its authority. It closed by saying that it awaited proposals for an armistice.

In the meantime, the Allied Supreme War Council had met at Versailles to draw up the terms of armistice, and an agreement was reached. Among those who participated in the deliberations were Field Marshals Foch and Haig, General Tasker H. Bliss, Colonel House, and Premiers Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando.

On November 5, President Wilson transmitted through Secretary Lansing a final note in which he stated that the Allies took exception to some of the principles enunciated by him. For example, they must reserve to themselves complete freedom as to the subject of "the freedom of the seas." They would also insist that the stipulation that "invaded territories must be restored as well as evacuated and freed" must be interpreted to mean "that compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air." This was an exceedingly important amendment. The note ended by stating that Marshal Foch was ready "to receive properly accredited representatives of the German Government and to communicate to them terms of an armistice."

The Teutons were beaten. They had struck for "world power or downfall," and had achieved the latter. Austria, her army overwhelmed, had already signed an armistice in the field on November 3d. On the morning of November 8, German representatives appeared at Foch's headquarters, which were in a railroad car at Rettondes. With the Commander-in-Chief were Major-General Weygand, his assistant,



COLONEL E. M. HOUSE.

flag of revolution was hoisted in its place. The officers were powerless to resist and generally submitted. A few were shot and their bodies were thrown into the sea. Prince Henry of Prussia, the Kaiser's brother, escaped from Kiel in a motor car, flying the red flag and pursued by bullets fired by revolutionary marines. By the evening of November 2, nine-tenths of the German fleet and all naval bases from Kiel to Emden were in the hands of the mutineers, who sent emissaries to Berlin, Mu-

Vice-Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss, First Lord of the British Admiralty, and Vice-Admiral Sims, commander of the American naval contingent in European waters. After the credentials of the Germans had been opened and verified, Matthias Erzberger, head of the delegation, announced that his government had been informed that Marshal Foch had been authorized to convey the Allies' terms, and that he and his colleagues had been appointed to obtain the

of the terms, pointing out difficulties in the way of carrying them out, and Erzberger asked for an immediate suspension of hostilities, but Foch flatly refused to grant his request. A courier was sent with the terms to the German headquarters at Spa, in Belgium, and permission was granted the German delegation to communicate with that place by wireless. The terms created dismay among the War Lords, for they amounted practically to a surrender. But



THE GUN WHICH FIRED THE FIRST SHOT FOR AMERICA, OCTOBER 23, 1917.

terms and eventually to sign an armistice. The Field Marshal, whose genius had in four months transformed defeat into overwhelming victory, gave them the terms of the armistice. The Germans had been prepared by semi-official communications for the stipulations as a whole, yet when they heard the concrete demands which their country must meet they seemed for the first time fully to realize the extent of the German disaster.

They made some objections to certain

acceptance was inevitable. With the main line of communications with Germany cut by the Americans at Sedan, with the triumphant French and British pressing hard upon their heels, the German army was in such a desperate position that a few more days must bring about its complete dissolution or surrender.

Furthermore, a revolution had broken out in Germany. Conditions at home were so uncertain that the Kaiser had slipped away in the dead of night from Berlin and

had taken refuge at army headquarters. Bavaria and other south German states, threatened by attack from the rear through Austria, were threatening to secede. A wild panic swept through financial centers causing the widespread hoarding of currency. Soldiers' and workmen's committees sprang up in Berlin and other places. Red flags appeared on the streets of Stuttgart and other towns. The navy was already in revolt. A few irreconcilable Junkers still declared that the German army could hold out, but even Count Reventlow, one of the most violent exponents of Pan-Germanism, and a bitter reviler of the British, admitted that all was lost and urged submission.

The great question was, What should be done with regard to the Kaiser? Eleventh-hour political concessions had not satisfied the liberal-minded. Furthermore, a majority of Germans were convinced that their imperial leader was an obstacle to peace. The Socialist party issued an ultimatum demanding his abdication, but the Kaiser, clinging like a drowning man to a straw, replied that he "could not, at the moment of peace, undertake the terrible responsibility of handing Germany over to the Entente and delivering up the country to anarchy."

But in precipitating the great calamity of war upon the world the Kaiser had begun a movement of which he himself was to be one of the victims. A demand for his abdication became so insistent, even from some of those who in a sense were his friends, that, on November 9, a wireless message from Berlin announced that the Imperial Chancellor had issued a decree stating that the Kaiser had decided to renounce the throne. The decree was as follows:

"The Kaiser and King has decided to renounce the throne. The Imperial Chancellor will remain in office until the questions connected with the abdication of the Kaiser, the renouncing by the Crown Prince of the throne of the German Empire and of Prussia, and the setting up of a regency have been settled. For the regency he intends to appoint Deputy Ebert as Imperial Chancellor, and he proposes that a bill shall be brought in for the establish-

ment of a law providing for the immediate promulgation of general suffrage and for a constitutional German National Assembly, which will settle finally the future form of government of the German nation and of those peoples which might be desirous of coming within the empire."

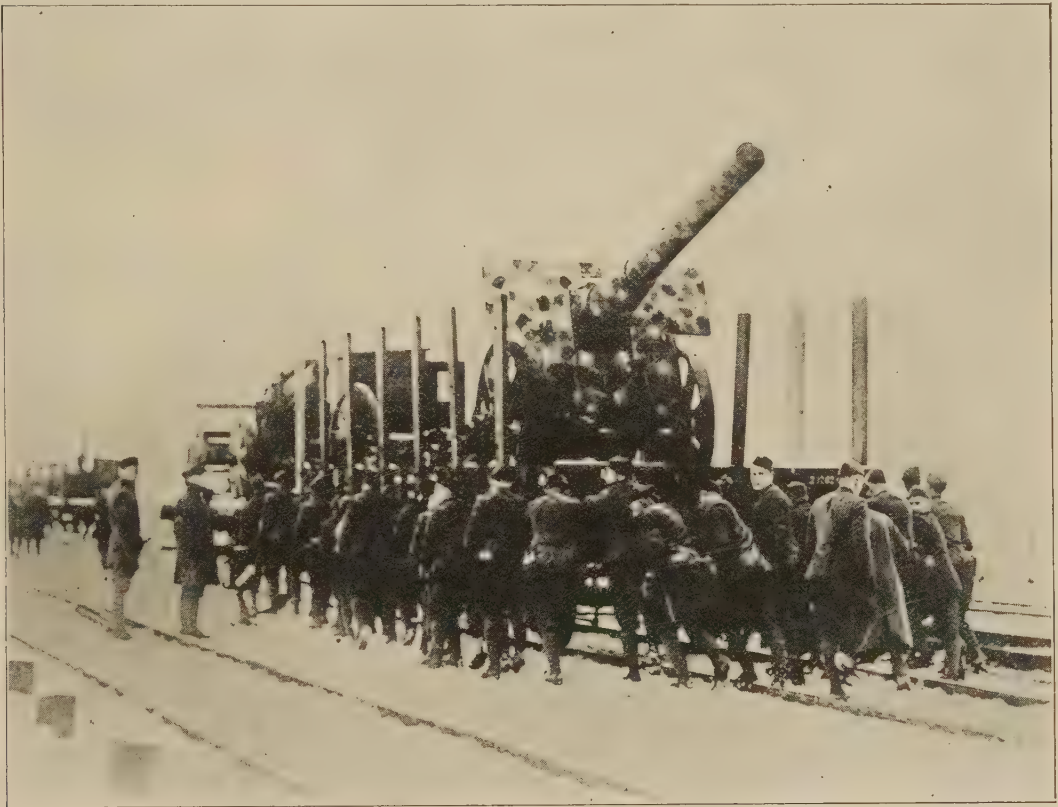
The Kaiser and the Crown Prince fled to Holland. Von Hindenburg remained and placed himself and his army at the disposal of the new people's government. A Socialist Republic, headed by a journalist named Kurt Eisner, was proclaimed in Bavaria, and the revolutionary movement spread like wildfire all over the land. On Sunday, November 10, Berlin rose. Soldiers and workmen carrying red flags fraternized, and red flags appeared everywhere. Officers in the streets were stripped of their epaulettes, and it is said that hundreds of iron crosses could be picked up in the streets. Throughout Germany kings and princes abdicated or were driven out, and crowns fell "like overripe fruit in late autumn."

In such circumstances resistance to the Allies was impossible. At five o'clock a. m., Paris time, on November 11, the German delegates signed the armistice, which was to take effect at eleven o'clock a. m., that day. Fighting ceased exactly six hours later.

The armistice bound the German forces speedily to evacuate all invaded countries, both on the Western and Eastern Fronts, and it was noteworthy that Alsace-Lorraine was included among the "invaded countries." The Germans must surrender 5,000 cannons, 25,000 machine guns, and 1,700 aeroplanes, and must give up 5,000 locomotives, 150,000 railroad cars, and 5,000 motor lorries. They must evacuate all German soil west of the Rhine and a strip ten miles to the eastward of that river. The region west of the Rhine was to be occupied by Allied forces, which were also to occupy bridgeheads at Mayence, Coblenz, and Cologne, whence it would be easy to invade Germany should the war be renewed. The Germans must also release all prisoners of war, but German prisoners should remain in Allied hands. They must give up all their submarines, six battle cruisers, ten battle-

ships, eight light cruisers, and 50 destroyers of the most modern types, while all other surface warships were to be concentrated in German naval bases and disarmed under the supervision of the Allies. The Germans must surrender all Russian and Roumanian gold taken by them, and this gold was to be held in trust by the Allies until the signing of peace. Germany must evacuate all Black Sea ports held by her and must surrender all captured Russian war vessels

"It was difficult to ask more. Doubtless, any General would have preferred to continue the struggle and give battle when battle offered itself so promisingly, but a father of a family could not fail to think of the blood that would be shed. A victory, however easy, costs the lives of men. We held victory in our grasp without any further sacrifice. We took it as it came. The German High Command was not ignorant of the fact that it faced colossal dis-



GERMAN FIELD GUN SURRENDERED TO YANKS.

to the Allies. Her remaining forces in East Africa must also be withdrawn. The armistice was to last for thirty days, with option to extend it.

Beyond question, the Allied military leaders had felt sorely tempted to continue the fighting until the German army was as thoroughly demoralized as the Austrian. It would have taken only a short time. But feelings of humanity prevailed. In the words of Foch:

aster. When it surrendered, everything was prepared for an offensive in which it would infallibly have succumbed. On November 14 we were to attack in Lorraine with twenty French divisions and six American divisions. This attack would have been supported by other movements in Flanders and in the center. The Germans were lost. They capitulated. There is the whole story."

The world was on tip-toe for the great

news. On November 7, a premature announcement created rejoicing in many cities of the United States. Four more days of anxious waiting followed, and then came the glorious news that dissolved all doubts.

Never before had there been such a day as that 11th of November. Most of mankind were participants in the bloody struggle

fell. Then in many places the soldiers of both armies sprang from their hiding places into view and shouted and sang with joy. In some sectors the Germans waved their hands in invitation to come over, but strict orders had been issued against fraternization, and the Allied soldiers did not accept. For part of the British army the war ended,

strangely enough, at Mons, where it began. Next day Philip Gibbs wrote:

"Last night, for the first time since August in the first year of the war, there was no light of gunfire in the sky, no sudden stabs of flame through the darkness, no long, spreading glow above the black trees where for four years of night human beings were being smashed to death.

"The fires of hell had been put out. It was silent all along the front. With the beautiful silence of nights of peace, we did not stand listening to the dull rumbling of artillery at work, which had been the undertone of all closer sounds for 1,500 nights, nor for sudden heartbeats at explosions shaking the earth and air, nor say in whisper to ourselves, 'Curse those guns!' At 11 o'clock the order had gone to all batteries to cease fire. No more men will be killed, no more be mangled, no more be blinded. The last boyhood of the world was re-



LAST TWO MINUTES OF FIGHTING, STENAY, MEUSE.

thus brought to an end, and all of mankind were affected by it. No wonder, therefore, that in both hemispheres, in cities, towns, villages, and wherever people congregated, there were spontaneous celebrations.

The actual fighting was to cease at 11 a. m., Paris time. Yet up to the last moment the Allied forces continued to press forward and to harass the enemy. Just before the appointed hour, the Allied artillery fired one final salvo, and then silence

prievied on the way back from Mons.

"I listened to this silence which followed the going down of the sun and heard the rustling of russet leaves and the little sounds of night in peace, and it seemed as though God gave a benediction to the wounded soul of the world. Other sounds rose from towns and fields in the yellowing twilight, and in the deepening shadow world of the day of armistice. They were sounds of human joy."

"History will record," said another correspondent, "that the Americans fought to the last minute. Aye, more, they fought to the last second. I picked the sector northeast of historic Verdun on the scarred hills where were buried German hopes, to spend what may be the world's greatest day. On this front we attacked this morning at 9.30 o'clock, after heavy artillery preparation.

"Reaching the front this morning, expecting to find quiet reigning, in view of the imminence of the cessation of hostilities, I found the attack in full swing, with every gun we had going at full speed, and roaring in a glorious chorus, singing the swan song of Prussianism. It was a glorious chorus, drowning the discord of German shellfire. We were attacking.

"Picture, if you will, that scene at 10.30 this morning. Back in the rear everyone knew that the war was to stop at 11 o'clock, but in the front line no one knew except the officers. The doughboys knew nothing except their orders were to attack. They had heard rumors, but at 10.30 they were chasing the Germans back from their last hold on the hills east of the Meuse. At 10.40, at 10.50, at 10.55 they were fighting on. What could be more dramatic than when at 11 the platoon leaders in the front line sharply called the order, 'Cease firing!' and explained that hostilities had been called off?

"If one listened then, one heard just at 11 the great salvo from all our guns, and then silence. They tell me the men stood as if numbed with shock, and then smiles spread over their faces and they broke into laughs as they listened and learned the Germans, too, had called off the war.

"Then through the fog across the ravine they saw the boches spring from their positions and shout and sing with joy. They saw white flags in the cold wind and they saw the boches waving their hands in invitation to come over. But strict orders had been issued to our men against fraternizing, and the Germans, getting no encouragement, kept on their side of No Man's Land."

Mere words can give but a feeble idea of the outburst of thanksgiving that swept over Allied lands. In New York City the

celebration lasted for fully twenty-four hours, nor were the other great cities in America or the Allied countries less demonstrative. In the capitals of all the victorious nations scenes of great rejoicing were enacted, but the most interesting and dramatic occurred in Paris. Cannons boomed unceasingly. British, French, Italian, and American soldiers were centers of impromptu celebrations on the streets, while the Allied flags were everywhere, and not least prominent was the Stars and Stripes.

The supreme moment of all occurred when Premier Clemenceau appeared in the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies and read the terms of the armistice. To few men in all history has there come such a triumph. War is a great unmasker of reputations. In many countries men in power had proved unequal to the supreme test. In Great Britain Lloyd George had come to the front, and in France Clemenceau, this wonderful old man, almost eighty years old. These two, at the crisis of the war, had worked in harmony, had placed Foch in command, and had supported him while he held back the German hordes. Meanwhile, they had organized victory. By skillful use of the resources of their own countries and of America's abundant but inchoate strength, they had, in a few months, marvelously transformed defeat into triumph.

And now the "Tiger of France" was reading the terms of that triumph from the tribune. Applause greeted almost every sentence. And when he read that Alsace and Lorraine were coming back, even the thunder of the guns outside was drowned by the tumult of cheers. As the venerable Premier came down from the tribune, he was accorded a spontaneous and universal ovation, even by old enemies. As they rose to adjourn, the Deputies by irresistible impulse began singing the *Marseillaise*, that grandest and most inspiring of all war songs. The chant was taken up by the crowds in the galleries and in the corridors. It spread to the throngs in the twilight outside, and soon all Paris was singing the song of victory.

Truly, as Clemenceau had just said, the "day of glory" had arrived!

On Sunday, November 10, the Kaiser

and his personal staff arrived in mud-splashed automobiles at Eysden, near Maass-tricht on the Dutch frontier. The party were armed, and it was apparent that there had been some apprehension of seizure by the German soldiers. An hour and a half later, a train of sleeping and dining cars appeared at the little station. Meanwhile the former Kaiser, clad in a general's uniform, strode impatiently up and down the platform under the eyes of curious spectators. After certain formalities connected with the entrance into Holland had been arranged, the train rolled away, and the Kaiser took up his residence in the château of Count Goddard Bentinck at Amerongen. This château more than two centuries before had been the residence of another monarch in exile, namely Charles Stuart, claiming to be then and subsequently acknowledged as Charles II. Hohenzollern's reception in Holland was not notable for enthusiasm, and on the way to the château, though he was greeted with a few cheers, there was also some booing. When he had entered the château, the iron gates were closed behind him, and the Kaiser quickly disappeared from view. He was subse-

quently joined by his wife, the former Empress. A correspondent who obtained a clear view of the exiled monarch reported that Hohenzollern's hair "is totally gray and deep wrinkles plow his face; only the gray eyes have the same arrogant look."

For a time it was reported that the Crown Prince had been shot by his own soldiers. However, he reached Maass-tricht in safety and was temporarily interned. On November 21 he left for the low, flat island of Wieringen, in the Zuider Zee.

Much opposition existed in Holland to affording an asylum to the Kaiser and the Crown Prince. Many of the Dutch considered the exiles as criminals, while others feared that the Allies would resent their presence in Holland in ways that would damage the country. The Dutch court, however, was inclined to be pro-German, partly because the

Royal Consort of Queen Wilhelmina was a German Prince. The Government, therefore, took no steps to expel what many Dutch regarded as unwelcome guests. The Government, however, felt apprehension lest the Allies would demand the surrender of the exiles. In a statement before Parliament the Prime Minister said that the Kaiser had

(FOR OFFICIAL CIRCULATION ONLY.)

[G. O. 203.]

G. H. Q.

AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES,

GENERAL ORDERS {
No. 203. }

FRANCE, NOV. 12, 1918.

The enemy has capitulated. It is fitting that I address myself in thanks directly to the officers and soldiers of the American Expeditionary Forces who by their heroic efforts have made possible this glorious result. Our armies, hurriedly raised and hastily trained, met a veteran enemy, and by courage, discipline and skill always defeated him. Without complaint you have endured incessant toil, privation and danger. You have seen many of your comrades make the supreme sacrifice that freedom may live. I thank you for the patience and courage with which you have endured. I congratulate you upon the splendid fruits of victory which your heroism and the blood of our gallant dead are now presenting to our nation. Your deeds will live forever on the most glorious pages of America's history.

Those things you have done. There remains now a harder task which will test your soldierly qualities to the utmost. Succeed in this and little note will be taken and few praises will be sung; fail, and the light of your glorious achievements of the past will sadly be dimmed. But you will not fail. Every natural tendency may urge towards relaxation in discipline, in conduct, in appearance, in everything that marks the soldier. Yet you will remember that each officer and each soldier is the representative in Europe of his people and that his brilliant deeds of yesterday permit no action of today to pass unnoticed by friend or by foe. You will meet this test as gallantly as you have met the tests of the battlefield. Sustained by your high ideals and inspired by the heroic part you have played, you will carry back to our people the proud consciousness of a new Americanism born of sacrifice. Whether you stand on hostile territory or on the friendly soil of France, you will so bear yourself in discipline, appearance and respect for all civil rights that you will confirm for all time the pride and love which every American feels for your uniform and for you.

JOHN J. PERSHING,
General, Commander in Chief.

OFFICIAL:
ROBERT C. DAVIS,
Adjutant General.

A. O. PRINTING DEPT., G. H. Q. A. R. F., 1918.

GENERAL PERSHING'S ORDER ANNOUNCING THE END
OF THE WAR.

not come by invitation. He admitted that Hohenzollern's presence was a source of embarrassment, but said that Holland could not deny him the right of asylum. The question of what should be done concerning the deposed monarch became a much-debated one throughout the Allied world.

All sorts of rumors were spread regarding the ex-Kaiser. One report had it that he spent much of his time in tears; another, that he had gone insane; a third, that he had attempted suicide. From Berlin there came a story of a great hoard of food discovered in the Kaiser's castle at Potsdam. It was said that a representative of the Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Council examined the castle and reported:

"I expected to find a store, but what I saw there surpassed all my expectations. Here, in large white-tiled rooms, was everything, really everything, one can possibly conceive in the way of food. No, I must correct myself. One cannot conceive that after four years of war such enormous quantities of food could be stored. Preserved meat in great cans, white flour in sacks piled up to the high ceilings, thousands of eggs, gigantic basins of lard, coffee, tea, chocolate, jellies, and preserves of every kind arranged in apparently endless rows. Hundreds of blue sugar-loaves, bags of peas and beans, dried fruits, biscuits, etc. One is speechless, and involuntarily thinks of the old jest that the quantities are so great that one man alone cannot form any idea of them. The value of the stocks amounts to several hundred thousand marks.

"Were it not that these food supplies are needed for better employment at the moment, I should like to suggest that they should remain undisturbed in a national museum as an everlasting token to the German people in order that their children and their children's children might still see how in Germany, while millions starved, 'those by the grace of God' held out."

Contrary to the announcement of the time, the Kaiser did not formally abdicate before his flight from Germany. However, on November 28, he signed a document of that character, and it was issued at Berlin two days later. It was as follows:

"By the present document I renounce forever my rights to the crown of Prussia and the rights to the German imperial crown. I release at the same time all the officials of the German Empire and Prussia and also all officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the Prussian Navy and Army of contingents from confederated states from the oath of fidelity they have taken to me, as their Emperor, King, and supreme chief.

"I expect from them until a new organization of the German Empire exists that they will aid those who effectively hold the power in Germany to protect the German people against the menacing dangers of anarchy, famine, and foreign domination.

"Made and executed and signed by our own hand with the imperial seal at Amerongen, November 28 (1918).

"WILHELM."

In an interview, early in December, with a correspondent of the Associated Press, the Crown Prince, then housed in a small cottage on the island of Wieringen, declared, "I have not renounced anything, and I have not signed any document whatever." Three days later, however, on December 6, he issued a formal statement definitely renouncing "all rights to the crown of Prussia and the imperial crown."

In the interview he stated that Ludendorff was the real mainspring of Germany's warlike activities, while Hindenburg was largely a figurehead. He said in part:

"Should the German Government decide to form a republic, I shall be perfectly content to return to Germany as a simple citizen, and shall be ready to do anything to assist my country. I should even be happy to work as a laborer in a factory. At present everything in Germany appears to be in a state of chaos, but I hope things will right themselves. I was convinced we lost the war early in October, 1914. I considered our position hopeless after the Battle of the Marne, which we should not have lost if the Chiefs of our General Staff had not suffered from nerves. I tried to persuade the General Staff to seek peace then, even at great sacrifices, going so far as to give up Alsace-Lorraine, but was told to

mind my own business and to confine my activities to commanding my armies. I have proof of this."

In reply to a question as to what brought about the downfall of German military power, the Crown Prince declared that the revolution, which had resulted from four years of hunger amongst the civilians and the troops in the rear, together with the overwhelming forces assembled by the Entente after America's entry into the war,

Much of what the Crown Prince said should be taken *cum grano salis*, but his statements regarding Ludendorff and Hindenburg and the weak state of the German army were undoubtedly true.

It will be recalled that by the terms of the armistice the Germans were required to surrender all their submarines and the greater part of their above-water fleet. The German delegates to the armistice conference had strongly remonstrated against



GERMAN PRISONERS TAKEN BY AMERICANS NEAR CHATEAU-THIERRY.

had undermined the confidence of the German fighting forces. "My soldiers," he said, "whom I loved and with whom I lived continuously, and who, if I may say so, loved me, fought with the utmost courage to the end, even when the odds were impossible to withstand. They had no rest, and sometimes an entire division numbered only 600 rifles. These were opposed by fresh Allied troops, among whom were American divisions containing 27,000 apiece."

these naval clauses. "It is not admissible," one of them protested, "that our fleet should be given up without having been beaten." Admiral Wemyss fixed the German envoy with his monocle and retorted, "It had only to come out."

The details of the surrender were arranged in advance on board the flagship *Queen Elizabeth* in an interview, on November 16, between the Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Fleet, Admiral Sir David Beatty, and Rear Admiral Hugo Meurer,

the plenipotentiary of the German High Command. The submarines were given up at Harwich in separate flotillas of about a score each, but the above-water fleet surrendered on one day, the 21st of November.

In ordinary circumstances no one is more chivalrous and magnanimous toward a beaten foe than a British naval officer or seaman, but the German navy had fought the war in such cruel and ruthless fashion that Admiral Beatty was determined that there should be no fraternization of any sort. He issued orders pointing out that a state of war still existed and ordering that the British relations with the German officers and men must be of the most formal character.

"In dealing with the late enemy," said he, "while courtesy is obligatory, the methods with which they have waged the war must not be forgotten. No international compliments are to be paid and all conversation is forbidden, except in regard to the immediate business to be transacted. If it is necessary to provide food for German officers and men they should not be entertained, but it should be served to them in a place specially set apart. If it is necessary to accept food from the Germans, a request is to be made that it is to be similarly served."

On the 21st of November, there took place off the Firth of Forth the greatest pageant in all human history. In the early morning of that day, Admiral Beatty's fleet sailed out to meet and receive the German surrender. The Allied fleet was the most powerful that had ever been assembled. It included two score dreadnaughts, nine battle cruisers, and scores of lighter cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. France was represented by the French armored cruiser *Admiral Aube*, flying the flag of Rear Admiral Grasset, and by two destroyers. The United States was represented by five dreadnaughts, the *New York*, flying the flag of Rear Admiral Rodman, with Admiral Sims and his staff on board, and the *Florida*, *Wyoming*, *Texas*, and *Arkansas*.

Through the darkness of early morning ship followed ship out of the harbor, each indistinctly silhouetted against the sky and canopied with a smudge of smoke. By day-

break the fleet was at sea, and in the gray dawn the squadrons took up positions in two columns, six miles apart. To certain vessels were assigned the task of meeting the German fleet and directing their movements between the two lines. No precautions were neglected against treachery. The Allied ships were cleared for action and in readiness to blow the enemy out of the water should anything suspicious occur.

Meanwhile, communication was maintained with the German fleet by wireless. That fleet consisted of five battle cruisers, nine dreadnaughts, seven light cruisers, and 49 destroyers. Some of these ships bore the proudest names in the history of Prussia and the house of Hohenzollern, such as *Moltke*, *Friedrich der Grosse*, *Kronprinz Wilhelm*, and *Hindenburg*. The whole fleet was under the command of Rear Admiral von Reuter. One German destroyer had been sunk by a mine on the way across the North Sea.

At half-past eight, an advanced British destroyer reported that it had sighted the German fleet. The sun came up, rising late in that northern latitude in November, and presently there appeared the British scout vessel, *Cardiff*, towing a "sausage" balloon. Behind the *Cardiff* there emerged from the murk the first of the German ships. Over them hovered a British naval airship. First came the battle cruisers, three cables apart, then the dreadnaughts, then two English vessels, then the light cruisers, then another English vessel and the destroyers. When the enemy vessels were between the lines of the Allied fleet, the whole moved toward the Firth of Forth. The great captive fleet and the yet greater victor fleet which encircled it steamed at almost funeral pace toward the appointed anchorage off May Island in the middle of the Firth of Forth. As the *Queen Elizabeth* moved along the lines to her mooring she was cheered again and again by the men who crowded the other ships of the Grand Fleet. The *Queen Elizabeth* bore at her peak the ensign flown by Beatty's flag ship *Lion* in the Jutland Battle. Part of the Union Jack had been shot away, but the flag had associations which Beatty could never forget.

At sunset, by Beatty's order, the German flag was hauled down, not to be "hoisted again without permission"—which meant never.

Der Tag, to which the Germans had so often drunk, had come, but it brought cold comfort to those who had toasted it.

The day closed with a service of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the victory. From the beginning to the end, the fleet had held the seas and had saved the world

of winning through the submarine, the German Government ceased early in the war to strengthen the above-water fleet. The British, on the other hand, added over a dozen dreadnaughts to their battle fleet, also hundreds of destroyers, and many cruisers of various sizes.

On November 24 the commander of a surrendered German destroyer made the following entry in his diary:

"The German fleet is being taken to



SURRENDER OF GERMAN HIGH SEAS FLEET AT ROSYTH.

from German domination. In the words of Admiral Sims, the British fleet had been "the foundation stone of the cause of the whole of the Allies." It had been denied the eagerly-awaited opportunity to meet the enemy in decisive action, but in surrendering the Germans had paid a tribute to their enemy.

They had not come out and given battle for the simple reason that they knew that such an act would be hopeless. In the hope

of winning through the submarine, the German Government ceased early in the war to strengthen the above-water fleet. The British, on the other hand, added over a dozen dreadnaughts to their battle fleet, also hundreds of destroyers, and many cruisers of various sizes.

On November 24 the commander of a surrendered German destroyer made the following entry in his diary: "The German fleet is being taken to Scapa Flow. There is no further question of our going to a neutral port. If it must be an English port, I like Scapa Flow best, for up there there is at least no mob to laugh at us."

The total number of U-boats surrendered was 129, and one had been sunk by a mine on the way over. The largest was the U-141, a cruiser, having oil tanks with a capacity of 15,000 gallons, capable of carrying her many thousand miles. Some of

those surrendered bore marks of encounters with Allied vessels.

It was learned for certain that the total number of German submarines to fall victims during the war to Allied anti-submarine measures was more than 200. The number of submarines at the end of hostilities was considerably smaller than the Allies had supposed.

As rapidly as possible the German armies retired from France, Belgium, and Western Germany. The Allied forces fol-

lowed them as far as the Rhine. There was some delay in fulfilling the other terms of the armistice, but all the essential ones, together with some later imposed, were finally complied with. The march of the Allied troops through the redeemed country and into Germany was productive of many interesting incidents. The enthusiasm of the liberated populations was unbounded.



BRITISH PATROL BOATS ON THE RHINE.

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On November 22, King Albert, after an absence of over four years, returned to his capital of Brussels. With him were the Queen and the three children of the royal

pair. British, French, and American, as well as Belgian troops, marched in procession through the streets, and a conspicuous figure was the venerable Cardinal Mercier, whose voice had so often been lifted against German oppression. The day was bright with sunshine, the streets were packed with people, and the entry was made amid indescribable enthusiasm. It was a day to which the Allied world for weary years had looked forward and sometimes had almost despaired of ever seeing. It was a fitting

and happy climax to one of the most dramatic episodes in history. And at the end of the page the historian must write "*Brave little Belgium!*"

After forty-eight years the Tricolor of France again floated over Alsace-Lorraine. On November 19, Pétain, now a Field Marshal, rode into Metz, while six days later Marshal Foch made a solemn entry into Strasbourg. Despite all efforts to Germanize the two provinces, a large part of the people remained French in language and sentiment, and greeted their liberators

with transports of rejoicing. The transfer was accomplished without disorder, but some of the people pulled down from their pedestals the statues of the first Kaiser Wilhelm and Prince Frederick Charles, while on a statue of Kaiser Wilhelm II on the cathedral façade some wag hung a cardboard placard inscribed, "*Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

"The day of glory has arrived," announced a proclamation posted on the walls of Strasbourg. "France comes to you, people of Strasbourg, as a mother to her darling child lost and found again."

It was arranged that the British should

others entered the important coal basin of Briey. Everywhere the Americans were greeted as liberators.

In mid-summer word had begun to steal into the occupied parts of France and Belgium that Americans were fighting their way to the rescue of the enslaved regions. Occasionally the inhabitants saw American prisoners, and not infrequently they heard worried Germans curse the "American swine." Hidden away in secret places, these long-oppressed people had Belgian or French flags, and now they began making American flags in readiness, with hopeful hearts, for the glad day of deliverance. In books they

searched for the design of that flag, and, taking what poor bits of finery the oppressors had left them, they began to sew. And when the American troops marched into re-deemed towns and villages, they saw not only the colors of France and England, but also these "poor, pathetic home-made" Stars and Stripes. Some flags had too many stripes, some too few; hardly one had the correct number of stars, yet "no more eloquent bits of bunting ever flew. They told of something bigger than a military victory; of an international unselfishness, of rescue,

of food, and every material help given in sympathy and love."

On the roads the Americans passed thousands of released prisoners of war coming from the prisons of Germany. Some of the prisoners were clad in cast-off German uniforms and carried their belongings in wheelbarrows, carts, and even baby-carriages. They showed clearly the lack of food, and all were desperately hungry.

On November 20, part of the American forces passed into the little Duchy of Luxemburg, which, unlike Belgium, had not resisted the German advance. Some of the citizens had displayed pro-German sympathies during the war, but the Americans were warmly welcomed. General Pershing

Bürgermeisterei Neuenahr.

Gemeinde Neuenahr

Georg Kreuzberg-Straße Nr.

Herr

Villa Collin

hat zu bequartieren am

Ab. 12. 18

Offiz.

5

Mann

Pferde.

Neuenahr, den

Ab. 12

1918

Quartier-Amt.

QUARTERING ORDER.

advance to the Rhine and occupy the bridgehead at Cologne. The Americans should occupy that at Coblenz, further up the river, and the French that at Mayence, still further up.

The advance of the American troops toward the Rhine began on November 17. Every precaution was taken by General Dickman, who led the American forces, to guard against surprise, and the march was made in such a way that in a few moments the troops could be thrown into battle formation. Furthermore, observation balloons moved forward behind the lines watching the movements of the retreating Germans. On the first day, advanced troops crossed the Belgian border, while

and the youthful Grand Duchess, together with members of the Cabinet, reviewed some of the troops from the balcony of the palace.

The honor of first crossing the German boundary fell to the First Division. However, the entry was made into Lorraine, formerly a part of France, and the troops were not made to feel that they were in hostile territory. There were some sour faces, but the population of French ante-

Colonel Hunt of the 6th Infantry was the first soldier to enter the town. Behind him came the regimental band, playing "Dixie" and then "Suwanee River." The tunes "quickened the heartbeats and footsteps of the Americans," but of all the thousands of assembled Germans who lined the streets, "none showed the least feeling except the little children, who smiled at the soldiers, as all children will." Everywhere there was "silence" and "gloom."



BRITISH TROOPS GUARDING BRIDGE OVER THE RHINE AT COLOGNE, GERMANY.

cedents greeted the men from overseas with great rejoicings.

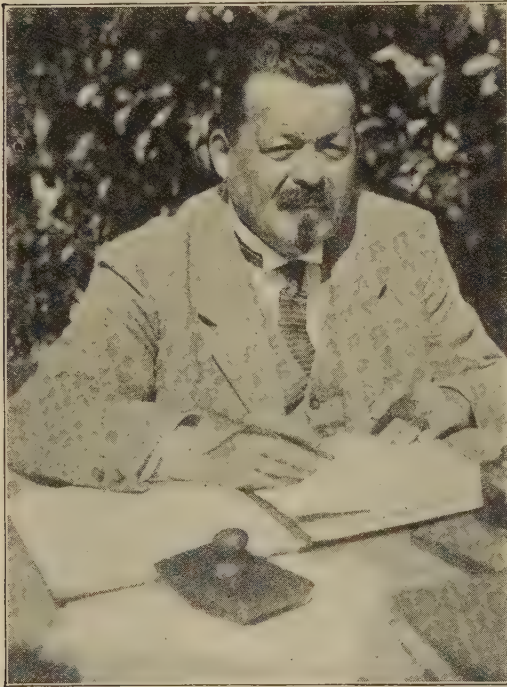
The American advance into the old Germany began on December 1. The important city of Treves was occupied the first day. The town greeted the invaders "with sullen, glowering mien." Although it was Sunday, "no church bells rang. There were no flags, no cheers, no smiles, few tears. It was just such a reception as only the boche could give."

An advance detachment of Americans entered Coblenz on the Rhine, on December 8; the main army reached that place four days later. Their reception there was much more cordial. On the 13th, the Americans crossed the Rhine. On the 10th, the Americans had occupied the great fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, one of the most formidable in Germany.

The march of the French and British troops to the Rhine was accomplished with-

out any incidents of importance. Neither they nor the Americans met with any resistance. In fact, in some places the people were so fearful of Bolshevist uprisings that they welcomed the invaders. The Allied troops ruled the occupied districts strictly but not harshly. The relations between Germans and Americans now became almost too cordial, and American officers became convinced that the Germans had a deep-laid scheme to curry American favor.

Allied soldiers and correspondents were, at first, struck by a surprising appearance



PRESIDENT EBERT OF GERMANY.

of prosperity and the seeming abundance of food. But appearances were deceptive. After a few days in Germany, an American correspondent wrote:

"My first impressions of German conditions of life in the villages and rural towns, like Malmedy and Montjoie and Dupen, were of surprise at the good meals one can get in the hotels and restaurants. There seemed to be an abundance of meat and other supplies in towns like Aix-la-Chapelle and an absence of the hunger look in the faces of the middle class crowds in Cologne.

But if one examines deeper, one finds that this is all superficial and due partly to the gross inequality of conditions between the rich and the poor, and partly, too, to proud camouflage of the misery which is beneath the surface of this show in the handsome streets and rich restaurants. There is hideous stinting and scraping of the barest necessities of life, with the hunger wolf at the doors of the small houses and in some quarters where working women live in half starvation, which drains them of vitality.

"This camouflage of life's luxuries has been cleverly done by the Germans, but like camouflage in war, it is all sham. There is sham coffee and sham tea. Even the rich-looking pastry in the shop windows is made without fat, and with a little flour mixed with substitutes, so that it has no nourishment. In the great hotels the skill of the chefs makes poor food tasty and ekes it out. The rich middle classes can buy good food at high prices, evading the food regulations, so long as they have the money to pay, but the working women and poorer middle class or professional people have to abide by their ration cards, and, as a French woman told me of her own people in the war zone, they get too much for death, but not enough for life."

By the middle of December the three Allied armies of occupation had the bridge-heads firmly in their grasp. Thenceforth the ban in Allied countries against the German song, *The Watch on the Rhine*, might safely have been lifted. The "watch" was now being kept by French, British, and Americans.

In Germany the returning troops were generally greeted with joy and affection, almost as conquering heroes. At Berlin the masses of spectators at the Brandenburger Gate were so dense that at first it was impossible to make headway. In wave after wave the men struggled forward amid flags and a profusion of flowers. Some of the bands played "*Deutschland über Alles*," but no revolutionary tunes were heard. At the front of the procession, however, marched a row of soldiers holding banners bearing the colors of the new republic—black, red, and gold. The troops were greeted by Mayor

Wermuth and Chancellor Ebert. Ebert's speech in part was as follows:

"Your deeds and sacrifices are unexampled. No enemy overcame you. Only when the preponderance of our opponents in men and material grew ever heavier did we abandon the struggle.

"You endured indescribable sufferings, accomplished incomparable deeds, and gave, year after year, proofs of your unshakable courage. You protected the homeland from invasion, sheltered your wives, children, and parents from flames and slaughter, and preserved the nation's workshops and fields from devastation.

"With deepest emotion the homeland thanks you. You can return with heads erect. Never have men done or suffered more than you.

"The German people have shaken off the old rule. On you, above all others, rests the hope of German freedom. The hard requirements of the victors are heavy upon us, but we will not collapse. We will build a new Germany. With the strength and unshakable courage which you have proved a thousand times, see to it that Germany remains united, and that the old misery of a system of small states does not overtake us again."

CHAPTER CLXXXVII—SIDELIGHTS ON THE GREAT WAR.



FOR over fifty-one months the greater part of the civilized world had been locked in a struggle that was bloody beyond all precedent. All past efforts had been dwarfed by comparison.

Considered merely as a problem in engineering, the effort put forth by the warring nations on the Western Front surpassed everything that men had deemed possible. The cost of even a few days of this warfare surpassed that of building the Panama Canal. The pity of it was that all this effort was expended in destruction rather than in construction. Man is a reasoning but not always a reasonable being.

Those who had thought that the fibre of mankind had been softened by civilization were undeceived. The boldest deeds of earlier ages had been equaled and even surpassed. Men who were engaged in peaceful pursuits on the farm or in the counting house willingly stood up against the most frightful weapons which modern science could evolve and gave up their lives with a heroism that was never surpassed in all history.

In the end, every great power of the world became involved in the war, though

not all took an active part in it. An authority estimates that nearly 60,000,000 men were mobilized for the conflict. Sixteen established nations and three new ones which were brought forth by the war actively participated against the four Central Powers, while twelve other nations declared war but did not actively participate in it. Several other states also severed diplomatic relations with one or more of the Central Powers. According to figures compiled by Walter Littlefield, the mobilized strength and casualty losses of the belligerents were as given in table on next page.

The same authority estimates that, in addition to more than 7,000,000 killed or mortally wounded in battle, almost 6,000,000 were left almost completely disabled. Probably even greater numbers of civilians met death as a result of the war than soldiers, either through use of engines of war or by famine, disease, or massacre. Among these were several hundred Americans slain on the high seas. About 20,000 British civilians met death on the same element, and 1,270 English men, women, and children were victims of air raids or naval bombardments. About 30,000 Belgian civilians were butchered or deprived of life in various ways, 40,000 French civilians were slaughtered, and 7,500 neutrals were drowned or other-

wise killed by submarines. Littlefield estimates that 4,000,000 Armenians, Servians, Jews, and Greeks were massacred, or starved by the Turks; that in all the belligerent countries there were 4,000,000 deaths beyond the normal mortality as a result of the war; that more than a million Servians died as a result of disease or massacre. He concludes that the total military and civilian mortality directly or indirectly the product of war would reach nearly 17,000,000 human beings. He adds, "And this is not all. Who can estimate the mil-

the French poilus and the efficient generalship of Joffre and his able lieutenants that saved the Allied cause from disaster at the Marne. However, it may well be doubted if France would have been equal to the crisis had it not been for opportune Russian and British assistance. The invasion of East Prussia by the Russians and the defeats administered by them to the Austrians in Galicia alarmed the German General Staff and the German people and resulted in certain army corps being taken from the western armies at a critical time, in order to

UNITED STATES AND ASSOCIATED NATIONS.

Nation	Mobilized	Dead	Prisoners		Total Casualties
			Wounded	Missing	
United States.....	4,272,521	67,813	192,483	14,363	274,659
British Empire.....	7,500,000	692,065	2,037,325	360,367	3,089,757
France.....	7,500,000	1,385,300	2,675,000	446,300	4,506,600
Italy.....	5,500,000	460,000	947,000	1,393,000	2,800,000
Belgium.....	267,000	20,000	60,000	10,000	90,000
Russia.....	12,000,000	1,700,000	4,950,000	2,500,000	9,150,000
Japan.....	800,000	300	907	3	1,210
Roumania.....	750,000	200,000	120,000	80,000	400,000
Servia.....	707,343	322,000	28,000	100,000	450,000
Montenegro.....	50,000	3,000	10,000	7,000	20,000
Greece.....	230,000	15,000	40,000	45,000	100,000
Portugal.....	100,000	4,000	15,000	200	10,000
Total.....	39,676,864	4,869,478	11,075,715	4,956,233	20,892,226

CENTRAL POWERS.

Germany.....	11,000,000	1,611,104	3,683,143	772,522	6,066,769
Austria-Hungary.....	6,500,000	800,000	3,200,000	1,211,000	5,211,000
Bulgaria.....	400,000	201,224	152,399	10,825	264,448
Turkey.....	1,600,000	300,000	570,000	130,000	1,000,000
Total.....	19,500,000	2,912,328	7,605,542	2,124,347	12,542,217
Grand Total.....	59,176,864	7,781,806	18,681,257	7,080,580	33,434,443

lions of human beings whose bones whiten the roads of Poland or fill the charnel houses of the Bolsheviki?"

The respective shares of the various Allied nations in winning the war will always be a matter of discussion and debate. Naturally, the people of each nation are inclined to overestimate their share in the glorious consummation. In the beginning the chief burden of the battle had to be borne by Russia and France. The enemy's main assault first fell upon France, and it was only the splendid fighting qualities of

meet the danger in the east. It is not impossible that had these corps been in the Battle of the Marne they might have transformed defeat into victory.

The Russian effort in East Prussia met speedy defeat, but this diversion in behalf of hard-pressed France, costly as it was, was greatly worth while. This was not the last time that the Russians sacrificed themselves in the common cause. Later there was much denunciation of Russian treachery and of Russia's withdrawal from the war, but the Allied people should never fail

to remember with gratitude the aid rendered, often at tremendous cost, to the Allied cause in times of peril during the first three years of the conflict.

As for the British, the little army which they were able to put forth in the beginning of the contest made up only about a twentieth of the Allied force which fought at the Marne, but the value of General French's army was far beyond its weight in men and guns, splendid as were its fighting qualities. The presence of British troops in France

world from Teutonic aggression. Had it been eliminated, the German fleets would have swept the seas and would have cut off all communication between France and Russia and England, except by wireless and flying machines. Who can think for a moment that the Allies could have stood out beyond a few months under such disadvantages? Had it not been for the British navy, the Kaiser's promise that the war would be over by the time the leaves fell would probably have been realized.



RUSSIAN SOLDIERS PREPARING COMMUNICATION TRENCHES.

heartened the French people and army, and probably prevented a breakdown of morale that would have been absolutely disastrous. The French people and soldiers knew the power of the British Empire, and, in the dark hours of the retreat from the Belgian border, they were borne up by the knowledge that, in course of time, vast armies could be built up by the British.

Furthermore, the aid rendered by the British navy was beyond all price. It was the bulwark of the alliance and saved the

Great Britain's part on land was at first relatively a small one. Her little army in France fought magnificently, and its retreat to the Marne and in barring the road to the Channel ports will ever remain one of the most glorious chapters in military annals. Early British attempts at the Dardanelles and in Mesopotamia failed, partly because of governmental mismanagement, partly because of the rawness of most of the troops engaged, but even these efforts helped to weaken Turkey and to prevent her from

attacking Egypt and invading the Caucasus region of Russia. Ultimately the British efforts against Turkey proved successful. Bagdad and Mesopotamia were conquered; Arabia was aided to rise in revolt; Jerusalem, the Holy City, was redeemed after a thousand years of Moslem captivity, and near the great climax of the conflict General Allenby's army destroyed the last remaining Turkish force of conse-

engaged in the necessary work of killing Germans, and the final breakdown of German defense was in no small measure due to losses resulting from British efforts. At the outset of 1918 the full weight of the great German offensive fell upon the British. They bore up under it magnificently, and yet they would not have been able to have held out had it not been for opportune French assistance. Their troops



KING GEORGE AND ALLIED SEA COMMANDERS AT ROSYTH.

quence, and assured the elimination of Turkey from the war.

On the Western Front the new British army did not really get into action until July 1, 1916, the date of the first "push" in the great battle of the Somme. Thereafter the British played an increasingly great part on land. Their forces bore the main brunt of battle during the later months of 1916 and throughout 1917. Their gains at first were not great, but all the while they were

did not participate in the first phases of the great counter-offensive which began on July 18, but, within a few days, some of their divisions were in the battle. They played the main part in the counter-offensive against the German salient projecting toward Amiens, and not only redeemed much French territory, but captured many thousands of Germans and hundreds of guns. Thereafter they pushed the Germans with never-ceasing persistence, and it is not too

much to say that the most thunderous strokes struck against the Hun maze of defenses were delivered by the British armies, assisted by some French, Belgian, and American divisions.

During the first years of the conflict Great Britain was the main financial bulwark of the Entente. Not only did she expend vast sums herself, but she rendered financial assistance to Russia, Servia, Italy, and Belgium. It is beyond question that without this British financial aid the Germans would have won the war.

In the conflict the British colonies bore a most honorable part. South Africa, which the Germans had hoped would arise in rebellion, conquered German Southwest Africa, and sent soldiers to other battlefields, notably to those of East Africa. General Smuts, one of the famous Boer leaders, commanded the expedition which overran German East Africa, and subsequently was one of the chief advisers to the British Government, both during the war and at the Peace Conference. It was a plan drawn up by Smuts which was ultimately taken as a basis for the League of Nations.

India furnished hundreds of thousands of volunteers and much money, and her troops played a large part in the conquest of Mesopotamia and Palestine. Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Newfoundland, and other colonies did their full share. Canadian losses in dead about equaled those of the United States, though her population was only one-twelfth as great. Italy's entrance into the war was exceedingly opportune from the Allied point of view. It forced Austria to divert hundreds of thousands of her best troops from the Russian Front. Thereafter Austria's main efforts had to be devoted to defending herself against Italian attack. Pressure against Russia was diminished, and the Russian débâcle was probably postponed thereby. Owing to tremendous natural obstacles, Italian progress was slow, but by the fall of 1917 her armies had reached positions whence they seriously threatened Austrian safety. But German aid opportunely rendered to Austria turned back the Italian tide along the Isonzo and threw the Italians back to the line of the Piave.

Italian national spirit rallied magnificently in the crisis, and, due partly to opportune French and British assistance, the danger was surmounted. The success of the Italians in defeating the Austrian offensive of June, 1918, came at a most opportune time, and did much to free Foch's hands and to enable him to take the offensive in France. Italy's part in the war was an honorable one, and she deserved well at the hands of her allies.

Belgium's service was in large measure rendered in the initial stage of the war. Her courageous refusal to permit the Germans to use her territory as a highway to France undoubtedly delayed the German invasion somewhat and may have made possible the victory of the Marne. Throughout the war her little army helped to hold the western line, and it played a considerable part in the final German defeat. The main value, however, of Belgium was perhaps as a victim. The German violation of her neutrality aroused the fighting spirit of the Allies and the resentment of the neutral world.

Servia and Montenegro fought courageously in the earlier stages of the war, and their armies continued to struggle even after their countries themselves had been overrun. It was the Servian army which, in September, 1918, delivered the decisive blow that broke the Bulgarian line and rendered the elimination of Bulgaria from the war certain. Roumania's entrance into the war was long delayed and she speedily fell a victim to Teutonic armies and Muscovite treachery. The entrance of Greece was delayed still longer, owing to the influence of her pro-German king and her German queen. But she finally stood behind the great Venizelos, and had begun to render effective aid before the war closed. Japan broke German power in the Orient, rendered some assistance in the campaign against the submarines, and furnished vast quantities of munitions of war to Russia, but she did not enter the conflict with the force of which she was capable. With the exception of the United States, the participation of most other nations which entered the war on the Allied side was a

nominal one, and the aid rendered by them was largely moral in character.

It will doubtless be the verdict of history that the ultimate victory was due in large measure to the assistance given by the United States. Yet it is easy to overemphasize our part, and many Americans are inclined to do so. The United States did not win the war; it only helped to win it. Homely comparisons are often illuminating. The situation existing when the United States entered the conflict was similar to that of half a dozen men who are trying to put a heavy

nation rallied to the crisis and put its shoulder to the wheel. Owing to our unpreparedness, however, our first contributions were largely moral and financial. The fact that America, the wonderful land, a nation of a hundred million people, the richest by far in the world, had come into the conflict, vastly heartened the Allies and encouraged them to bear up during the dark days of 1917 and the first half of 1918.

Our financial aid became available at once. Our Government adopted the course of extending financial credits to our asso-



ARRIVAL OF GREEK SOLDIERS AT SALONIKI.

piano into a moving van. The weight threatens to be too much for them, but at the critical moment, along comes a strong fellow who seizes hold of the piano, and, with his assistance, it is put in very nicely. It was not his strength alone which lifted it in. He had expended less effort than the others and was much less exhausted when the task was done. Yet without his aid the others might have failed.

America's entrance into the conflict was belated. Many of her people went to war with reluctance, yet once in the conflict, the

ciates in the conflict, and before the armistice was signed, the assistance thus rendered amounted to about eight billions of dollars. With this the Allies purchased vast quantities of American food, clothing, and munitions of many kinds. Without such aid it is difficult to see how the Allies could have made payment for these things. Near the end of the conflict, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer confessed as much.

From the beginning of the war, the American navy was able to render some as-

sistance in combating the submarine, and, as the conflict proceeded, played an increasingly important part. Our anti-submarine craft were credited with having certainly destroyed one submarine and with having probably damaged or destroyed about a score of others, while in the construction of the barrage of mines of Norway to the Orkneys we played the major part.

American troops arrived in France in the spring of 1917, but, for a year, they

were somewhat raw, perhaps, but their spirit triumphed over all difficulties. Their confidence, in fact, was contagious, so that Allied officers were glad to have them in their armies. At one time one of the most prominent French generals begged that some American divisions be sent to him. "If you cannot send me a division," he said, "send me at least a regiment. My men fight twice as well when they have American assistance."



AMERICANS AT BATTLE OF CANTIGNY.

played no considerable part in the actual fighting. Their presence lent encouragement to the French and British armies, but they killed few Germans. At Cantigny, around Château-Thierry, and elsewhere our soldiers proved their fighting efficiency, but our first great assistance was rendered in foiling the last German offensive and in aiding the French to strike the great counterblow in July, 1918. Thenceforward, the American troops became an ever-increasing factor in the war. The men and officers

The first separate American enterprise was the attack on the St. Mihiel salient. It was a workmanlike job, and in twenty-seven hours the task was done.

Our greatest contribution, begun two weeks later, was the drive northward down the Meuse Valley toward Sedan. In weeks of desperate fighting, the Americans proved their determination and ability to stand punishment, and—they progressed. After the bloodiest battle in American history, our divisions stood astride the main German

line of communication, while another American army in conjunction with the French was ready to strike eastward toward the Rhine. The Hindenburg Line had been broken from the North Sea to Metz. The Germans bowed to the inevitable, and the war was over.

The end of the war came suddenly. Between July 18, when the Allies launched their counter-offensive, and November 11, the date of the armistice, less than four months elapsed. But the German break-

year at the strength and resolution of the German people. It is in the great battles of 1916 and 1917 that we have to seek for the secret of our victory in 1918."

On both sides the war produced some great soldiers, but it will doubtless be the final verdict of history that the one supreme military figure was Ferdinand Foch. As a subordinate at the Marne and elsewhere he displayed qualities of the highest order, but it was not until he became Generalissimo of



AMERICANS ADVANCING TOWARD ST. MIHIEL SALIENT.

down was by no means due entirely to the blows they received in this short period. General Haig was quite right when, in his final report, he said:

"The rapid collapse of Germany's military power in the latter half of 1918 was the logical outcome of the fighting of the previous two years. It would not have taken place but for that period of ceaseless attrition which used up the reserves of the German armies, while the constant and growing pressure of the blockade sapped with more deadly insistence from year to

all the Allied forces that he was given an opportunity to display his full talents. The story of how in a few months he transformed defeat into overwhelming victory will always be one of the most interesting in the annals of warfare. His name will forever stand with those of Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Marlborough, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon, and to his eternal honor it will be added that, in addition to being a great military genius, he was also a true patriot and a man of high personal character. On the day following the signing

of the armistice, he issued this proclamation from his general headquarters:

"Officers, Sub-Officers, Soldiers of the Allied Armies: After having resolutely arrested the enemy, you attacked him without respite for three months with tireless energy and faith. You have won the greatest battle in history and saved the most sacred cause—the liberty of the world. Well may you be proud. With immortal glory you have adorned your banners. Posterity cherishes for you its gratitude."

Of the other generals, Marshal Joffre, at least, is certain of immortality. To him it fell to withstand the first great German onslaught, and through his skill in making the most of his resources and in fighting the decisive battle under the most favorable circumstances he flung back the German legions and saved France and the world from Teutonic domination. That he ultimately retired from command will not dim his glory, for he was already an old man, and the strain of two years of warfare at last proved too much for his strength.

Of the other French generals, Pétain, the defender of Verdun and Commander-in-Chief of the French army during most of 1917 and all of 1918, is assured a place not much below that of Foch and Joffre. To his keenness, determination, and skill in attending to details the Allies owed much. In the last months of the war the world heard much of Mangin, a brilliant offensive general, while General Gouraud's splendid defense of the front east of Rheims against the last German offensive gave the Allies an opportunity to snatch the initiative from the Germans and retain it to the end. Franchet d'Esperey performed notable services in France, and while in the Balkans was the victor in the battle which eliminated Bulgaria from the war and broke down the keystone of the Teutonic arch.

Of the British, General French commanded the Expeditionary Force in never-to-be-forgotten battles, but he hardly proved equal to the test imposed by the new warfare, which developed after the conflict entered the stage of trench warfare. He was succeeded by Haig, who had fought brilliantly at Mons, and, after assuming

chief command, retained it until the end of the war. Haig was forced to fight his battles in large measure with an impoverished army. He suffered great losses at the Somme and in Flanders and in the great German drive in the spring of 1918, but he also inflicted heavy losses in return and, toward the end, the blows delivered under his direction were the heaviest the Germans received. It is probable that in the histories of the Great War he will be given a place almost as high as that accorded to Wellington in the Napoleonic conflicts.

Of the other British generals, one of the most brilliant was Byng, the conqueror of Vimy Ridge, the victor of the battle of the tanks at Cambrai, the holder of Arras against the German drive in 1918, and the leader in some of the most successful smashes against the German defenses in the final great drive. Allenby will always be remembered as the conqueror of Jerusalem and the redeemer of the Holy Land from Moslem rule. Plumer was one of the very ablest. Maude, the "ever-victorious," restored the prestige of British arms in the Orient and captured the famous city of Bagdad, dying soon after his victories were achieved. He will have a place in history similar to that of Wolfe, who scaled the Heights of Abraham.

Of Russian generals, the Grand Duke Nicholas did well, all things considered, both in fighting the Austrians and Germans, and also in the warfare against the Turks. Of the other Russian generals, the greatest, undoubtedly, was Brusiloff, whose great offensive in the summer of 1916 proved of immense benefit to the Allied cause.

Of the Italians, General Cadorna won a great reputation, only to have it shattered by the disaster in the fall of 1917. He was succeeded by General Diaz, who took command at a most critical time and measured up to the situation well, succeeding finally, with some French and British aid, in virtually destroying the Austrian army.

The American army came late into the fray, and all of its early fighting was done under Allied direction. Only two important operations which were in any sense separate American undertakings were attempted.

One of these, the taking of the St. Mihiel salient, was not a major operation, and even in it much assistance was rendered by the British and French. Our greatest undertaking was the drive down the Meuse Valley, which culminated so happily in the capture

of Sedan and the cutting of the main line of German communications. It, of course, formed a part of General Foch's general plan of attack. In fact, the Americans did not undertake anything wholly independent in character. General Pershing's main task was one of construction rather than of generalship. He had to build up from small beginnings an army capable of playing a part in the contest on a grand scale, and he had to transport his men and much of his material very long distances overseas. It will probably be the verdict of history that he performed the task in a workmanlike manner, despite some discouraging

failures of the authorities at home. He was aided by a number of promising officers, who performed good work and who, had the war lasted a year longer, would have added to their reputations.

Of the great powers which entered the war in its early stages, there was not one

in which the generalissimo at the beginning of the contest remained in command until the end. This was true in Germany, as elsewhere. General von Moltke, the Chief of Staff, soon disappeared from view and was succeeded by von Falkenhayn, who, in

the summer of 1916, gave place in turn to von Hindenburg. Of all the German war heroes von Hindenburg undoubtedly loomed largest in the popular mind, though it is impossible to say how much of his success was due to von Ludendorff, who rather overshadowed him toward the end. Had the war ended in June, 1918, these two might, perhaps, have been considered the two chief military figures of the war. Next to them, the most successful German general was von Mackensen, who won some sweeping victories over the Russians, Serbians, and Roumanians. He never participated in the warfare on the Western

Front, so that it is impossible to say how much of his success was due to his ability as a leader and how much to the weakness of his opponents.

German generals made some serious mistakes during the war, and yet the general average of the German Command was

(FOR OFFICIAL CIRCULATION ONLY.)

[G. O. 204.]

G. H. Q.

AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES,

GENERAL ORDERS {
No. 204. }

FRANCE, November 13, 1918.

The following communication from the Commander in Chief of the Allied Armies is published to the command:

G. Q. G. A., le 12 Novembre, 1918.

OFFICIERS, SOUS-OFFICIERS, SOLDATS DES ARMÉES ALLIÉES:

Après avoir résolument arrêté l'ennemi, vous l'avez, pendant des mois, avec une foi et une énergie inlassables, attaqué sans répit.

Vous avez gagné la plus grande bataille de l'Histoire et sauvé la cause la plus sacrée: la Liberté du Monde.

Soyez fiers!

D'une gloire immortelle vous avez paré vos drapeaux.

La Postérité vous garde sa reconnaissance.

*Le Maréchal de France,
Commandant en Chef les Armées Alliées:
F. FOCH.*

BY COMMAND OF GENERAL PERSHING:

JAMES W. McANDREW,
Chief of Staff.

OFFICIAL:
ROBERT C. DAVIS,
Adjutant General.

A. G. PRINTING DEPT., G. H. Q. A. E. F., 1918.

MARSHAL FOCH'S CONGRATULATIONS TO THE ALLIED
SOLDIERS.

high. The Great German Staff usually had an intelligent idea of the task before them, and the measures adopted were likely to be the best possible under the circumstances. Beyond question the German military machine was the most formidable the world had ever seen, and it may be doubted whether it will ever be surpassed in the future. Its methods were often dishonorable and ruthless, but it fought with valor worthy of a better cause. In the course of the conflict it inflicted losses in killed, wounded, and captured fully double those it received. During more than four years of bitter warfare against heavy odds, it fronted a world of enemies and, at the end, though sorely weakened and shaken, it was still intact and was still fighting on enemy soil.

In naval warfare the war produced no sea fighters worthy to rank with Nelson, Farragut, and Drake. Admiral Jellicoe displayed some high qualities, but he hardly measured up to the opportunity given him in the Battle of Jutland, and by permitting the German fleet to slip through his fingers he lost the chance to win immortal glory. Admiral Beatty won credit as commander of the Battle Cruiser Squadron in hard-fought engagements, and was Commander-in-Chief at the end of the war. His name will probably stand highest among naval officers of the conflict. It was to him that the German fleet ultimately surrendered, yet he was denied the satisfaction of having defeated it in actual battle.

Upon the whole, the German navy was managed with distinct ability. Though greatly outnumbered from the outset, it remained in being until the end, a constant threat to its enemies, compelling them to keep ceaseless watch against it. By his skill in extricating himself from an extremely perilous position in the Battle of Jutland, Admiral Hipper won a reputation which will not be forgotten in naval history. Although the end of the German fleet was inglorious, its officers and men displayed high seamanlike qualities, and especially in the first two years of the war a dash and determination that aroused grave uneasiness in Allied countries.

In all the Zeppelins made 51 raids on England, causing the death of 498 civilians, the wounding of 1,236 others, and the killing of 58 soldiers and sailors and the injuring of 121. Aeroplanes made 59 raids, killing 619 civilians, injuring 1,650 others, killing 238 soldiers and sailors, and wounding 400 others.

Counter air raids against Germany were begun by the British in October, 1917. This raiding was done from a base southeast of Nancy. Up to January 5, 1918, 142



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HUGH TRENCHARD.

raids were made, of which 57 were against the Rhineland, including night attacks on Cologne, Stuttgart, Mannheim, Mainz, and Coblenz.

In May, 1918, the British decided to form an Independent Air Force under command of Major-General Sir Hugh Trenchard. A large number of planes, with appropriate equipment, were assembled. Much preliminary work had to be done, but raids by the new force were soon under way. The main object was to strike at the most vital points of the German army, to cripple its

sources of supply, and to harass and terrify the German people.

General Trenchard considered two alternative schemes. One was to carry out sustained and continuous attacks on one large center after another until each center was destroyed and the industrial population dispersed to other towns. The other was to attack as many of the large industrial centers as possible with the machines at his disposal. For various reasons he decided to adopt the latter plan. One reason was that by attacking as many centers as could be reached the moral effect would be much greater, as no one would feel safe, and it would be necessary for the Germans to attempt to protect all the different localities against which the raiders were operating. "At present," said General Trenchard in his report, "the moral effect of bombing stands undoubtedly to the material effect in the proportion of 20 to 1, and therefore it was necessary to create the greatest moral effect possible."

General Trenchard decided to make raids both by day and by night. The Allied intelligence department supplied him with information as to targets, such as gas factories, aeroplane factories, engine factories, poison-gas factories, and blast furnaces, and this information was supplemented by aerial photographs taken by reconnaissance machines. Much attention was directed toward attacking the enemy aerodromes in order to prevent him from retaliating. Many attacks were also made upon railways and railway bridges, in order to interfere with German transportation of troops and munitions.

The planes used for bombing were mostly De Havillands and Handley Pages. The Rolls-Royce engine was generally employed, but one squadron of De Havillands equipped with the American Liberty Motors arrived in France on August 31, 1918. In November, another squadron was re-equipped with De Havilland planes using Liberty Motors. Another squadron had started re-equipping when the armistice was signed.

Between June 6 and November 10, 550 tons of bombs were dropped, of which 150 tons were dropped by day and 390 tons

by night. Two hundred and twenty tons were used against enemy aerodromes and proved effective, as the enemy's attacks on British aerodromes were almost negligible, and not a single machine of the Independent Force was destroyed by enemy bombing during that period. Hardly a town in the Rhine region escaped the attention of the bombers. Among those visited were Bonn, Cologne, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Karlsruhe, Ludwigshafen, Mannheim, Stuttgart, and Worms.

The work was both difficult and dangerous. The weather was often unfavorable, with wind, rain, or fog. The finding of the objectives was frequently very uncertain. Even after a machine had dropped its bombs and was returning home, its troubles were not over. In his official report General Trenchard said:

"Long-distance bombing work requires the utmost determination, as a change of wind completely upsets all calculations that may have been made before starting. It requires fine judgment on the leader's part to know if he perseveres to the objective, whether he will have sufficient fuel to carry the formation home again safely. This will be realized when it is pointed out that on several occasions the machines with only five and a quarter hours' petrol were out for that time; in one case a formation was out for five hours and thirty minutes, and it only just managed to clear the front-line trenches on its homeward journey. A miscalculation of five minutes would have lost the whole formation. Ceiling was of more importance than speed for long-distance day bombing work. It was essential that squadrons fly as high as possible."

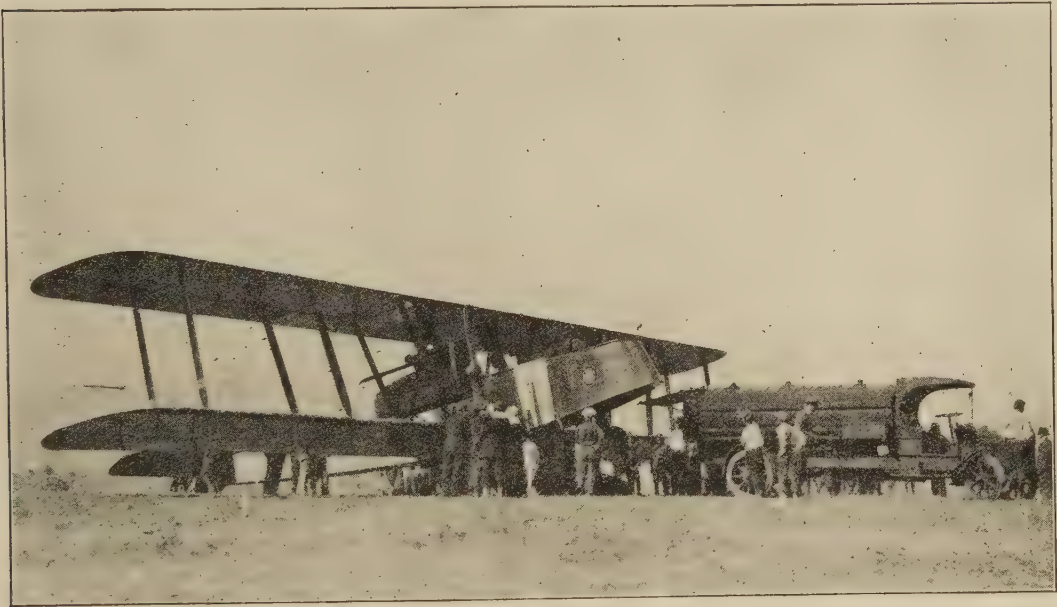
On the night of June 29, Handley Page machines attempted to attack the chemical works at Mannheim, but, owing to weather conditions, only one machine succeeded in reaching its objective. This machine, on its way home, failed to find its aerodrome and landed not less than 160 miles southwest of it.

Fierce fights with enemy machines often took place. On July 31, No. 99 Squadron, under the command of Captain Taylor, attempted to attack Mainz. South of Saar-

brucken they encountered forty German scouts. After fierce fighting, four of the British machines were brought down, but five succeeded in dropping their bombs on a station at Saarbrucken. On their return, they were again attacked, and suffered the loss of three more of their number. Only two of the squadron, therefore, reached their aerodromes safely.

One of the most interesting attacks was that made on the night of August 25, on the Badische Anilin Soda Fabrik Works at Mannheim by two machines piloted by Captain Lawson and Lieutenant Purvis.

turned onto this machine, freeing the first machine from their glare. This machine then turned and made straight for the works as low as the second machine among the chimneys, and released its bombs. The searchlights were turned almost horizontally to the ground, and the anti-aircraft guns were firing right across the works and factories almost horizontally. In spite of this, the two machines remained at a low altitude, and swept the factories, works, guns, and searchlights with machine-gun fire. On the return journey both of these machines passed through rain and thick



MARTIN BOMBING PLANE.

"One pilot shut off his engine at 5,000 feet and glided in on the target from the northwest, following the river. He was at once picked up and held in the beams of the searchlights, and an intense anti-aircraft barrage was put up. The machine continually changed its course, but could not shake off the searchlights, and the pilot was completely blinded by the glare. At this moment the second machine glided in, with its engine almost stopped, underneath the first machine, got immediately over the works, below the tops of the factory chimneys, and released its bombs right into the works. The searchlights were at once

clouds, while lightning and thunder were prevalent throughout the trip."

The squadron that was equipped with Liberty Motors made its first raid on September 25, dropping one and one-half tons of bombs on Frankfurt. They were opposed by numerous hostile machines, two of which they shot down. Four of the British machines did not return; in addition, one observer was killed and one pilot was wounded.

The Independent Force coöperated in the American attack on the St. Mihiel salient and also in attacking important railway junctions in front of the French lines in the combined offensive of September

26. Altogether, 109 planes of the Independent Force failed to return from the various raids, but they were well spent.

The great ambition of the Independent Force was to bomb Berlin. A special group was established in England under command of Colonel Mulock, for the purpose of making preparations for attacking Berlin and other distant centers. But this group did not receive machines capable of carrying out this work until the end of October. Though the men and officers worked day and night in order to get the machines ready for the attack on the Kaiser's capital, preparations were only completed three days before the signing of the armistice, and the attempt was never made.

Captain Ball became the greatest fighter in the British aerial service before he was twenty-one. He accounted for over forty enemy planes in the course of his brief, heroic career. His final fight took place on May 7, 1917, in the region of the Flanders offensive. With another machine he drove down a German aeroplane and then closed in with four others. His comrade sent one crashing to the ground, but was wounded in the wrist and had to make for home. What happened to Captain Ball was never exactly known, but at all events he fell within the enemy's lines.

The most successful aviator of all was William Avery Bishop, a Canadian. He was born on Owen Sound, Ontario, on the east side of Georgian Bay, and was educated at the Royal Military College of Canada. When the war broke out, he was not yet of age, but he enlisted, and, early in 1915, went overseas as a cavalryman. During the period of trench warfare, the cavalry did so little active work that Bishop decided to enter the aerial service. After a period of training in England, he went to France as an aerial observer and remained in this work for about a year. Finally, however, his plane was shot down, but he escaped with a broken leg. After recovering, he returned to England and studied to become a fighter in the service. For a time he remained in England on the lookout to fight Zeppelins, but never had the opportunity to destroy one of these monster craft.

In the spring of 1917 he returned to the West Front as a fighting pilot with a commission as Lieutenant in the Royal Flying Corps. He devoted a great deal of attention to marksmanship. He usually began shooting at long range and often got his antagonist before the German thought it worth while to open fire. His first battle took place near Arras on March 25. He winged the German plane about 9,000 feet in the air, and followed it downward, thinking that perhaps the German was only feigning having been hit. When he at-



COLONEL W. A. BISHOP.

tempted to start his engine after having dropped about 8,000 feet, he discovered that it had become cold, and he could not start it again. Another German plane came along and shot Bishop's plane up so badly that it fell in No Man's Land, but he managed to escape. A week later he got a second German plane and was commissioned as captain. Thenceforward his career was most spectacular. Before the end of the summer he had shot down 47 planes, and was ordered on a furlough by his government. During his furlough he visited the United States and Canada, published a book entitled

"Winged Warfare," and wedded the daughter of a wealthy Canadian.

On his return to active service, he was given command of a squadron of picked men. With this squadron he more than once came in conflict with von Richthofen and his "Flying Circus." In the words of Bishop, "Richthofen and I had a shooting acquaintance many times, but never drew blood on each other." In the last twelve days of June, 1918, Bishop shot down 25 German planes.

His exploits rendered Canadians very proud of him and also caused the Germans to offer a great reward for him, dead or alive. Those in authority realized, however, that if he continued in the service it would probably only be a question of time when he would meet death. It was felt that he had well won the right to live, and therefore he was ordered home to do training work. He was loath to leave, and determined to have one more go at the enemy.

"I was to leave on the noon train," said he, in telling the story later, "and so I got into a little machine and 'zoomed' for the air over the Hun lines. I went back of them a few miles without getting anything, when suddenly six boches attacked me at once. That was real sport then, and I got five of them, but the sixth got away from me in the excitement. On my way back to the aerodrome the anti-aircraft guns made it pretty hot for me."

Bishop was sent home and was placed in command of the Canadian air force, training men in combat and circus tricks, and generally directing the mobilization of aviators for overseas service. He was given the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and had won the Distinguished Service Order, Cross of the Legion of Honor, first class, of which he is a chevalier; the French Croix de Guerre, with palm; the British Military Cross; the Special War Medal of the Aero Club of America; the Medal of Gold of the Aero Club of France; the Distinguished Flying Cross of the British army; the Special Medallion of the Air Fleet Committee of Great Britain; and that most coveted of all honors, the Victoria Cross, of which less

than 300 have been conferred since its creation in the Crimean War.

Yet, at the end of the great conflict, he was only twenty-four, was only five feet seven inches tall, weighed only little more than 100 pounds, and was blue-eyed, blond, and beardless.

It is generally conceded that Bishop's record was the most remarkable of any aerial fighter. Guynemer, France's greatest ace, was officially credited with 53 planes before he was killed. Baron von Richthofen was credited with 80, but this was reckoned according to the German method of counting men and not planes; that is, a two-seater plane would be counted as two instead of one. Colonel Bishop was officially credited with 72 planes in less than one year of fighting, and fellow officers said that in reality he probably destroyed almost as many more under circumstances where the exact facts could not be ascertained.

Shortly before the armistice was signed, one of the most remarkable air fights of the war took place over the Forest of Mormal. A major in one of the British squadrons, while flying over the forest, saw a German two-seater at a height of 1,000 feet. He climbed up toward it in a wide spiral and opened fire upon it from below. The German plane broke in the air, and both the pilot and observer fell out, one man dropping in a parachute.

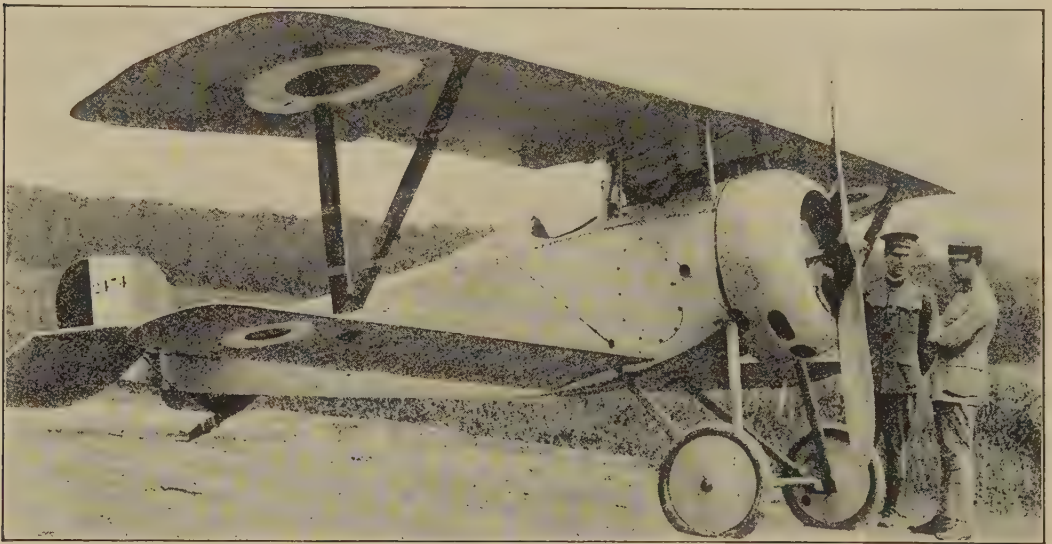
Almost immediately a German Fokker biplane appeared upon the scene and opened fire upon the Britisher. Several bullets passed through the major's plane, and one struck him in the left thigh. His plane began to fall, but he managed to recover control. Soon he found himself surrounded by fifteen Fokkers. Wounded as he was, he nevertheless put up a most remarkable fight. By a skillful manœuvre he got his shots in first, and three German planes fell. Another bullet struck him, this time shattering his left thigh bone. He fainted completely away, and his plane dived helplessly toward the earth, but once again he recovered consciousness and managed to regain control. A dozen of the enemy were still after him, eager to put in the finishing shot. He flew at one, and a

burst of fire from his machine gun set the German plane alight, and it dropped toward the earth in flames. All the while, bullets continued to whiz past him, and one smashed his left elbow, so that this arm dropped useless by his side. The end of the conflict is thus described by a British correspondent:

"With one hand he managed now to steer and shoot against a new swarm of enemies that came like midges. He dived steeply to escape them, but eight more scouts chased him down. He could not avoid them, so he fought them. He fought by manœuvering for position with every

wounded, and every man out here who knows how he fought between fifty and sixty hostile aircraft and destroyed four and drove down six hopes with all his heart that this air knight will recover from his wounds."

The first American aerial squadron was composed of the Lafayette Escadrille, the members of which were transferred from the French to the American service late in December, 1917. This squadron was commanded by Major Raoul Lufbery, an account of whose adventurous career in the French service has already been given. At this time this squadron was attached to and served with the French Fourth Army



FRENCH BATTLE PLANE.

stunt known to airmen with a little morning wildness in their hearts, but this was cold, deadly skill. It was watched by ground observers, who held their breath at the sight of that one British aeroplane, banking, nose diving, looping, with the flock of Germans about it.

"For ten or twelve minutes he juggled with his aeroplane to get his target among the vultures. He hit two and put them out of action, and then they had had enough, and he landed successfully. But when his machine came to a rest he did not jump out. He sat all crumpled up, with his head drooping, and it was on a stretcher that he went away. He is now in a hospital, gravely

around Rheims. In March and June, 1918, two full squadrons of Americans were attached to the British Royal Air Force and remained with the British throughout the war and participated in many engagements.

Strictly American engagements began in the middle of March, 1918, with the patrolling of the front in the region of Villeneuveles-Vertus. The aviators used planes of the French-built Nieuport type. The success of these operations was quickly followed by an immediate increase of the aerial forces at the front and enlargements of their field of action. By November, 1918, the number of American squadrons was 45, with a total of 740 planes in action.

Most of the fighting done by American aviators was in French or British planes. Of the 2,698 planes sent to the front, 667, or about one-fourth, were of American make. Of the planes obtained from foreign sources, about nine-tenths were French. However, American planes were beginning to arrive at the front in great numbers.

Americans also did a great deal in the matter of observation balloons. By the end of the war, 642 such balloons had been manufactured in America, and 20 had been received from the French. The number actually floated at the front was 369.

American aviators played important parts at Château-Thierry, St. Mihiel, and the Meuse. They were credited with having brought down 755 German planes, while their own losses numbered only 357. The Americans also lost 43 balloons and destroyed 71 German craft of this character.

Even the planes the Americans were able to obtain from the French were not always satisfactory. The Nieuports used by them were antiquated and had many defects, and there were many accidents due to them.

"From the frequency of these accidents to our Nieuports it may be wondered why we continued to use them," says Eddie Rickenbacker, in his book called *Fighting the Flying Circus*. "The answer is simple: We had no others we could use! The American Air Forces were in dire need of machines of all kinds. We were thankful to get any kind that would fly.

"The French had already discarded the Nieuport for the steadier, stronger Spad, and thus our Government was able to buy from the French a certain number of these out-of-date Nieuport machines for American pilots—or go without. Consequently, our American pilots in France were compelled to venture out in Nieuports against far more experienced pilots in more modern machines. None of us in France could understand what prevented our great country from furnishing machines equal to the best in the world.

"Many a gallant life was lost to American aviation during those early months of 1918, the responsibility for which must lie heavily upon some guilty conscience."

When the Lafayette Squadron was taken over by the Americans, Lufbery was made a major and became commanding officer of what was known as the "Hat-in-the-Ring Squadron." He made a very effective commanding officer, and not only added to the number of German planes brought down by himself, but also made his squadron one of the best in the Allied service.

His last flight took place in May, 1918. He went up in a plane with which he was not familiar in pursuit of a German Albatross. In the midst of the fight his gun jammed, but he succeeded in remedying it. An unlucky German bullet struck the fuel tank and set the gasoline on fire. Apparently in the hope of saving his life he took the awful chance of leaping from the machine at a height of 200 feet as it passed over a stream, but he missed the water and was killed. Loving hands moved his body to the town hall and covered his charred remains with flowers from nearby gardens. The German plane itself was shot down by a French machine and fell inside the American lines.

On May 20, Lufbery was buried in the little "Airman's Cemetery" belonging to the squadron. Many distinguished French and American officers attended to pay their last act of respect to the memory of America's most famous aviator. The final scene of the ceremony came when Eddie Rickenbacker led Lufbery's whole squadron twice across the mass of uncovered heads below, then glided with closed engine down to fifty feet above the open grave. "As his body was being slowly lowered," says Rickenbacker, "I dropped my flowers, every pilot behind me following in my wake one by one. Returning then to our vacant aerodrome, we sorrowfully faced the realization that America's greatest aviator and ace of aces had been laid away for his last rest."

Next to Lufbery, the most famous American ace was Eddie Rickenbacker. Before the war he had attained great success as a driver in automobile races and had won some of the greatest contests of this kind in America. When the United States entered the war, he was in Europe, negotiating for cars, but he hurried home, intent on raising

a squadron of fliers from among the many racing drivers, for he believed that they were men well fitted for the deadly work. But not all drivers were so enthusiastic as he, and he failed to mobilize a flying squadron. Ultimately he joined the army and went to France with the rank of sergeant, and for a time acted as driver to General Pershing.

But his desire to fight in the air persisted, and, after a few weeks, he got transferred to the aerial service. He trained him-



EDDIE RICKENBACKER.

self for the dangerous work with unusual care. As a racer he had been notable both for daring and good sense. He displayed the same characteristics as a flyer. He not only mastered the art of flying, but devoted a great deal of attention to practicing with his machine gun. Nor was he content merely to shoot well; he taught himself to shoot at every conceivable angle and from every position. Furthermore, he would purposely jam his weapon and then attempt to repair it when flying at high speed.

Finally he went to the front, and soon

thereafter devotees of motor racing began to see his familiar name again. "Lieutenant Rickenbacker downs his first Hun," ran one headline. Within a month he had shot down five enemy planes, was proclaimed an "ace," and received the French Croix de Guerre. Marvelous feature stories began to appear about him and his exploits. His score mounted rapidly. In all he was officially credited with destroying 26 German planes, and his real score was still higher. He was promoted captain and became the leader of the "Hat-in-the-Ring Squadron," the most successful American squadron at the front. Many of his encounters were with von Richthofen's "Flying Circus," and he and his comrades did much to destroy that famous band of flyers. When he returned to America at the end of the war, he had won practically every medal and decoration that France and America had to bestow and was greeted as one of the foremost heroes of the war.

Like most other famous aerial fighters, Rickenbacker believed in a speedy attack. If his swoop failed, he usually broke off the fight and either climbed high in air for another drive at his enemy, or else he winged his way homeward.

Some of Rickenbacker's greatest work was done on October 2, 1918, while on patrol between Sivry-sur-Meuse and Romagne. He shot the observer in a German plane and had the pilot at his mercy when the two machine guns of his Spad jammed. Luckily another American plane happened along and finished the work, with the result that the German machine fell within the American lines. Rickenbacker had just got his guns into working order again when he suddenly came upon a whole flock of Fokkers passing through a thin stratum of clouds. Instantly he threw his plane over on its wing and nose, making a double-quick spin to get out of range. All eight of the German planes pursued him, firing, and his position had become critical, when his own squadron opportunely arrived and drove off the enemy. The Americans pursued, and, as the Germans emerged from a cloud bank, Rickenbacker and another American aviator, Reed Chambers, each

shot down one of them. Next day he shot down two more planes, though another machine assisted in the work of destroying one of them.

Captain Rickenbacker's squadron was officially credited with destroying 68 enemy planes and balloons, of which number Rickenbacker himself shot down 26.

One of the most remarkable of the American pilots was Lieutenant Frank Luke, who came from Phoenix, Arizona, and was a member of the 27th Squadron. Luke was a high-strung young man, hardly more than a boy, daring to a fault, and totally indifferent to danger. He had a devoted friend named Lieutenant Wehrner, who acted as a sort of protector and more than once saved Luke's life. On the evening of September 18, Luke pointed out two German balloons that swung above Three-Fingered Lake, near Vigneulles, and announced that he meant to destroy them. Lieutenant Wehrner accompanied him as usual. Despite anti-aircraft guns and six German Fokkers, Luke shot down the balloons in a few minutes, while Wehrner acted as guard. Three other German Fokkers were about to make a surprise attack on Luke when Wehrner threw himself in front of them and was himself shot down in flames. Enraged at his friend's death, Luke gave battle to all three Germans, and, after a desperate fight, shot down two of them. The third escaped, but, still raging for revenge, Luke steered toward Verdun and shot down a German observation plane. In less than twenty minutes he had shot down two balloons and three planes!

In one period of six days he shot down in flames thirteen balloons. He became known as the "Balloon Strafer." In eight days, he won fourteen victories. His comrade, Eddie Rickenbacker, declares this was the most remarkable aviation feat of the war, and says that in his estimation there was no other aviator who "possessed the confidence, ability, and courage that Frank Luke had shown during that remarkable two weeks."

On one occasion Luke pointed out two German balloons suspended in the sky two miles back of the German lines and about four miles apart. "Keep your eyes on these

two balloons," he said to his comrades. "You will see that first one there go up in flames exactly at 7.15, and the other will do likewise at 7.19." His companions were doubtful, but they gathered in a group in the open and kept their eyes glued on the distant dots in the sky. Suddenly a major exclaimed, "There goes the first one!" Sure enough, a great flash lighted up the sky. Almost exactly four minutes later, a second gigantic burst of flame announced that the second balloon had been exploded. Within half an hour after his departure, Luke was back at his own aviation field receiving the congratulations of his comrades. In that short period he had "destroyed a hundred thousand dollars' worth of enemy property!"

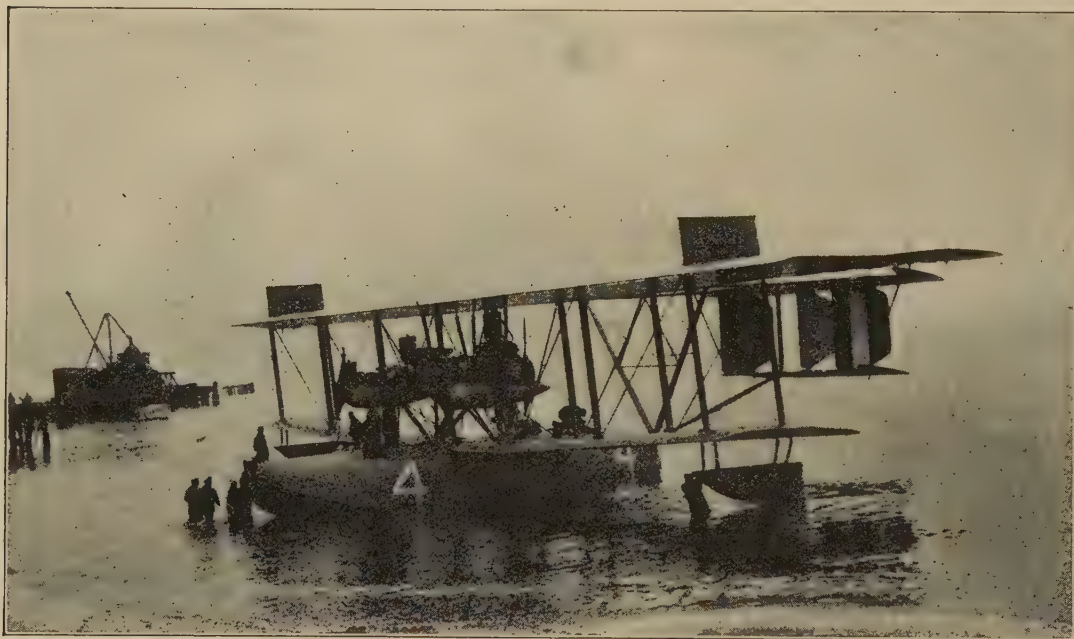
Late on September 29, Luke circled low over the American Balloon Headquarters near the River Meuse and dropped a note which said: "Look out for enemy balloons at D-2 and D-4 positions.—Luke." A few minutes later a great red glow lit up the darkening sky, and before the last of it died away there came another burst of flame. Luke had again made good his promise, but this time his friends awaited his return in vain. Many inquiries were made, but for months not one word of reliable information reached his comrades concerning Luke's disappearance. Not a trace of his machine could be found! Not a single clue of his death and burial could be obtained from the Germans! Like Guynemer, the miraculous airman of France, it seemed that he had been swallowed by the skies. At last, however, it was learned that he had been forced to land and, scorning to surrender, had died fighting.

Four days after the signing of the armistice, John D. Ryan, director of the air craft, announced that a system of telephoning had been perfected whereby an aviator could hear orders transmitted by a commander several miles away on the ground beneath. This system had been in use since February, 1918. Various other new inventions were in use or in process of development, though it must be admitted that the really vital new inventions which helped to win the war were two British productions, the tank and the depth bomb.

The war resulted in other wonderful improvements in air-craft, especially in aeroplanes. No sooner was the war over than aviators and builders of aircraft began to turn their attention to the peaceful possibilities of aviation. One of the feats which was considered well worth attempting was that of flying across the Atlantic. Preparations for a number of efforts were begun, and attempts were made as soon in 1919 as the weather would permit.

The first attempt was made by American naval seaplanes. Owing to the shortage of ships during the war, it had been deemed

type, the "N" standing for Navy and the "C" for Curtiss, the head of the company which built the planes. They had an upper wing span of 126 feet, and were propelled by four Liberty Motors of 400 horse-power each. They were capable of a speed of about 80 miles per hour, and carried a gross load of 28,000 pounds each, including 2,000 gallons of gasoline and 170 gallons of oil. The planes first proceeded to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Their next stop was at Trepassey, Newfoundland. The three planes left Newfoundland on May 16, and one of them, the NC-4, with a crew of five and Lieutenant-



NC-4.

desirable to ascertain whether it would not be possible to take the planes across under their own power, and plans for the experiment were made before the war ended. Every possible precaution was taken to safeguard those participating in the attempt, and a line of destroyers was placed across the ocean to serve as guide posts.

Three great seaplanes left Rockaway Beach, Long Island, on May 8, accompanied by a heavier-than-air "blimp," a dirigible, which was subsequently blown out to sea and lost before the real trans-Atlantic flight began. The planes were of the "NC"

Commander A. C. Read, reached Horta in the Azores, 1,200 miles distant, in fifteen hours and eighteen minutes. The NC-3 was forced to land in the sea 200 miles from the Azores, but "taxied" to its destination under its own power. The NC-1 was wrecked within sight of the Azores, but its crew was rescued by a steamship. Subsequently, the NC-4 proceeded to Lisbon and thence northward, reaching Plymouth, England, in safety on May 31.

This was the first trans-Atlantic flight in an airship. Before the voyage was completed, two venturesome aviators, an Aus-

tralian named Harry Hawker and an Englishman, Lieutenant-Commander Mackenzie Grieve, sought to make a direct flight from Newfoundland to the British Isles. The attempt was a most hazardous one, for the machine they used was an ordinary aeroplane, and in case it was forced to descend to the water, the only thing that would keep it afloat was its empty gas tanks. The attempt was made on May 18, and excited universal interest. Crowds in Ireland

had offered \$50,000 for the first successful direct trans-Atlantic flight, gave the two aviators half the reward as a consolation prize.

On June 14, two other British officers, Captain John Alcock and Lieutenant Arthur Whitten Brown, of the British Air Force, set out in a Vickers-Vimy landplane from St. Johns, Newfoundland. Brown, although born in Scotland, and wearing the king's uniform, was an American by parentage.



LIEUTENANT ARTHUR BROWN AND CAPTAIN JOHN ALCOCK.

awaited Hawker's coming, but days passed and nothing was heard from him. It was generally assumed that he and his companion had met death in mid-ocean, and King George sent a letter of condolence to Hawker's wife. However, after practically all hope was gone, a little Danish vessel, which was not equipped with wireless, reached the Hebrides with the two daring men on board. Everything turned out happily, and the London *Daily Mail*, which

The plane had been built originally to drop bombs on Berlin. It was equipped with two 375 H. P. Rolls-Royce Eagle engines, and had a wing-spread of 67 feet and length of 42 feet 8 inches. The two aviators experienced grave difficulties on the way from fog, which made the sun, moon, and stars invisible much of the time, while their wireless transmitter was blown off the machine soon after they left St. Johns, yet they succeeded in making the trip to the Irish coast safely in 16 hours

and 12 minutes, an average of 119 miles per hour. There was no other record either for land or sea flying which approached this. An American newspaper called Alcock and Brown's feat the "greatest sporting event the world has ever known."

Captain Alcock's account of their adventurous voyage, as given to the reporter of *The Daily Mail*, was as follows:

"At Signal Hill, Newfoundland, Lieutenant Brown set our courses for the ocean on 124 degrees of the compass. We kept that course until well on in the night. I had the engine throttled down nicely, and I let her do her own climbing.

"At dark we were about 4,000 feet up. We found it very cloudy and misty. We were between layers of cloud and could see neither the sea nor the sky. After the first hour we had got into these clouds, one lot 2,000 feet up and the other 6,000 feet. It was impossible to see the sea to get our bearings.

"Drift clouds above obscured the sun, and when the night came we could see neither stars nor moon, so we flew on our original course until we struck a patch about 3 a. m., where we could see a few stars.

"Brown gave me a new course of 110 degrees compass points, and we went on steadily until the weather started to get very thick again. About 4 a. m. or 5 a. m., we could see nothing. The bank of fog was extremely thick, and we began to have a very rough time.

"The air speed indicator jammed. It stood at 90, and I knew not exactly what I was doing. It jammed through the sleet freezing on it, and it smelled smoky.

"We did some comic stunts then. I believe we looped the loop, and by accident we did a deep spiral. It was very alarming. We had no sense of the horizon. We came down quickly from 4,000 feet until we saw water very clearly. That gave me my horizon again and I was all right. That period only lasted a few seconds, but it seemed ages.

"It came to an end when we were within fifty feet of the water, with the machine practically on its back.

"The air speed indicator again began to work as a result of the swift dive.

"We climbed after that and got on fairly well until we got to 6,000 feet, and the fog was there again. I climbed twice on top of it, only to find banks of clouds. We went higher and saw the moon and one or two stars. We 'carried on' until dawn.

"We never saw the sun rise. There was a bank of fog also on top of the lower cloud. We climbed up to 11,000 feet. It was hailing and snowing. The machine was covered with ice. That was about six o'clock in the morning, and it remained like that until the hour before we landed.

"My radiator shutter and water temperature indicator were covered with ice for four or five hours. Lieutenant Brown had continually climbed up to chip off the ice with a knife.

"The speed indicator was full of frozen particles and gave trouble again. They came out when we got lower an hour before we landed. We came down and flew over the sea at 300 feet. It was still cloudy, but we could see the sun as it tried to break through.

"It was a terrible trip. We never saw a boat, and we got no wireless messages at all. We flew along the water and we had doubts as to our position, although we believed we were 'there or thereabouts.' We looked out for land, expecting to find it any time.

"We saw land about 9.15 a. m., when we suddenly discovered the coast. It was great to do that. We saw two little islands, which must have been East-Sal and Turbot Islands. We came along and got to Ard-bear Bay, an inlet of Clifden Bay, and when we saw the wireless mast we knew where we were exactly.

"When still over Clifden village I saw, after a few minutes, what I took to be a nice field—a lovely meadow. We came down and made a perfect landing, but it was a bog. The wheels sank axle-deep in the field. The Vimy toppled over on her nose.

"The lower plane is badly damaged and broken and both propellers are deeply sunk in the bog, but I think they are not broken. The engines are all right."

These American and British aerial ex-

ploits called forth much mutual congratulation in both countries. The *New York Sun* declared that "the two nations pay hearty tribute to each other, and find a new bond in the comradeship of courage and skill. . . . The American venture was a triumph of organization and method; the British feat a victory of daring, coupled with perfect adaptation of means to an end. The one is rather a scientific success, the other a sporting achievement. The former is rather

men 1,650 nautical miles in sixteen hours and twelve minutes. The achievement of the British fliers sets a new record for distance covered in a single flight, the longest single jump of the NC-4 having been approximately 1,200 nautical miles from Newfoundland to Horta, in the Azores."

In July, the British lighter-than-air dirigible, R-34, made a trip from the British Isles to the Roosevelt aviation field on Long Island and return. The outward trip was



VICKERS-VIMY PLANE.

more national in its quality, the latter personal. The methods and the results are so different that each feat stands on its own merits and each adds something that the other missed to the world's stock of knowledge and power."

"A comparison of the records," said the *New York Times*, "shows that the NC-4 carried five men 2,150 nautical miles in twenty-six hours and thirty-seven minutes, while the Vickers-Vimy plane flew with two

made in four days and a half, the return in three days, three hours, and 15 minutes. The ship was 643 feet long and carried a crew of 31 men. She was commanded by Major G. H. Scott, R. A. F., and Lieutenant-Commander Zachary Lansdowne, of the American navy, made the trip by invitation of the British Government.

Aerial authorities differed as to whether dirigibles or aeroplanes had the greater future, but all agreed that aircraft of some sort

had come to stay. It was certain that trans-Atlantic flights would become common; in fact, it was probable that a regular service would be instituted. It would only be a question of a short time before some adventurous airman would fly across the Pacific. An aerial voyage around the world was a not remote prospect.

"The world can be mapped from the air," said the *New York Globe*. "Savages will be wholly at the mercy of the civilized nations; there will be no more costly struggles with Moros or Abyssinians. Water-barriers will cease to exist; the world, for the purposes of any one sufficiently intent on his object, will be a single continent. Neither America nor Tibet nor any other part of the world will be isolated.

"The mere statement of this stupendous fact is becoming commonplace, but the fact itself is the most significant of the modern era. While politics and diplomacy have hesitated, science has made humanity a unit."

War is a great leveler. In almost all the armies a spirit of democracy developed to a greater extent than before the war. In the American army, for example, especially in the National Guard and the National Army, the sons of day laborers bunked with the sons of millionaires and often became their close personal friends.

Even in the British army the aristocratic tradition partly broke down. Before the war most of the British commissioned officers were the sons of gentlemen, and a great gulf yawned between the privates and their commissioned superiors. But the necessity of creating a vast new army rendered necessary a new policy. In the words of Field Marshal Haig in his final report:

"Promotion has been entirely by merit, and the highest appointments were open to the humblest, provided he had the necessary qualifications of character, skill, and knowledge. Many instances could be quoted of men who, from civil or comparatively humble occupations, have risen to important commands. A schoolmaster, a lawyer, a taxicab driver, an ex-Sergeant Major have commanded brigades; one editor has commanded a division and another held successfully the position of senior staff officer

to a regular division; the under-cook of a Cambridge college, a clerk to the Metropolitan Water Board, an insurance clerk, an architect's assistant, and a police inspector became efficient general staff officers; a mess sergeant, a railway signalman, a coal-miner, a market gardener, an assistant secretary to a haberdasher's company, a Quartermaster Sergeant, and many private soldiers have risen to command battalions; clerks have commanded batteries; a schoolmaster, a collier, the son of a blacksmith, an iron molder, an instructor in tailoring, an assistant gas engineer, a grocer's assistant, as well as policemen, clerks, and privates have commanded companies or acted as adjutants."

The importance of artillery in the war increased steadily to the very end. In 1914, no soldier on either side probably had any conception of the strides that warfare would take in this direction. By 1915, belligerents on both sides were beginning to have some notion of the possibilities of concentrated fire. From that time on, each great offensive was likely to surpass in gunfire those which had preceded it. The Germans used vast numbers of shells at Verdun, and the Allies possibly exceeded them in their offensive along the Somme. On one day at the beginning of the Somme Battle, the British fired nearly 13,000 tons of artillery ammunition.

During the period following the beginning of the Somme Battle, the predominance of French and British artillery over the German artillery gradually increased and reached its maximum in the spring of the following year. During the summer and autumn of 1917, however, the Germans were constantly able to reinforce their artillery, owing to the Russian situation. By the time of the drive east of Ypres, in the autumn of 1917, there was what Field Marshal Haig in his final report called "an intense struggle for artillery supremacy. By dint of reducing his artillery strength on other parts of the Western Front, and by bringing guns from the east, the enemy definitely challenged the predominance of our artillery. In this battle, therefore, the proportion of our artillery to infantry

strength was particularly large. In the opening attack on July 31, our artillery personnel amounted to over 80 per cent of the infantry engaged in the principal attack on our front, and our total expenditure of artillery ammunition on this day exceeded 23,000 tons. During the succeeding weeks the battle of the rival artilleries became ever more violent. On the two days, September 20 and 21, about 42,000 tons of artillery ammunition were expended by us,

British and French had regained the superiority. After the Allies retook the initiative, their superiority grew rapidly, for thousands of German guns were captured, and furthermore, the Teutons suffered from a shortage of shells.

The extent to which artillery was used during the last phases of the war almost surpassed belief. According to Field Marshal Haig, from the beginning of the British offensive in August to the going into effect



ITALIAN FIELD ARTILLERY.

and in the successful attack of October 4, which gave us the main ridge about Broodseinde, our artillery personnel amounted to 85 per cent of the infantry engaged in the assault."

In the spring of 1918 the Germans were able to bring so many batteries from the Russian Front that in their offensives they were able temporarily to effect a definite local artillery superiority. But even before the breakdown of the German offensive, the

of the armistice, the British armies on the Western Front alone expended some 700,000 tons of artillery ammunition. For the fortnight from August 21 to September 3, their average daily expenditure exceeded 11,000 tons, while for "the three days of crucial battle," September 27, 28, and 29, when the British were assailing the Hindenburg Line, 65,000 tons were fired.

After the conclusion of the armistice the War Department published many interest-

ing facts concerning America's war efforts. The number of men who served in the armed forces of the country was 4,800,000, of whom about 800,000 were in the navy and the rest in the army. In the course of the war, the United States put under arms nearly twice as many men as did the northern States in the Civil War, but only about one-half as many in proportion to the total population. Of every 100 men in the army 13 were Regulars, 10 were National Guardsmen, and 77 were in the National Army, or would have been if the services had not been consolidated. Of a total male population of about fifty-four millions, twenty-six millions were registered in the draft or were already in the service. In the physical examinations it was found that country boys were better physically than city boys, white men were better than colored men, and the native born better than the foreign born. On the average, 100,000 country boys would furnish for the military service 4,790 more soldiers than would an equal number of city boys. Out of 100,000 whites, 1,240 more soldiers could be obtained than out of the same number of colored registrants.

The main method used for training officers was the Officers' Training Camp. Two-thirds of the line officers were graduates of these camps. The chief instructors in training both officers and men were, of course, the Regular Army officers and to a lesser extent the National Guard officers. To assist in the work of training the men, France and England sent over some of their ablest officers to give the Americans instruction in the most approved methods of the new warfare. England sent over 261 officers and France 286 officers. The British also detailed 226 non-commissioned officers as instructors. These foreign officers gave instruction in gas warfare, physical training, use of the bayonet and machine guns, sniping, trench mortars, artillery, liaison, fortifications, automatic rifles, hand grenades, and other subjects. The aid rendered by them was of immense importance.

The average soldier who fought in France had first received six months of

training in America, two months' training in France or England before entering the line, and then one month's experience in the trenches of a quiet sector before entering battle. Most of the soldiers received their training in infantry divisions, which consisted of about 1,000 officers and 27,000 men. Forty-two divisions in all were sent to France. One hundred thousand native-born registrants would yield 3,500 more recruits than would a like number of foreign-born.

Two hundred thousand officers were required for the army. Less than 9,000 officers were in the Federal service at the beginning of the war, and all others had to be obtained from the outside. Of each six officers one had had previous military training in the Regular Army, the National Guard, or the ranks, three received training for their commissions in the officers' training camps, and the other two went into the army from civilian life with little or no military training. Of this last group the majority were physicians, a few were ministers, and most of this group were men having special business or technical equipment, who were taken into the staff corps or supply services.

During the war more than 2,000,000 American soldiers were transported to France, of whom half a million went in the first thirteen months and one and a half million in the last six months. The highest troop-carrying record was made in July, 1918, when 306,000 were taken to Europe. Most of the troops sailed from New York harbor. About one-half of them landed at English ports and the other half at French ports. Of every 100 American troops taken over, 49 went in British ships, 45 in American ships, 3 in Italian, 2 in French, and 1 in Russian ships under English control.

On the average, the cargo-carrying vessels made a complete trip every 70 days, while the troop ships averaged a trip every 35 days. The cargo fleet was almost entirely American. It attained the size of 2,600,000 deadweight tons and carried overseas about 7,500,000 tons of freight. The greatest troop carrier of all the ships was the great *Leviathan*, formerly the *Vater-*

land, which landed about 12,000 men, or the equivalent of a German division, in France every month. The fastest transports were the *Northern Pacific* and the *Great Northern*, which made complete turn-arounds, took on new troops, and started on another voyage all in 19 days.

When the United States entered the war it had about 900 pieces of field artillery

amounts of steel, copper, and other raw materials. Steps were taken to manufacture artillery of our own of the same calibers for later divisions. The guns from British and French sources were secured about as needed, but our own plants fell far behind their schedules. Numerous mistakes were made, and the work was vastly delayed by the failure of the War Depart-



RAISING THE STARS AND STRIPES OVER GERMAN FORTRESS ON THE RHINE.

available, including 544 three-inch field pieces, but these guns were somewhat antiquated, and it was decided to use them merely for training purposes and to equip our forces in France with artillery conforming to the French and British standard calibers. It was arranged that we should buy from the French and British the artillery needed for our first divisions, and should ship them in return equivalent

ment to make plans beforehand. Toward the end of the contest, however, production was increasing with great rapidity, and by the time the armistice went into effect, the record of actual production on United States Army orders only was 642 complete pieces of artillery. Of this number nearly 500 had reached France, but only somewhat more than 100 had been actually used on the firing line. Altogether we had in France at

that time 3,500 pieces of artillery, many of which were never used except for training purposes.

In the matter of smokeless powder and high explosives the country did better. Certain private companies had already vastly expanded their plants to meet Allied needs, and the explosives program was more easily met. By the end of the war, the American production of high explosives was 40 per cent greater than Great Britain's and nearly double that of France, while American production of smokeless powder was 45 per cent greater than that of France and Great Britain combined. Twenty million rounds of artillery ammunition had been produced in American plants, but only part of this had been taken to France. Nine million rounds were secured from the French and the British.

The United States formulated a large tank program for use in the campaign of 1919, but up to the time of the armistice, only 64 had been completed and none of these ever took part in battle. We managed to obtain 227 light tanks of the French and 64 heavy tanks from the British. On some occasions, also, our efforts were aided by tanks that were loaned by the British and the French.

The direct money cost of the war up to April, 1919, amounted to \$21,850,000,000, a figure twenty times the pre-war debt. It has been figured that this was nearly large enough to pay the entire cost of our Government from 1789 up to 1917, and that it would have sufficed to have carried on the Revolutionary War continuously for more than a thousand years. In addition, we had loaned the Allies \$8,850,000,000. The total disbursements during a period of 25 months amounted to a million and a half dollars per hour. Many billions of dollars were expended subsequently.

The quantity of supplies required by the army in France was immense. To secure the articles needed for the army the Government commandeered a number of staple articles in the United States and controlled production. The distribution of supplies to the expeditionary forces necessitated the creation of an organization known as the

Services of Supply, to which about one-fourth of all the troops who went overseas were assigned. The American engineers in France built 83 new ship berths, 538 miles of narrow-gauge railroad track, and a thousand miles of standard-gauge track. The signal corps strung up in France 100,000 miles of telephone and telegraph wires. Up to the time of the armistice, 40,000 trucks were shipped to the ports in France. There was never any general shortage of food or clothing among the expeditionary forces, though individual units might suffer somewhat for a time. When the danger from submarines was most serious, an effort was made to build up a ninety-day supply of food, in order that the force overseas might continue to operate even should the lines of supply across the ocean be cut. But as the submarine menace became less acute and the need of ship tonnage for other purposes became more pressing, the reserve was cut to 45 days.

On November 11, the Americans had in France 390,000,000 rations of beans, 183,000,000 rations of flour and substitutes, 267,000,000 rations of milk, 160,000,000 rations of butter and substitutes, 143,000,000 rations of sugar, 189,000,000 rations of meat, 157,000,000 rations of coffee, 113,000,000 rations of rice, hominy, and other foods, with various other things in proportion. For the smokers there were 761,000,000 cigarettes, besides great quantities of tobacco in other forms.

The success of the Allied navies in conveying and protecting the transports surpassed the most optimistic expectations. Only 396 soldiers were lost through submarine activities. The German War Lords had informed the people that the U-boats would prevent any considerable number of Americans ever reaching France. It was one of their many fatal mistakes.

An idea of the immensity of the supplies sent overseas was made public in August, 1918. These supplies included 277,000 tons of steel rails and accessories, 45,000 tons of structural steel, 16,000 tons of barbed wire, 16,000 tons of lumber, in addition to a great deal purchased in Europe, and 10,000 tons of nails. There had been sent over for

camouflage material 2,000,000 square yards of wire netting, 1,500,000 square yards of fish netting, 3,000,000 square yards of burlap, and 1,200 tons of paint.

When they learned that British locomotives were being shipped across the English Channel, ready to travel under their own steam on their arrival in France, American army transport officers decided that American locomotives could be taken over the

rails. They were braced with heavy wooden timbers against the pitching and rocking of the ship, and baled hay was packed closely into all unoccupied spaces. A second flooring was laid on the hay, and this supported the tenders. Still more cargo was piled on top of the tenders to the deck level, and in some instances crated aeroplanes were packed into the spaces on the deck. With its cargo of locomotives, other



RUINS AT CANTIGNY.

same way. Accordingly, a number of ore-carrying vessels with hatches sufficiently large to accommodate such bulky cargo were commandeered for carrying the big machines. The ships each had three holds, 60 feet wide and 102 feet long, with hatches 39 by 42 feet. Twelve locomotives, each weighing seventy-three tons, were packed into each hold, making a total of thirty-six engines for each ship. The engines rested on a floor supported by 3,000 tons of steel

machinery and supplies, each vessel carried a dead weight of 14,000 tons, exclusive of its own machinery, coal, and supplies. The locomotives were taken, fourteen at a trip, on big railroad barges to the sides of the ships, and there 100-ton derricks on floating barges transferred them to their places in the holds. To hoist an engine from the barge, swing it over, and lower it into the hold required about twenty minutes. The whole time consumed in transferring a ship-

ment of the ponderous machines from the factory to the wharf, loading them into the ships, and carrying them to France, was a little less than twelve days. Within a few hours after they were unloaded on the other side, they were completely assembled and ready to move off under their own power. Within a few months, more than 400 of these seventy-three-ton machines were shipped from New York. In addition to this number, 1,200 were shipped in sections, each engine being packed in nine cases.

Near Bordeaux the Government was building a great radio station which had been named after Lafayette. It was intended to insure communications between the United States and Europe in case the cables should be cut by German submarines. It had eight towers and could easily communicate with the United States, either by day or night. It was two-thirds finished when the armistice was signed, and an arrangement was made whereby the French Government should complete it and take



ENTRANCE TO HINDENBURG FIELD HEADQUARTERS.

According to Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt, the American navy at the close of the war had fifty-four bases in European waters and the Azores. These included destroyer stations and mine-laying bases, but mostly they were bases from which the more than 200 American sea-planes operated. There were more than 70,000 men at these bases or on ships connected with them. The United States had leased buildings and docks and had built hundreds of hangars, store-houses, hospitals, and other buildings.

it over at what it had cost the United States.

At the beginning of the war there were on hand about 600,000 new Springfield rifles. Up to the time of the signing of the armistice, two million and a half new Springfield and Enfield rifles were produced. Up to the end of 1918, nearly 227,000 machine guns had been produced in America for our forces, of which 69,960 were light Brownings and 56,612 heavy Brownings, 39,200 Lewis aircraft, 38,000 Marlin aircraft, besides a number of Vickers and other guns.

However, only a fraction of these weapons were sent to France, and an even smaller fraction were used at the front. Only 4,608 light Brownings, 1,168 heavy Brownings, 2,340 Vickers ground guns, 1,393 Lewis aircraft, 1,220 Marlin aircraft, and 1,320 Vickers aircraft machine guns were actually used at the front. Most of these had been in use only a very short time. The greater part of the machine guns used were those furnished by the French and the British.

When the United States declared war in April, 1917, we had 55 serviceable aeroplanes, but the National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics advised that 51 of these were obsolete and the other four obsolescent. This conclusion was based upon the operations of Pershing's expedition in Mexico, which had shown that there were serious deficiencies in the American planes used. In other words, American aviation had not kept up with European developments, and it was clear that the United States must adopt new types.

Three things had to be done: Aviators must be trained, training planes must be built, and service planes must be constructed.

The story of the efforts to develop an American model engine has already been told in another chapter. Experiments were also made in regard to service planes. After much experimenting, some of the types decided upon were the De Havilland-4 observation and day-bombing plane, the Handley Page night-bomber, the Bristol two-seater fighting plane, and the Caproni night-bomber. The first three of these were British planes and the last was Italian. Much trouble was experienced in fitting the Liberty Motor into these machines. Ultimately a redesigned De Havilland-4 was used as an observation and bombing plane, though it was rather poor as regards visibility, and had a tank design which increased the danger of the aviator's being burned to death in case of mishap. In fact, Captain Rickenbacker has called them "flaming coffins." They were, however, fast machines for planes of their type, and had good manœuvring ability. At the time the armistice was signed, this plane was being

produced at the rate of 1,100 a month; 3,227 had been completed, 1,885 had been shipped to France, and 667 had been sent to the zone of the advance. The Bristol fighter proved a failure, for the changes necessary to accommodate the Liberty Motor so increased the total weight as to render the machine unsafe. Delay in drawing up plans for the Caproni, which was a plane of enormous size, greatly retarded the redesigning of this machine, but tests of the new model had been completed previous to the signing of the armistice. The Handley-Page was redesigned to accommodate the Liberty Motor and had passed its tests, and, on the date of the armistice, parts of 100 had been shipped abroad to be assembled. Two new models, the Le Pere two-seater fighting plane and the Martin bomber, were designed for use around the Liberty Motor, and tests gave great promise, but neither were completed in time for actual use.

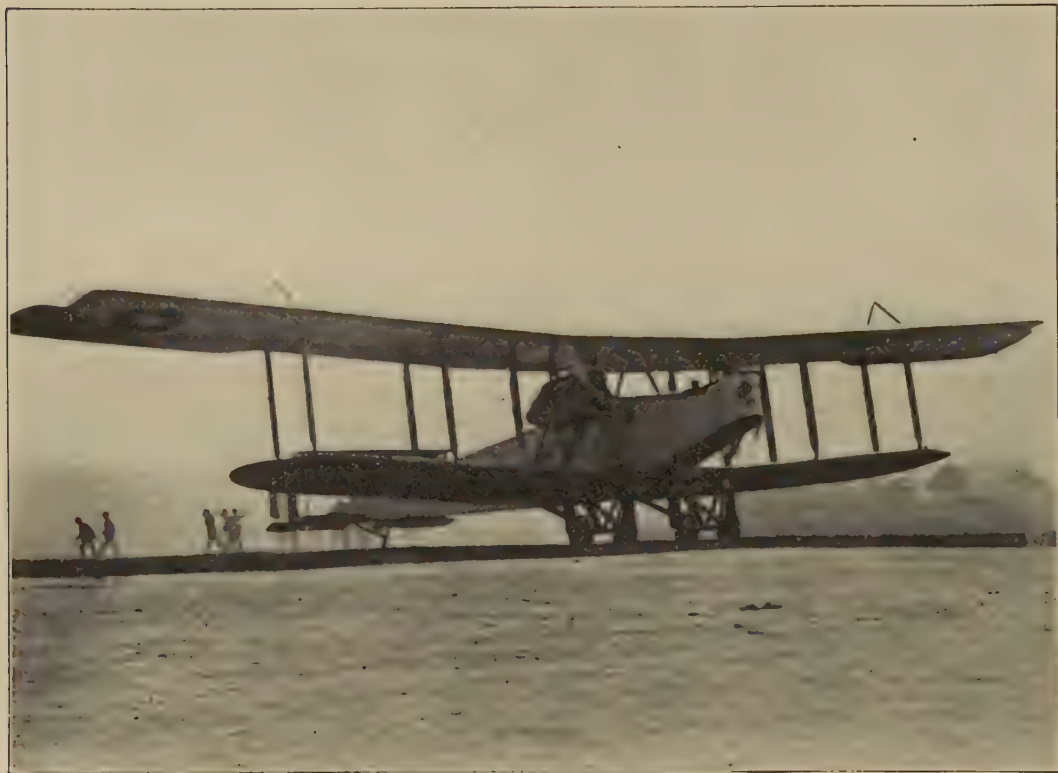
The main achievement in the way of aviation was the building of the Liberty Motor, but as already described, its completion was greatly delayed. The total production of the Liberty engines up to the time of the armistice was 13,574. Of this number 4,435 were shipped to the American forces overseas, while 1,025 were delivered to the French, British, and Italians, but only a comparatively few were actually used. Other types of engines, including the Hispano-Suiza and the Bugatti, were being developed when hostilities ended.

In the matter of training planes and engines, conditions were much more satisfactory. Up to November 30, 1918, we had produced more than 18,000 training planes and more than 16,000 training engines. Approximately 8,602 men had graduated from elementary courses and 4,028 from advanced courses. More than 5,000 pilots and observers had been sent overseas.

One of the things which the American Government was slow in deciding to use was poisonous gas. Although the Germans were using gas against the Allies in profusion, it was not until October, 1917, that our Government decided to manufacture poison gas on a scale commensurate with the rest of our military preparations. Work was be-

gun soon after. The chief plant was built on a 300-acre tract, 26 miles from Baltimore, on the edge of the Government's vast ordnance proving grounds. About \$60,000,000 was invested in this plant, and about \$12,000,000 more was expended on various subsidiary plants. Expert chemists were called in, and at the end of the war the Director of the United States Chemical Warfare Service was Major-General Sibert. Everything had to be built from the ground

the piers ready for shipment 2,500 tons of gas. The plant was, in fact, the largest poison gas factory on earth, and was capable of producing mustard gas, phosgene, chlorine, and other noxious fumes. It was closed down the day the armistice was signed, and thenceforward lay "silent and idle like the great cannon along the Lorraine border, but ready to operate at a moment's notice." Subsequently the plant was dismantled, the machinery was carefully taken



AMERICAN-BUILT BOMBING PLANE.

up, and there were no existing models for some of the machinery made. A year later the place was "a city of brick kilns, high chimneys, correlated vats in innumerable series, repeated shot towers, miles of elevated pipe lines, machinery of the finest type, and the most perfect installation, housed in concrete and sheet iron, built apparently for permanence."

The plant had scarcely begun to produce gas when the armistice was signed. According to Colonel Walker there were upon

apart, oiled, and wrapped and stored away—ready for the next war, should there ever be one. Some of the gas was disposed of by being sunk far out in the ocean. There was nothing else to do with the gas, for it had no commercial value, and there was "enough of it, if properly used, to kill every human being on the American continent—on both of them."

The work of producing poison gas proved exceedingly dangerous. Much of the work was performed by soldiers. When the ar-

mistice was signed, there were 7,000 at work in the plant. At one time they had numbered 14,000. Many of them were badly injured in their work. In fact, in August, 1918, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the entire force in the mustard gas plant received injuries every day, which would be at the rate of 100 per cent casualties per month. Some of the injuries were very terrible. Visitors to the hospital saw men with arms and legs and bodies shriveled and scarred as by a horrible fire, some with deep wounds still unhealed after weeks of careful nursing.

The most dangerous gas of all was the mustard gas. No liberties could be taken with it. "In one case a drop of mustard oil had fallen from a conduit pipe under which a soldier had walked, hitting his shoe. He wiped it off, thinking that made him safe. The next day his flesh began to peel. Now, five weeks later, his foot looks like a charred ember. Another had accidentally kicked over what he thought was an empty pipe. It contained phosphorus, which flew over his face and upper body. Now, weeks later, he is still a mass of horrible burns. Another case (one of the fatalities) was that of an officer who came in from the works to the office. He wore rubber gloves, as they all do when near the gases, but did not know he had been near enough to pick up the mustard oil. He picked up a chair and placed it in front of his desk, intending to seat himself. At that moment the telephone rang, and he stepped to the wall to answer. A friend, another officer, entered and took the seat by the desk. Forty-eight hours later the second officer was dead. The first officer had accidentally rubbed mustard oil on the back of the chair. It went through the clothes and into the spine of the second."

"We had been working for some time," said Colonel Walker after the armistice was signed, "on a device whereby mustard gas could be transported in large containers by aeroplane and released over fortresses of the Metz type, and at last it was perfected, fully sixty days before the armistice was signed. Mustard has been found, for all-around purposes, to be the most effective gas used in warfare, because it advances comparatively easily, and also because it is

the most difficult to protect against. People used to think prussic acid was terrible. Well, the Germans discarded the use of prussic acid because it was too mild and used mustard gas instead.

"Our idea was to have containers that would hold a ton of mustard gas carried over fortresses like Metz and Coblenz by plane, and released with a time fuse arranged for explosion several hundred feet above the forts. The mustard gas, being heavier than air, would then slowly settle while it also dispersed. A one-ton container could thus be made to account for perhaps an acre or more of territory, and not one living thing, not even a rat, would live through it. The planes were made and successfully demonstrated, the containers were made, and we were turning out the mustard gas in the requisite quantities in September.

"However, there were obstacles besides the physical to overcome. The Allied Governments were not in favor of such wholesale gas attack by air. England was the first to accede to it, but France hesitated because of her fear of reprisals. Finally the French Government consented, but only with the proviso that the attack would not be made until our line had advanced so that there was no chance of the gas being blown back into French territory and until the Allied command was in complete command of the air so as to insure safety from possible reprisals. These two conditions could not have been met before next spring. It was then that we planned to release the one-ton containers over the German cities which were fortified and so became subject to attack under the laws of war.

"We would have had ready in France for such an attack thousands of tons of mustard gas. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that we could have wiped out any German city we pleased to single out, and probably several of them, within a few hours of giving the release signal."

Perhaps the proposed gas attack would have proved less successful than Colonel Walker thought, but there can be no doubt that it would have been very deadly. In this matter, as in many others, the Germans

escaped a great deal of danger by signing the armistice. The vast war efforts of the United States were beginning to bear fruit, and in a few months the war material would have reached colossal proportions. A few weeks before the armistice was signed, some officers of the Bureau of Ordnance, men familiar with what was being done, were talking over war prospects. Said one: "If we can get ships to carry our stuff across, we shall not need any soldiers on the Western Front next year. We'll just heap up our war material in front of the Hindenburg Line, and the pesky Boches won't be able to climb over it!"

Two million eighty-four thousand American soldiers reached France, of whom 1,390,000 saw more or less active service at the front. Of the 42 divisions which reached France 29 took part in active service. Seven of these were Regular Army divisions, 11 were organized from the National Guard, and 11 were made up of National Army troops.

The losses of the various divisions engaged as separate units were officially summarized as follows:

Division	Killed	Wounded
2	4,419	20,657
1	4,204	19,141
3	3,102	15,052
28	2,531	13,746
42	2,713	13,292
26	2,168	13,000
4	2,587	11,596
32	2,898	10,986
77	1,990	9,966
27	1,791	9,427
30	1,652	9,429
5	1,908	7,975
33	1,002	8,251
89	1,419	7,394
82	1,338	6,890
78	1,359	6,800
90	1,387	6,623
35	960	6,894
79	1,396	6,194
80	1,141	5,622
91	1,390	5,106
29	940	5,219
37	992	4,931
36	591	2,119
7	302	1,516
92	185	1,495
81	250	801
6	97	479
88	27	63

The 2d Division not only lost the most men in killed and wounded, but also captured more Germans than any other, namely 12,026. The 1st Division captured 6,469; the 89th, 5,061; the 33d, 3,987; the 30th, 3,848; the 26th, 3,148; the 4th, 2,756; the 91st, 2,412; the 27th, 2,357; the 5th, 2,356; the 3d, 2,240; the 29th, 2,187; the 32d, 2,153; the 90th, 1,876; the 80th, 1,813; the 37th, 1,495; the 42d, 1,317; the 79th, 1,077; the 28th, 921; the 82d, 845; the 35th, 781; the 77th, 750; the 36th, 549; the 78th, 432; the 81st, 101; the 7th, 69; the 92d, 38; the 6th, 12; the 88th, 3.

On April 1, 1918, the Germans had a superiority on the Western Front of 324,000 in rifle strength. The Allied strength equaled that of the Germans in June, and exceeded it by more than 600,000 in November.

The total American casualties in battle have been given in another place. Of every 100 American soldiers who took part in the war two were killed or died of disease during the period of hostilities. The total number of lives lost was 122,500, of which 10,000 were in the navy and the remainder in the army and the marine force attached to it. Over half of the deaths were due to disease. The high death rate from disease was chiefly due to the epidemic of influenza with resultant pneumonia complications. Up to September 14, 1918, only 9,840 deaths from disease had occurred in the army. During the next eight weeks about 30,000 deaths occurred, by far the greater number of which were due to pneumonia following influenza. Of the deaths by disease, pneumonia was the cause in 83 6-10 per cent of the cases. Meningitis was the next most serious disease, after which came tuberculosis. Measles, though often considered a mild disease, was responsible for many deaths. Typhoid fever, which in the Spanish-American War had caused 95 per cent of the total number of deaths, had been practically eliminated by compulsory vaccination of every man who entered the army and the maintenance of good sanitary conditions. During the entire war up to May 1, 1919, only 2,328 cases of typhoid fever were reported and only 227 deaths resulted.

The extent to which Great Britain mobilized her resources for the war is well indicated by the following facts: In August, 1914, she had an army of about 700,000, including reservists and Territorials. By August, 1918, she raised 8,500,000 men for the army and navy. Of this number the United Kingdom alone contributed 6,250,000; the Dominions, 1,000,000, and India, 1,250,000. These armies fought in France and Belgium, in Italy, in Palestine, at the

munition factories were making as many shells in fifteen days as they produced in the whole of the first year of the war.

In their endeavor to destroy Allied shipping the Germans violated even the rules protecting hospital ships. Numerous vessels of this sort were sunk, and not infrequently wounded men and Red Cross nurses lost their lives in consequence.

One of the blackest offenses of this sort was the sinking of the British hospital ship



CANADIAN NURSES START FOR HOME.

Dardanelles, in Mesopotamia, and elsewhere. The British navy increased from a tonnage of 2,500,000 to 8,000,000; the personnel from 145,000 to 450,000. The aviation force sprang from 100 officers and men at the beginning of the war to 18,000 officers and men in December, 1917. The production of medium guns and howitzers reached 70 times what it was in March, 1915; that of machine guns was 39 times greater; that of heavy howitzers was 420 times greater. Toward the end, British

Llandoverly Castle, seventy miles off the coast of Great Britain, on June 7, 1917. The vessel, which was a ship of 11,000 tons, was returning from Halifax, and showed the usual navigation regulations and hospital lights. No one on board saw the wake of the torpedo, and the first intimation of the presence of the submarine was a sudden shock and the roar of an explosion. Then the lights went out. The engine room was signaled to stop the engine and then go full speed astern, but no answer came. Along

the darkened decks the crews groped to their stations and stood by for orders to leave the ship. From the bridge the Captain megaphoned the order to wait until the ship had slowed down. The Marconi operator endeavored to send out a message for help, but his key gave no answer, for the spark was gone. The carpenter reported that the damage was so great that the ship could not long remain afloat.

officers were forced to come on board the submarine, where they were subjected to harsh questioning, but were finally permitted to return to the boat. Of the 258 persons on board the torpedoed ship, only the 24 in this boat reached land. All the rest, including eighty men of the Canadian Medical Corps and fourteen women nurses, were drowned.

One of the most horrible submarine



GERMAN PLANE MADE ENTIRELY OF TIN.

Finally the order was given to lower the boats on each side and abandon the ship.

After the boats had gotten away, one of them was hailed by the submarine and ordered to come alongside. When the Captain of the torpedoed vessel protested that the submarine had attacked a hospital ship, the submarine commander retorted that she was carrying eight American aviators. The Captain of the ship denied this, and declared that for six months he had been running to Canada with wounded. A medical officer and two of the hospital ship's under-

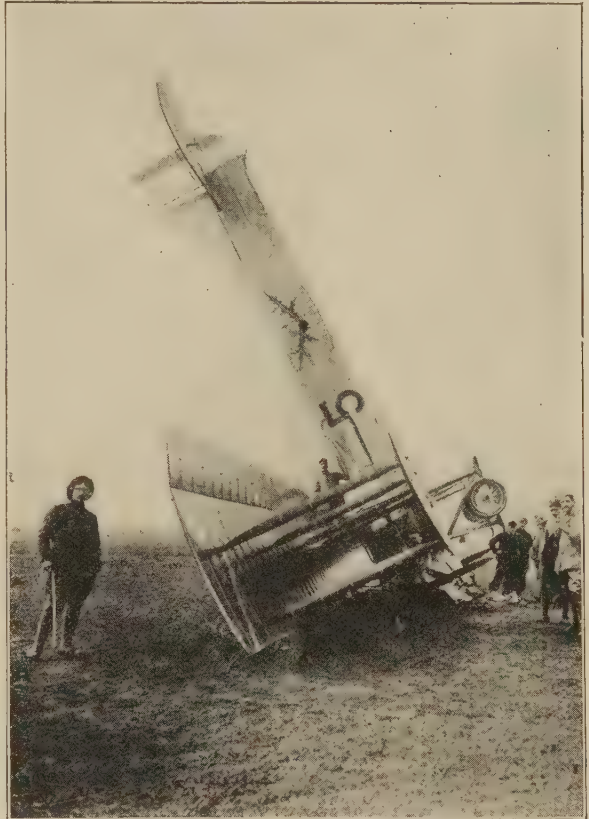
atrocities was the sinking of the British steamship *Belgian Prince*. This vessel was struck by a torpedo on the night of July 31, 1917. The damage done by the explosion was very great, and the vessel listed so heavily that the crew speedily took to the boats. The submarine soon approached and fired shells at the vessel, after which she ordered the small boats to come alongside. The crews were then taken aboard, and the Captain was sent below. The rest were mustered on the deck and were treated roughly, being robbed of all their posses-

sions. The master's dinghy was retained, but the two life-boats were damaged with axes, their plugs removed, and they were left to sink, after everything of value had been taken out. The submarine commander then ordered the seamen to take off their life belts and lay them on the deck, after which he kicked the belts into the sea. The submarine ran for some distance on the surface, then the German officer on the conning tower disappeared and the steel hatch closed over his head. The U-boat began to submerge. Soon the two score men on deck were swept off by the swirling waves. Only four or five, who had hidden their life belts under their coats, were ultimately rescued after many hours in the water. All the rest, 38 in all, were drowned.

"It was a terrible sight," said a negro, who was the sole American survivor. "One by one they threw up their hands and went down, or, fighting to keep up, they splashed water as they disappeared." Having slain, as he thought, all of the witnesses, the submarine commander returned to the deserted ship to plunder her. This work was watched by a Russian seaman who had remained on board, but who was in concealment. Ultimately the ship sank, but the Russian and one of the survivors of the boats saved themselves by clinging to the wreckage.

In an address before the Reichstag on April 17, 1918, Admiral von Capelle, German Secretary of the Navy, contended that the submarine campaign was succeeding. He declared that the sinking of ships far outran construction, and that the problem of sea transportation was becoming increasingly difficult for the Allies. "American help in men and aeroplanes, and American participation in the war are comparatively small," he said. "If later on America wants to maintain 500,000 troops in France, shipping to the amount of 2,000,000 tons would be permanently needed. This shipping would have to be withdrawn from the supply service of the Allies." He insisted that par-

ticipation in the 1918 campaign of so large an American force was impossible, and he took the cheerful view that Allied difficulties had really been increased by America's entry into the war. He admitted that the enemy's anti-submarine measures had "attained a certain success," but denied that they had any decisive influence. He characterized as false a statement recently



FRENCH AERIAL TANK.

made by Sir Eric Geddes, First Lord of the British Admiralty, that U-boat crews were becoming unwilling to put to sea. "The danger point for England has already been reached, and the situation of the western powers grows worse from day to day."

In reply, the British authorities asserted that Admiral von Capelle's figures were misleading and untrue. The following official table showing the losses of British, Allied, and neutral merchant tonnage due to

enemy action and marine risk, was made public:

Period	British	Allied and Neutral	Total
1917	Month	Month	Month
January.....	193,045	216,787	409,832
February.....	343,486	231,370	574,856
March.....	375,309	259,376	634,685
Quarter...	911,840	707,533	1,619,373
April.....	555,056	338,821	893,877
May.....	374,419	255,917	630,336
June.....	432,395	280,326	712,721
Quarter...	1,361,870	875,064	2,236,934
July.....	383,430	192,519	575,949
August.....	360,296	189,067	549,363
September...	209,212	159,949	369,161
Quarter...	952,938	541,535	1,494,473
October.....	289,973	197,364	487,337
November...	196,560	136,883	333,443
December...	296,356	155,707	452,063
Quarter...	782,889	489,954	1,272,843
1918			
January.....	217,270	136,187	353,457
February....	254,303	134,119	388,422
March.....	216,003	165,628	381,631
Quarter...	687,576	435,934	1,123,510

The Secretary of the Ministry of Shipping also stated that the tonnage of steamships of 500 gross tons and over entering United Kingdom ports from overseas was actually greater in March than for six months. This was rendered possible by the fact that Great Britain was by far the chief ship-owning country in the world. In all the seven seas she had vessels, and thousands of these rarely visited home ports. Now they were called home from remote waters to aid the Motherland in her extremity. This course greatly deranged the world's commerce. Only the most essential articles were carried to and from Allied countries. Short voyages became the rule wherever possible. Thus in the East Indies there were great stores of sugar and in Australia hundreds of millions of bushels of wheat, but very little could be brought to Europe; voyages to these remote places took too much time. So far as possible, food

was obtained in the nearest markets. It was for this reason that the American people submitted to short rations on such articles as sugar and wheat flour. Those who lived up to the regulations deserved well of their country; those who did not effectively served the German War Lords.

The losses from submarine sinking constantly diminished. The total British losses due to enemy activities during September, 1918, totaled 151,593 gross tons as compared with 176,434 in August, 1918, and 209,212 in September of 1917. The British losses for the quarter ending with September, 1918, were 510,551 gross tons, as compared with 952,938 tons for the corresponding quarter of 1917. In other words, the effectiveness of the submarines had been reduced by almost one half.

The convoy system, the use of hydroplanes, dirigible balloons, and other devices were partly responsible for the improvement in the submarine situation. Another factor was the establishment of a great mine barrage in the North Sea. Great Britain and the United States coöperated in this work and filled certain areas of the North Sea so full of mines as to make them dangerous for enemy submarines. A new and improved type of mine invented by an American was used. These mines contained an ingenious device whereby the mine could automatically be set at the desired depth below the surface, no matter how uneven the bottom of the sea might be. One hundred thousand were manufactured, and a fleet of mine layers was set to work laying the mines.

The enterprise was in large measure due to American initiative, and the work in foreign waters was in charge of Rear Admiral Joseph Strauss. The officers of the Bureau of Ordnance had come to the conclusion that one of the most successful methods of combating the submarine was to blockade the enemy's coast by mines or anti-submarine devices, and they made a network of various types of mine barrages, including nets in combination with mines. They finally concluded that mines offered the only practical solution of the problem, and concentrated their efforts on the evolu-

tion of the new type of mine. Tentative plans for a North Sea barrage were submitted to Admiral Benson in June, 1917, and plans for a British-American joint offensive operation were submitted late in July. The plan in modified form was accepted by the British and carried out, though some of the British at first considered the plan impracticable. The method of constructing mines is thus described:

"To obtain the new mine in large quantities, and to preserve due secrecy regarding its characteristics, a radical departure from

layers, and a plant capable of charging a thousand mines a day was erected. Mine depots were fitted out abroad, and a fleet of more than twenty merchant vessels was taken over by the navy and used for the sole purpose of carrying mine material overseas. Among the naval vessels used was the old cruiser *Baltimore*, of Manila Bay fame. Material was started across early in February, 1918, and from that time on there was a constant succession of such shipments. The first actual mine laying was done on June 8.



AMERICAN SUBMARINE CHASERS LEAVING FOR HOME.

usual manufacturing methods was adopted. The expedient was adopted of subdividing the mine into its elements manufactured in different commercial plants, all the parts to be finally brought together and assembled into finished mines at a mine depot. The work was divided among about 140 principal contractors and more than 400 subcontractors. The major portion of the work was done in automobile plants, which possessed the organization and equipment for quantity production."

While the mines were being manufactured, ships were being converted into mine

The perils of the work were very great. There was always danger that the German above-water fleet might attack the mine-layers, but every possible precaution was taken to protect the squadron against this peril. The U-boats, of course, repeatedly sought to put a stop to the work, but succeeded in sinking only one vessel connected with the enterprise.

The danger of laying the mines themselves was also ever present. Each mine was charged with 300 pounds of TNT. The explosion of one such mine would have destroyed any ship in existence, and, as the

explosion of one would have meant the explosion of the whole cargo, ships in a radius of several hundred yards would have been endangered. Repeatedly mines exploded after they had been dropped overboard, but not a single explosion occurred aboard ship.

As each mine weighed about 1,400 pounds, the problem of launching them was difficult. But methods were evolved whereby a single vessel could lay several hundred mines in a few hours. On one occasion the ship *Canonicus* laid 860 mines in three hours and 35 minutes, making a string longer than from Washington to Baltimore.

In all, 70,000 mines were planted, of which about four-fifths were American. A more or less complete barrier was established between the coast of Norway and the Orkney Islands. German submarines began to find the task of getting into the Atlantic increasingly difficult and dangerous, and had the war lasted many months longer, the exits would undoubtedly have been almost completely blocked. It seems certain that a number of submarines attempting to pass through the barrier were destroyed.

Altogether, the counter-campaign against the submarine menace formed one of the most important chapters in the war. Had the Allies failed in it, they would undoubtedly have lost the war, but British energy and determination, supplemented by French, and later by American assistance, triumphed.

The greatest factor in the final outcome was undoubtedly the depth bomb. Had it not been evolved the submarines would probably have swept the seas. Great Britain would have been cut off from France and could have been reduced to surrender by starvation.

For protection against mines the British employed a very effective device known as a paravene. This device was invented by Commander Burney, of the navy, and consisted of two so-called "otters" towed from the forefront of a vessel and forming, with their steel towing-ropes, a huge wedge. The otters themselves were of steel, and were shaped somewhat like a torpedo, but were shorter. They possessed buoyancy sufficient to support the towing wire and also

to come to the surface in case the ship stopped. A steel plane, cambered like the wings of an aeroplane, was rigged to the otter in such fashion that when the otter was in action this plane assumed a vertical position, pulling the paravene away from the ship and exerting sufficient tension on the towing rope to deflect the mines.

To make sure of picking up the mines, the paravene was made to run at a constant depth, this being accomplished by means of a horizontal rudder operated by a hydrostatic valve. When a mine was encountered, its mooring rope would slide along the towing wire until it entered a pair of jaws, which would sever the rope and permit the mine to rise to the surface, where it could easily be destroyed.

The British Government equipped about four thousand of its vessels with the device, and it is said that not one of these vessels was ever destroyed by a moored mine. Several hundred American vessels were also so equipped before the armistice was signed.

For a long time it was known that Allied ships were equipped with some device which enabled them to traverse mine fields almost with impunity. Many fanciful stories were told concerning it. But the secret was guarded with jealous care, and not until after the close of the war were the real facts given to the world.

The effectiveness of our navy in convoying troop ships is sufficiently proven by the fact that no European-bound troopship under American naval convoy was ever torpedoed. It was only on homeward trips, when the transports carried comparatively few men and were not so carefully guarded, that the Germans succeeded in sinking any of the American convoyed transports.

The first transport to be sunk in this manner was the *Antilles*, which was torpedoed on October 17, 1917, two days out from Quiberon Bay, France. Just before daylight a torpedo was sighted heading for the vessel at a distance of about 400 feet. The helm was put over in the hope of dodging the deadly missile, but the torpedo struck near the after engine room bulkhead on the port side. The explosion was terrific. The ship shivered from stem to stern

and listed almost immediately to port. The lookout on the main top was thrown clear of his five-foot canvas screen and was killed. Guns were manned immediately, but no submarine was sighted. Within a short time after the explosion the water was over the crossheads of the main engines, which were still turning over slowly. Of the twenty-one men on duty in the engine and fire rooms only three escaped.

Four minutes and a half after the ex-

of the convoying vessels, the *Corsair* and *Alcedo*, rescued the survivors and attempted to find the submarine, but without success. One of the members of the gun crew was rescued from the top of an ammunition box, which had floated clear of the ship in an upright position. He displayed great coolness, and semaphored to the *Corsair*, which rescued him, not to come too close, as the box upon which he was floating contained live ammunition.



AEROPLANES SURRENDERED BY GERMANS UNDER TERMS OF ARMISTICE.

plosion, the *Antilles* went to the bottom. With her went down four of the gun crew, 16 soldiers, 45 of the merchant crew, one civilian ambulance driver, and a colored stevedore—sixty-seven in all. Only four of the ten boats succeeded in getting clear, due to the rapidity with which the ship sank and to other causes, such as the rough sea and the listing of the ship.

The two other transports in the convoy at once, in obedience to the preliminary orders, made off at their best speed, but two

The next transport under American convoy which fell a victim to the U-boats was the *President Lincoln*, a former German vessel. She was sunk on May 31, 1918, at a point about 500 miles west of the coast of France, after what was considered the most dangerous part of the war zone had been passed. She was struck at 9 a. m. by three torpedoes, but remained afloat much longer than had the *Antilles*. There were 715 men on board, but only three officers and twenty-three men lost their lives.

Soon after the vessel sank, a large German submarine emerged and came among the boats and rafts, searching for the commanding officer and some of the senior officers, whom they wished to take prisoners. However, they were able to identify only one officer, Lieutenant Isaacs, and he was taken on board. Toward midnight the American destroyer *Warrington* arrived and, about an hour later, the destroyer *Smith*. The 700 men afloat in boats and rafts were rescued and taken back to France.

In July, 1918, the naval transport *Covington*, formerly the Hamburg-American liner *Cincinnati*, was sunk, but without loss of life, as it was still under the protection of destroyers. The last transport calamity occurred on September 5, 1918, when the *Mt. Vernon* was torpedoed 250 miles off the French coast on her way back to America. Thirty-six persons lost their lives, but the vessel herself was kept afloat and was taken back to a French port for repairs.

The rate of destruction fell during the last months, while the rate of building rapidly increased. In May, 1918, for the first time in many months, the tonnage constructed surpassed the tonnage sunk. This good showing was in no small measure due to the activity of American shipyards. The building of ships had been slow in starting, but it had now attained great dimensions and was expanding daily. The total launchings in August, 1917, amounted to 127,000 tons; in December, to 159,000 tons. These figures jumped, by the following March, to 258,000 tons, to 365,000 tons in May, and in July, the figure rose, owing to special effort, to 634,000 tons, falling, however, in August, to 390,000 tons. In September, 74 vessels were actually completed in the United States and turned over to the United States Shipping Board, the addition to our merchant marine amounting to 369,330 tons. These figures surpassed the deliveries in August by about 30,000 tons, and were over 100,000 tons in excess of September deliveries in British yards. In other words, America had passed Great Britain as the world's greatest ship builder.

The British Admiralty announced that the October sinkings of Allied and neutral

ships amounted to only 177,534 tons, of which 83,952 were British. In December the same authorities placed the total losses of the world's merchant tonnage during the war, through belligerent action and ordinary marine risks, at 15,053,786 gross tons, of which 9,031,828 tons were British. Sir Eric Geddes, First Lord of the Admiralty, stated that 5,622 British merchant vessels had been sunk during the war. Of this number 3,147 were sunk after the crews had taken to the boats, while 2,475 had been torpedoed or shelled while the crew were still aboard. Six hundred and seventy fishing vessels were destroyed. More than 15,000 British merchant mariners lost their lives as a result of enemy attacks.

The Admiralty statement placed the total shipping losses of the world at 15,053,786 gross tons. The world's ship construction during the war was estimated at 10,849,527 gross tons, while enemy tonnage amounting to 2,392,675 was captured. According to these figures, the net loss of Allied and neutral tonnage was 1,811,584. However, the normal increase of the world's shipping during the war period would probably have been twelve or fifteen million tons, so that the real loss was much greater than the figures given.

On September 6, the British Admiralty issued a statement giving the names of the commanding officers of 150 German submarines which had been captured or destroyed. Of these officers, 116 were dead, 27 were prisoners of war, six were interned in neutral countries where they had taken refuge, and one had managed to return to Germany. It was a source of much satisfaction to the Allied nations that among the number of dead were some of the captains responsible for the worst submarine horrors. Among them was Captain-Lieutenant Schweiger, who, with the *U-20* torpedoed the *Lusitania*. The *U-20* was lost off the Danish coast, in November, 1916, but Schweiger took command of another submarine, the *U-38*, and this was lost, with all hands, in September, 1917. Captain-Lieutenant Schneider, who torpedoed the *Arabic*, and Captain-Lieutenant Wagenführ, who was responsible for the atrocities com-

mitted against the *Belgian Prince*, were among those who met the fate which they deserved. The British had made a special effort to destroy those responsible for the worst horrors. Wagenführ, for instance, met a horrible death about a fortnight after he barbarously drowned 40 of the crew of the *Belgian Prince*, whom he had ordered to line up on the submarine deck and then submerged the vessel beneath them.

In its note of October 21, 1918, asking

on October 19, about 1,200 miles off the American coast. Forty of the crew were killed by the explosion, but the rest were rescued.

The last warship sunk during the war was the British pre-dreadnaught *Britannia*, which was torpedoed on November 9, near the western entrance to the Straits of Gibraltar. Most of her officers and crew were saved.

The American Bureau of Navigation



VISIT OF AMERICAN AVIATION COMMISSION TO ITALIAN FRONT.

President Wilson to arrange an armistice, the German Government stated that orders had been issued to submarine commanders to cease attacking passenger ships. No vessels of this sort were sunk after that time.

Among the last incidents of the submarine campaign was the sinking of the American cargo ship *Lucia*, a vessel whose lower holds had been filled with rubber-bound barrels, in the hope of making her unsinkable. However, she was torpedoed and sunk

gave out a statement to the effect that 145 American passenger and merchant vessels of 354,449 gross tons were sunk by belligerents during the period of the war, from 1914 to 1918. Regarding a number of others there was doubt as to whether their loss was due to enemy activities. Nineteen of the vessels were sunk prior to the entrance of the United States into the conflict. A total of 775 lives were lost as a result of the sinkings, of which 67 were lost before we became a combatant. In addition, many

other Americans were killed on Allied and neutral ships.

It was the purpose of the American Government to exact indemnities from the Central Powers for the damages done. On December 2, Secretary of State Lansing issued a statement advising Americans having claims to file them with the State Department.

The crews of merchant ships and transports, American and otherwise, endured

continue their work, the Germans would unquestionably have won the war.

In the war some individuals had well-nigh incredible experiences. Probably the most amazing story of all was that of a private French soldier named Bertrand. His father, his four brothers, and he all fought in the conflict. His father was killed early in September, 1914, and all four of his brothers also gave their lives for France.

Bertrand himself, at the end of the war,



FRENCH ZOUAVES GUARD TURKISH PRISONERS.

some of the worst hardships of the war, and faced danger with a courage as great as that displayed by the soldiers on the battlefields. It had been the German hope when they launched their ruthless submarine campaign that crews would refuse to go to sea, but this hope was doomed to disappointment. The British merchantmen especially faced great danger, and thousands of them lost their lives during the war, but they never faltered in their duty. Had they shown the white feather and refused to

was only twenty-six. Prior to the outbreak of the conflict he had fought in Morocco and had saved two of his officers, winning the military medal. He fought in the Charleroi and Marne battles, and in the latter captured two field kitchens, killed the cooks, and brought the kitchens with the food ready to eat to the French lines. On the Yser and the Somme, fighting alongside British troops, he captured ten Germans and won the British military cross. He was five times made prisoner, but always escaped.

Subsequently Bertrand volunteered his services in the Near East, and at Monastir held an enemy battalion at bay with machine guns, with the result that 200 prisoners were captured. Later, he saved the lives of his captain and a nurse. He lost an arm and was otherwise wounded, and was then sent back to France. On the way homeward his ship was torpedoed, and one of his legs was so badly damaged that he amputated the limb himself with his own knife. He fell into the sea, but managed with one arm to hang to a floating spar. While floating thus, he saw the ship's captain, who had had both hands blown off, and succeeded in picking him up. They remained on the raft for two days and two nights. For this deed he was given a life-saving medal, which was the only one left to win. In addition to those already mentioned, he had won the French Legion of Honor, the Military Cross with seven palms and five stars, and the Belgian Military Cross. Besides losing his father and brothers, he also lost his mother, who died, overcome by the succession of tragedies which had befallen the family. Of the family Bertrand and a sister of nine years alone remained alive.

There were many wonderful things connected with the World War, and among the most wonderful were the methods taken to cure and restore wounded soldiers. Each of the great nations engaged in the war lost so many men that it became vitally essential to do everything possible to restore the health of the wounded and to prevent the nation from being flooded with helpless cripples after peace came. Great progress was made in the way of taking limbs that in previous wars would have been considered only fit for amputation, and, by new methods, reconstructing them and causing them to perform their functions. Methods were found of lengthening shortened muscles, of making stiffened joints supple, and even of transplanting muscles and bones. A piece of shin bone would perhaps be removed and put in the arm. Nerves would be reunited, and tendons would be made to function by new routes. One of the most remarkable operations of all was to take a

finger from one hand and replace it as a thumb on another. Even faces that seemed practically destroyed were made whole.

The German army statistics of the second year of the war showed that fully 70 per cent of the men wounded fully recovered and were sent back to the trenches. Only 6 4-10 per cent of the wounded were rendered completely unfit for military service, and some of the others were able to do military duty at home. The Germans were also exceedingly successful in controlling epidemic diseases. The number of cases of this character dropped from 51 per thousand in the first year of the war to little more than 38 per thousand in the second year. Of these men 21½ per thousand were men whose nervous systems had been affected by the strain of battle. Pleurisy caused six cases per thousand, pneumonia four, tuberculosis 1-7 per cent, enteric fever ¼ per cent, dysentery ⅓ per cent. In all the great armies the number of cases suffering from nervous diseases far exceeded that in any other previous war. This was chiefly due to the terrific artillery bombardments, and the popular name for an affection of this sort was "shell-shock." On the other hand, some of the great scourges of the other wars were practically eliminated. Small pox virtually disappeared, as did also typhoid. This was due to the successful use of vaccination and preventive serums, as well as to improved systems of sanitation. Typhus fever proved serious in Servia and some other countries not capable of dealing with it, but was much better controlled in the larger armies.

In most long wars many more men die of disease than from bullets. This was decidedly true of our own Civil War and also of our Spanish-American War, but medical science had made great strides, and literally millions of lives were saved by reason of improved methods. Toward the end of the conflict, however, influenza created problems which even the best informed medical men were unable to solve, and great numbers of soldiers died of this disease or of diseases contracted before they had fully recovered from its after-effects.

No efforts were spared by England,

France, and America to safeguard the health and welfare of the men at the front. The Salvation Army, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, and many other organizations did an enormous amount of work in supplementing official efforts. Theaters and moving-picture houses and other forms of amusement were provided for the enjoyment of the men, and some of the most famous actors and singers in the world con-

along the cathedral with its famous falling Madonna and Child. While they lingered, a detachment of soldiers came marching through, tired and dusty. Lauder asked the officer in charge to halt the men and he would sing to them. It was clear that the men were incredulous as to whether it was the real Lauder until he began to sing. At first there were only a few score men, but at the finish 2,000 soldiers cheered the singer on his way.



GERMAN SCOUTING MACHINE CAPTURED BY BRITISH.

tributed their services to keep up the spirits of the fighting men. Among the most successful was the familiar Scottish minstrel, Harry Lauder, who had himself lost his only child in battle, namely Captain John Lauder, of the Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders, "as fine a lad as ever wore a kilt, and as good and brave a son as ever a father had."

One of Lauder's conductors along the front tells in detail of some of their experiences. He says that they passed through the town of Albert, seeing as they motored

Lauder was going to visit his son's grave, the grave of a father's fondest hopes. A little way up the Bapaume Road the car stopped, and they climbed the embankment and crossed the shell-torn field of Courcellette. Here and there they passed the little crosses which marked the graves of unknown heroes, on which had been written only "A British Soldier." As they moved forward, Lauder spoke in a low voice of the hope-hungry hearts at home. Presently they climbed a little ridge and reached

the cemetery, and in the first row was the cross on Captain Lauder's grave.

"The father leaned over the grave to read what was written there," says the guide. "He knelt down, indeed he lay upon the grave and clutched it, the while his body shook with the grief he felt. When the storm had spent itself he rose and prayed: 'O God, that I could have but one request. It would be that I might embrace my laddie just this once and thank him for what he has done for his country and humanity.'

"That was all; not a word of bitterness or complaint. On the way down the hill I suggested gently that the stress of such an hour made further song that day impossible. But Lauder's heart is big and British. Turning to me with a flash in his eye, he said, 'George, I must be brave. My boy is watching and the other boys are waiting. I will sing to them this afternoon, though my heart break!' Off he went again to another division of Scottish troops.

"There within the hour he sang again the sweet old songs of love and home and country, bringing all very near, and helping the men to realize the deeper what victory for the enemy would mean."

There were other heroes in the Great War besides those who fought at the front!

In this war explosives were used in quantities unthought of in any previous conflict. The manufacturing and transportation of explosives was exceedingly dangerous, and many tragedies resulted, some of them due to accident, others to enemy machinations. In all the great warring countries many terrific explosions took place, the resultant loss of lives sometimes running into the hundreds. Even the United States was not spared. Some of the worst explosions in this country were the work of German agents.

Probably the worst catastrophe took place at Halifax, Nova Scotia, December 6, 1917. The French steamship *Mont Blanc*, laden with high explosives which she was carrying from New York to Europe, put in at the harbor of Halifax; and in the narrow entrance, as a result of a misunderstanding of signals, she collided with the Belgian

relief ship *Imo*. Some benzine tanks which were carried by the *Mont Blanc* burst into flames, and the crew, seeing that the ship could not be saved, abandoned her and, landing, fled as rapidly as they could. A few minutes later 2,000 tons of trinitrate of toluol, one of the most powerful explosives known, detonated, destroying practically all the older part of Halifax and doing great damage to the town of Dartmouth across the bay. Property was damaged within a radius of fifty miles. About 1,500 men, women, and children were instantly killed. Three times as many were injured, and about 25,000 were rendered destitute. The damage done was estimated at \$50,000,000. The suffering resulting was greatly increased by severe snow storms and unusually bitter weather. Relief parties were quickly organized in Canada and the United States and did what they could to relieve the sufferers.

On September 8, 1917, Secretary of State Lansing made public certain translated cipher telegrams from Count Luxburg, German Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Aires, to the German Foreign Office. The telegrams dealt with the attitude of the Argentine Government and contained some remarkable statements. One, dated May 19, 1917, stated that feeling in the country was better than hitherto, and recommended that two small Argentine steamers, which were nearing Bordeaux, should "be spared, if possible, or else sunk without a trace being left (*spurlos versenkt*)."

Another letter characterized the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs as "a notorious ass and Anglophile."

The revelations created an outburst of anger in Argentina, the people of which had already been exasperated by the submarine campaign. Mobs invaded the German centers of Buenos Aires and wrecked many shops and burned the chief German club house and the leading newspaper offices. Count Luxburg was given his passports, and it seemed probable that Argentina might enter the war, but she did not do so.

The importance of the disclosure was heightened by the fact that the messages were sent from Buenos Aires by the Swedish

legation as their own official messages. Furthermore, it was disclosed that Herr Folke Cronholm, the Swedish Chargé at the City of Mexico, had displayed strong pro-German sympathies and had acted as an intermediary between the German Minister in that capital and his Government. A dispatch was made public in which the German Minister to Mexico, in March, 1916, recommended that Cronholm be given "the Crown Order of the Second Class."

The whole affair, and in particular the cynical advice that the ships of a neutral power should be "*spurlos versenkt*," threw a flood of light upon German methods and furnished added proof of their treacherous willingness to use "frightfulness" against even peoples with whom they pretended to be friendly.

Early in December, 1917, a revolution took place in Portugal which resulted in the overthrow of the existing Government,



BRITISH ARMORED CARS USED BY RUSSIANS IN GALICIA.

The fact that Sweden had aided Germany in this manner aroused great indignation in Allied countries, and plain hints were given of reprisals. In Sweden many of the people criticized their Government's permitting itself to be made Germany's catspaw. The Swedish Foreign Office issued a weak defense. Partly as a result of the disclosures, the Government lost many seats in the election held at that time. The existing Ministry soon after retired from power.

after about 400 persons had been killed or wounded. A new Government was formed under Señor Paes, and the former President was banished. The uprising seems to have been due in part to food scarcity and high prices and to the ineffectiveness of the whole Government. The new Government pledged itself to continue to support the Entente. In January, a new outbreak took place in the navy. The crews of the warships at Lisbon bombarded the forts, but the army

remained faithful and the rebellion was put down.

On January 20, 1918, the German battle cruiser *Goeben* (called by the Turks *Sultan Selim*) and the cruiser *Breslau* (Turkish name *Midullu*), and some lighter craft issued from the Dardanelles and attacked British naval forces near the Island of Imbros. Two small British monitors were sunk, but the *Breslau* herself hit a mine and disappeared. The *Goeben* soon headed for the Dardanelles, but struck a mine which caused her to settle down aft with a heavy list. She managed to get inside the straits, but was attacked on the way by British planes and was hit by at least two bombs. She was beached in a sinking condition at the end of Nagara Point. Aircraft continued to assail her for days. Ultimately she was floated off the Point and taken to Constantinople, but played no further part in the war. The mischief she had already done was, however, sufficient to make her one of the famous warships of history.

From the outset the Germans systematically exploited the regions they conquered. In Belgium and northern France, for example, from the first days of the invasion, they levied innumerable requisitions and seized property and goods right and left.

The captive populations were compelled to work for their conquerors. Some of them were employed in war industries at home; others were deported to Germany or set to work building entrenchments near the front. In the period from October, 1916, to the end of January, 1917, at least 120,000 men were taken from Belgium alone. These deportations aroused protests even in neutral countries, and the Germans repeatedly promised to renounce the practice, but they failed to keep their promises.

A tragic feature of the deportation was the seizing of women and girls in France and Belgium. Thousands were forced to leave their homes to work in other places, and many were sent to Germany, where they were set at all sorts of hard and difficult tasks, being poorly fed and badly, sometimes criminally, treated. A member of the commission that went from the United States

to investigate alleged atrocities in France said on his return:

"All that the correspondents send over about the atrocities that have been committed, all the inhumanities, all the bestialities, that no paper can possibly publish—they are not only true, but the worst of them cannot be told. To return from France and to come in contact with America's men and women, to see the civilians on the streets with clean linen on, to see women fashionably dressed, to see the shops wide open, selling the gewgaws of other days; coming from France, coming from the land of the widow, of the orphan, of the maimed, then only did I realize that we as Americans know nothing, nothing, of the slime of the beast.

"One of my distinguished predecessors has just told you that our women and our girls have been protected from the fate that befell the women of France and of Belgium by the British navy. Men, believe it, it is absolutely true. It is more than true. I have been in a hospital in the Department of Meuse of France, where there are nearly a thousand girls. Not one is 18 years of age, and all will be mothers. Eleven per cent in addition are stark mad."

It was estimated that up to August 10, 1917, the Germans had extorted from Belgium in the way of war indemnities \$288,000,000; that up to the end of 1914, \$40,000,000 had been taken in individual war contributions; that, up to January, 1915, the carrying away of tools and machinery and requisitions of raw material amounted to \$400,000,000. Furthermore, tens of millions of tons of Belgian coal were mined and used by the Germans or sold in Dutch or other markets. This policy of bleeding Belgium financially and industrially was continued to the end of the war. It was one of the many counts of civilization against Teutonic barbarism, and one of the main peace conditions always put forward by Allied statesmen was that Belgium and northern France must be reimbursed for the damage done by German invaders.

In France, as in Belgium, the Germans carried out a wanton policy of systematically destroying rival industries in the invaded

territory. Machinery and materials that could be used were shipped to Germany. Factories, buildings, and the machinery that remained were burned, blown up, or otherwise destroyed. In some instances whole factories were removed to German soil. Coal mines were kept in operation during the German occupation, but were blown up, flooded, or otherwise injured when the Germans were forced to retreat. Altogether, damage amounting to billions of dollars was done.

compete with German factories after the war in the markets of the world.

Few men had such a good opportunity to observe the workings of German rule in Belgium and northern France as Herbert Hoover, the great Relief Commissioner and later Food Administrator of the United States. For over two years Hoover was obliged, from the delicate nature of his duties, to keep his opinions under a veil of silence. But after the United States entered the war, he wrote:



KING AND QUEEN OF BELGIUM RE ENTER BRUGES.

Belgium suffered at least two billion dollars' worth of destruction and perhaps two billions in thefts and taxes imposed by Germany. Much of the property was taken by the Germans for their own use. Part of the destruction was done for sheer wantonness or for military reasons. For example, the destruction of the coal mines at Lens was for the purpose of depriving the French of fuel. Much of the destruction, however, was designed to strike a blow at French and Belgian industry, in order that the French and Belgian factories could not

"The sight of the destroyed homes and cities, the widowed and fatherless, the destitute, the physical misery of a people but partially nourished at best, the deportation of men by tens of thousands to slavery in German mines and factories, the execution of men and women for paltry effusions of their loyalty to their country, the sacking of every resource through financial robbery, the battenning of armies on the slender produce of the country, the denudation of the country of cattle, horses, and textiles; all these things we had to witness, dumb to

help other than by protest and sympathy, during this long and terrible time—and still these are not the events of battle heat, but the effects of a grinding heel of a race demanding the mastership of the world.

"All these things are well known to the world—but what can never be known is the dumb agony of the people, the expressionless faces of millions whose souls have passed the whole gamut of emotions. And

why? Because these, a free and democratic people, dared plunge their bodies before the march of autocracy."

The direct cost of the war has been estimated at \$200,000,000,000, which is about equal to the total wealth of the United States. Indirect costs would bring the amount up to a much higher figure. It was certain that many future generations would have to help to bear the burden of the expense.

CHAPTER CLXXXVIII—THE PEACE CONFERENCE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.



NINE days before the end of hostilities, the Congressional elections took place in the United States. The campaign had been one of the quietest in recent political history, for a dreadful plague of influenza—which killed far more human beings the world over than did the war—had to a large extent prevented public meetings, while a strong desire existed to avoid arousing party animosities lest they interfere with the prosecution of the war. In an address before Congress late in May, President Wilson had voiced this feeling in the following words: "Politics is adjourned. The elections will go to those who think least of it; to those who go to the constituencies without explanation or excuses, with a plain record of duty faithfully and disinterestedly performed. . . . The people of this country are not only united in the resolute purpose to win the war, but ready and willing to bear any burden and undergo any sacrifice that it may be necessary for them to bear in order to win it."

There was, however, a decided current of opposition to the party in power, and the Republican managers made the most of it. Republican speakers and writers contended that their party had been more energetic in waging the war than had the Democracy.

They criticized the alleged incompetence of the party in power, and asserted that if a Republican majority was returned to Congress, the war would be conducted more effectively.

Many people who put patriotism above partisanship felt that the main test for a candidate should not be his politics, but his war record. A number of men whose records on this matter were bad were defeated for renomination in the primaries. The political machinery of both the great parties coöperated to assist the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign, and Will Hayes, the efficient Republican National Chairman, issued an appeal to all Republican State chairmen, urging them to drop politics and promote the success of the loan.

Ten days before the election, President Wilson enlivened the campaign by appealing to the voters, as an expression of approval of his course, to elect only Democratic candidates to Congress. He said that although the leaders of the minority in the existing Congress had been pro-war, they had been "anti-administration." He declared that the election of a Republican majority to either house of Congress would be interpreted in Europe "as a repudiation of my leadership."

It is altogether probable that this statement was issued because of frantic appeals on the part of Democratic leaders, who saw that the political prospects were desperate.

It failed in its purpose, for it aroused much resentment throughout the country. The Republican leaders in Congress issued a reply rebuking the President for having said that politics should be adjourned and then just before election sending out "a direct party appeal, calling upon his countrymen to vote for Democrats because they are Democrats, without reference to whether such Democrats have been, or are, in favor of war measures and have a war record which deserves support."

istration. He asks for the defeat of pro-war Republicans. He does not ask for the defeat of anti-war Democrats."

Hitherto in American history the people, in time of war, had always supported the party in power, but this election proved an exception to the general rule. The Republicans won a sweeping victory. Out of thirty-one Governors chosen, twenty-one were Republicans. Although only a third of the Senators were elected, the Republicans managed to overturn a considerable Dem-



BULGARIAN SOLDIERS IN MACEDONIAN CLOTHES.

Colonel Roosevelt and ex-President Taft united in a joint appeal to the country to elect a Republican Congress, and this is said to be the first paper ever to have been composed and signed by two ex-Presidents. Colonel Roosevelt also bitterly denounced President Wilson for his course before and during the war. He declared that Wilson "explicitly repudiates loyalty to the war as a test. He demands the success of the Democratic Party, and asks the defeat of all pro-war men if they have been anti-Admin-

ocratic majority and won a majority of two. In the House they gained a majority of about fifty. The only Socialist Representative in the old House, namely, Meyer London, of New York, was defeated, but another Socialist, Victor Berger, of Milwaukee, who was under indictment for sedition and was subsequently convicted, was elected.

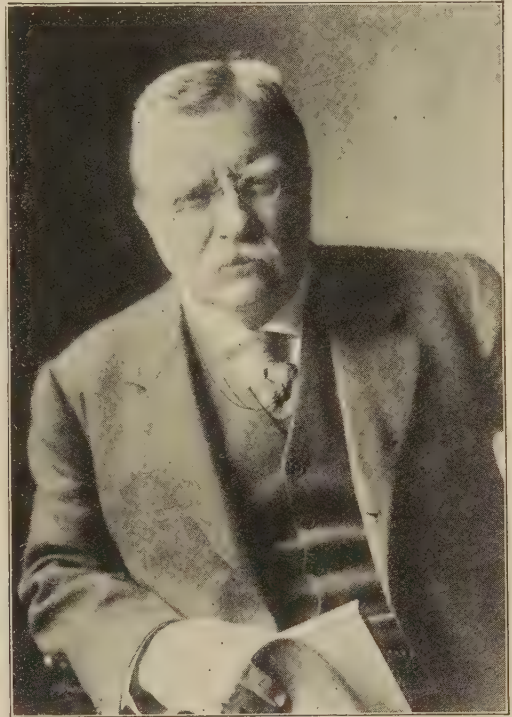
For almost six years the Democrats had controlled both the executive and legislative branches of the government, and the Wilsonian policies had prevailed. After March

4, 1919, his predominance would be at an end, and, with Republican majorities in both houses of Congress, it was certain that the next two years would witness bitter struggles between the legislative and executive branches. There would be searching investigations into the management of the war, and the Republicans would insist upon a share in solving the great after-the-war problems.

The results of the election were very pleasing to the Republicans, and they expressed confidence that it was prophetic of the outcome of the presidential contest of 1920. The man considered most likely to lead the Republican forces in that campaign was Colonel Roosevelt. Since the Republicans and Progressives merged in 1916, he had become increasingly powerful in the councils of the reunited party, and to him the leaders turned for counsel and advice more than to any other man. In fact, he possessed more influence with the people generally than at any time since his retirement from the presidency. Even many of his bitterest opponents in 1912 had once more enlisted under his banner and were enthusiastic in his support. The history of his influence in the country had been a somewhat curious one. During most of his presidency he enjoyed a personal popularity perhaps never equaled in American history, and had a personal following that surpassed that of any other public man. Following his retirement and during the period of the Progressive movement, his influence greatly declined, but in recent years it had been once more increasing. His wonderful foresight and his stalwart stand for red-blooded, patriotic Americanism during the days when America, in the eyes of many, faltered in her duty convinced millions that he was a safe counselor and guide.

But it was not to be. Colonel Roosevelt's health had been undermined by tropical fever while on his expedition through the Brazilian wilderness, and he had never been able to recover from the insidious influences of that dread disease. He underwent a number of operations from time to time and, near the end of 1918, was in a New York hospital for treatment for in-

flammatory rheumatism. Though often unable to sit up, his mind still remained active, and he received many friends and dictated many letters and articles dealing with public questions. He returned to his home at Oyster Bay in time for Christmas and remained there in seemingly improved health, though it was clear that he was not himself. To physical weakness was added during this last year anxiety for his four sons fighting in France, and then came the sorrow of the death of his "eagle" son Quentin. He



THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

bore up with Spartan fortitude, but those who knew him best realized that in secret sorrow gnawed at his heart. On the morning of January 6, he quietly passed away under the effects of pulmonary embolism.

The world paid tribute to the greatness of his mind and heart and to the wonderful achievements of his life, though it was notable that by the German newspapers he was classed as one of their main enemies. His career had, in fact, been one of the most wonderful in human annals. In versatility he surpassed all our Presidents, and he did

a great number of things well. Viewed merely as a specimen of the *genus homo* raised to the nth power, there were probably not a dozen men his equal in all history. He was a great citizen and a great American, and the inspiration of his struggle for good government will endure for generations. For more than a quarter of a century he battled in the forefront for good causes, giving and receiving mighty blows and exulting in the joy of conflict. No other man preached patriotism and civic righteousness so effectively as he or taught so many to scorn what is base and ignoble. Long ago it was written that without vision the people perish. Theodore Roosevelt wrote:

"We, here in America, hold in our hands the hope of the world, the fate of the coming years, and shame and disgrace will be ours if in our eyes the light of high resolve is dimmed, if we trail in the dust the golden hope of men."

During the Great War, many men had risen to fame, while others in high places had failed to measure up to their responsibilities. Yet at the end of the conflict, Rudyard Kipling, a poet with wonderful power of distinguishing the true from the false, wrote when he heard the news from Oyster Bay:

"Concerning brave captains
Our age hath made known
For all men to honour,
One standeth alone,
Of whom, o'er both oceans,
Both peoples may say:
'Our realm is diminished
With Great-Heart away.'"

In 1917, Congress had submitted to the States a prohibition amendment. By the end of that year, twenty-six States had already passed prohibitory laws of their own, while Congress had enacted a prohibitory law for the District of Columbia and had forbidden the shipment of liquor except for medicinal purposes into any dry State. The distillation of intoxicating beverages was prohibited as a war measure, and brewers were ordered to keep the alcoholic content of their beer below $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Later, Congress enacted a law under which the

President proclaimed that after July 1, 1919, the country should be "dry" until the end of the war. The liquor interests fought the proposed amendment vigorously, but by the end of January, 1919, all but four of the States had ratified it, and it was declared a part of the Constitution. In a message to Congress, in special session in the spring of 1919, President Wilson urged that the law putting the whole country on a dry basis should be modified to permit the use of light wines and beer, but Congress refused to carry out the recommendation. The whole country, therefore, became dry on July 1, 1919. In the fall of 1919, Congress passed what was known as the Volstead Act to carry the Amendment into effect. The act prohibited the manufacture or sale for beverage purposes of any liquor having an alcoholic content of more than one-half per cent.

It was estimated that the total consumption of liquor in a year had sometimes risen to more than two billion gallons, and that the average consumption for each man, woman, and child amounted to over twenty-two gallons. The drink bill of the nation was estimated at from a billion and a half to two billion dollars. A very great part of this money was spent by working men who could ill afford such expenditure. Under prohibition inutilities of one sort or another were still called for, but a great deal of the money saved was used to buy more food, clothing, and school books. The adoption of prohibition meant the loss of large revenues to the nation and local governments, but it also meant fewer criminals, fewer paupers, fewer cases of insanity. Experience showed beyond question that where prohibitory laws were enforced there was comparatively little use for jails and work houses.

The new Congress, which was elected in 1918, was called in extra session by the President to meet on May 19. One of the notable acts of this session was the final passage of a Woman Suffrage amendment. For many years the friends of suffrage had sought to get such an amendment through Congress, and in 1918 such a measure had passed the House of Representatives, only

to fail in the Senate by the narrow margin of one vote. On May 21, 1919, the amendment passed the House by 304 to 89, and on June 4, it finally passed the Senate by a vote of 56 to 25. More than a dozen States had already granted women the ballot. On August 28, 1920, the requisite number of States having ratified, the amendment was proclaimed a part of the Constitution, and women in all the States participated in the next election.

In England also there was a general

election on November 15, 1918, and that a new House of Commons would be chosen on December 14.

The election was held in accordance with the terms of a new election law which had been passed in the previous February. The most notable feature of this act was that it extended the suffrage to women. The age limit, however, was fixed at thirty years, and a woman voter must be qualified as the occupier, either as owner or tenant, of land or a house, or must be the wife of a man so qualified. The old system of plural voting,



VICTORIOUS CANADIANS ENTER MONS ON ARMISTICE DAY.

election. An act of 1911 had limited the life of Parliament to five years instead of seven, which had been the rule since the days of George I. The existing Parliament was elected in December, 1910, but it was felt that it would be a mistake to hold an election during the war, and the life of the Parliament had been extended from time to time.

Immediately after the armistice was signed the Government announced that Parliament would be dissolved on Novem-

ber 10, 1918, which gave to a man the right to cast a ballot wherever he possessed sufficient property to qualify him, was swept away. But a voter might still cast two votes; one for his residence, another either on his university franchise or as the occupier of business premises. Conscientious objectors were disqualified during the war and for five years thereafter unless such persons were able to show that they had been engaged in work of national importance. The unit of representation in Great Britain was

one member to the House of Commons to 70,000 population; in Ireland, one member to 43,000. It will be seen, therefore, that the Irish wielded greater political power in proportion to population than did the English themselves. The total membership of the House of Commons was slightly increased, and was to number 707.

The election resulted in a tremendous victory for the Lloyd George Coalition Government. It won 485 seats, against 107 for the opposition. Of the 485 Coalitionists, 338 were Unionists, 136 Liberals, and 11 were National Democrats. Ex-Premier Asquith and all his ex-ministerial colleagues, as well as his whips in the House of Commons, were defeated, and the Liberal party proper won only 26 seats. The result was a great triumph for Lloyd George personally and enabled him to go to Paris with a mandate as representative of British sentiment.

A feature of the election was the result in Ireland. The Sinn-Fein party had swept that country and had won 73 out of 107 seats. Only seven Nationalists survived the election. The other 27 chosen were Unionists.

The conscription policy had had the effect of at last bringing together the Irish Nationalists and the Sinn Feiners, and also of increasing the strength of the Sinn Feiners at the expense of the Nationalists. The radical party became constantly stronger, and an increasing number of Irish began to demand not merely home rule, but complete independence.

Conditions in Ireland became so serious in the spring of 1918 that Lord Wimborne resigned as Lord Lieutenant and was succeeded by Viscount French. One of Lord French's first acts was to declare the existence of a pro-German conspiracy in Ireland, and to bring about the arrest of more than 150 persons, chiefly Sinn Feiners, and many of them implicated in the uprising of 1916. Among those arrested were Countess Markievitz, Count Plunkett, and Edmond De Valera. Subsequently Valera and others escaped from prison, while the Government released others. Valera took the title of "President of the Irish Republic," and visited America and other countries to ad-

vocate the Irish cause, speaking to large audiences. The Irish also endeavored to secure a hearing before the Peace Conference at Paris. They urged that one of the principles adopted by the Conference was that of "self-determination," and they insisted that this principle, which was being applied to Poland, Ukraina, and other countries, should also be applied to Ireland, but the British insisted that the Irish problem was purely a domestic question, and, of course, refused to permit the delegates to be heard. The truth was that the course of the Sinn Feiners during the war had not endeared them either to the British or to other Allied peoples, so that they had little prospect of being heard.

Prince Maximilian's tenure of the German Chancellorship ended with the Kaiser's abdication, and his last official act was to name as his successor Frederick Ebert, the Socialist leader. Ebert was a saddler by profession, and, in the preceding June, he had been elected President of the main committee of the Reichstag. He at once issued an address to the people asking their support in perfecting the revolution. Field Marshal von Hindenburg offered his service to the new government, and the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council assumed general direction of affairs. A purely Socialist Cabinet was announced on December 14, but other parties insisted upon a more representative cabinet, and such a body was soon constituted under the Prime Ministership of Ebert. It included Dr. Solf as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Matthias Erzberger as Minister without Portfolio. Frequent changes took place in the Cabinet in the weeks following. Most of those who assumed control were moderates in their views, even though called Socialists, and the Government issued a statement intended to reassure the nation regarding financial holdings.

A more radical party was dissatisfied with the course of the revolution and wished to go further. The most prominent leaders of this party were Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Liebknecht, a native of Leipzig, had long been a radical Socialist, and had opposed the Kaiser's régime both be-

fore the war and during it, and had suffered repeated imprisonments. Rosa Luxemburg was a Russian Pole. She was extremely revolutionary in her ideas, and during the war had spent much of her time in jail. This radical party, which was Bolshevik in its ideas, took the name of "Spartacans," after the Roman gladiator who led a servile revolt.

The Spartacans issued a program for safeguarding the revolution which contained the following principles: Disarmament of

men's Council; cancellation of all State and other public debts, including war loans, down to a certain fixed limit of subscription; the seizure of all landed estates, banks, coal mines, and large industrial works; and confiscation of all fortunes above a certain amount.

The German people realized that the triumph of the Spartacans would involve a complete overthrow of society such as had taken place in Russia. All of the conservative-minded sought to prevent the Sparta-



BOLSHEVIK ARMY IN MOSCOW.

all police officers; no proletariat soldiers; confiscation by the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council of arms and armament works; arming of all grown-up male proletarians; formation of a workmen's militia and a provisional Red Guard; abolition of the rank of officers and non-commissioned officers and the removal of all military officers from the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council; abolition of all parliamentary, municipal, and other councils; election of a general council to elect and control the executive council of the Soldiers' and Work-

cans from coming into power. However, there were frequent strikes and riots in Berlin and elsewhere, while decentralizing tendencies revealed themselves in various places in Germany. In Bavaria, for example, Kurt Eisner, a Socialist journalist who had succeeded in making himself Prime Minister and practical Dictator, gave notice of a complete breach of relations with Prussia and Berlin because of "the efforts of Berlin to deceive the people by withholding the truth about conditions." He demanded a German National Assembly be summoned.

On December 16, the Central Council of Delegates from Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils met in Berlin in the palace of the former Prussian Diet. Among the 450 delegates there were three women. Few of the delegates were used to public life, but here and there the observer saw the well-known face of a former Reichstag or Diet member. The members of the Executive Committee and the People's Commissioners occupied seats reserved for the Government under the old régime, and Ebert, Barth, Rittmann, Haase, Scheidemann, and Landsberg were there.

The Bolshevik element in Germany, led by such persons as Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, sought at the very beginning to secure control. While Richard Müller was opening the proceedings, a delegate stood up and declared that he wished to submit a resolution. He said that he represented 250,000 workmen gathered outside the building, and he read a list of demands representing the views of these Spartacans. It included retention of power by the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils, no National Assembly, and the formation of a Red Guard. This announcement created a storm of protest, and amid the uproar he left the chamber. His 250,000 workers proved to be 7,000 temporary strikers who had been marshaled by the agents of Liebknecht. Presently a resolution was made to invite Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg to attend the Congress with advisory powers.

The proposal created a great disturbance, which momentarily threatened to result in personal violence, but the resolution was voted down by more than 5 to 1. Meanwhile, Liebknecht succeeded in forcing his way through the Diet Building to the roof overlooking the Prinz Albrecht Strasse, and, waving a red handkerchief at the thousands gathered in the streets, he made a fiery harangue, but his words were inaudible to most of the assemblage, and he was not taken seriously by the majority.

Encouraged by the defeat of the Spartacans, the Government adopted a more active policy toward Liebknecht's followers, and resolved to put an end to Spartan rule in one of the suburbs where Liebknecht had

his "fortress." The Spartacans continued their efforts, but failed to gain control of the Congress or to make much headway in Berlin itself. On December 20, the Congress adjourned, after having provided for the choice of a National Assembly on January 19. The radical element strenuously opposed the calling of an Assembly, but without avail.

The weeks that followed were feverish ones. Strikes and outbreaks occurred in various places. On December 23, a clash took place in Berlin between armed sailors, who sympathized with the Spartacans, and soldiers, who supported the Ebert Government. That night the sailors succeeded in seizing the Royal Palace and the stables opposite. Next day, the Government troops directed a heavy cannonade against the Palace stables and forced the sailors and their sympathizers to surrender. Several score persons were killed or injured, including many onlookers. Notwithstanding the uproar, only a few blocks away from the conflict women went on with their Christmas shopping. Much damage was done to the Palace, and there were many shell-holes in the façade.

Despite this check, the Bolsheviks throughout Germany continued their efforts and were aided by sympathizers from Russia. The Bolshevik Russian Government sought eagerly to spread its propaganda throughout the world, and sent agents not only to Germany and Austria-Hungary, but also to France and England and even to America. The whole world was in such ferment that some people feared lest Bolshevism would overthrow all governments. But sensible persons understood the terrible condition to which the Bolsheviks had brought Russia. Tens of millions of people were starving in that unhappy land, and men asked what good there could be in a system that brought one of the greatest agricultural nations to such a dreadful state.

In the East conflicts developed between the Germans and the Poles, and in Bavaria and other minor States there were serious conflicts. In Berlin, on Christmas Day, the Spartan faction seized possession of the Socialist newspaper *Vorwärts*, and, on

January 6, they made another violent effort to gain control of the Government. They were aided by Chief of Police Eichhorn, who transformed the Police Headquarters into a Spartan stronghold. By evening a furious fight was raging about Police Headquarters and the Chancellor's Palace. Machine guns, artillery, and armored cars were brought into use, and by night it was estimated that thousands had been killed or wounded. The telegraph offices and several of the big newspaper

Liebknacht and Rosa Luxemburg, the Spartan leaders, both met tragic fates. After the rebellion had been suppressed, these two secreted themselves in the house of a sympathizer in the suburbs of Berlin, where they were discovered on the night of the 15th. Both denied their identity, but without avail. News of Liebknacht's arrest spread through the city like wildfire, and a great throng gathered in front of the Eden Hotel, where he was confined. "Murder the brute," "Kill the swine," yelled the crowd.



BULGARIAN TROOPS UNLOADING SUPPLIES IN SERBIA.

offices fell into Spartan hands, but the attack on the Chancellor's palace failed. The Government proclaimed Berlin in a state of siege and gathered troops from the outside. Fighting continued in Berlin during the 7th and 8th, but by the 9th the conflict had turned in favor of the Government. During the next few days all the Spartan positions in the city were taken. Many of the rebels and looters were stood up against stone walls and were shot down. The Spartan leaders were driven into hiding.

Liebknacht within, hearing these cries, smiled and said to his guards, "They would kill Jesus Christ himself." A large automobile was drawn up to the side door of the hotel, but the people got wind of this and surrounded the car, shouting, "Kill him! Kill him!"

One of the mob hit Liebknacht over the head with a heavy cane. At the same moment the car started and managed to make its way through the crowd. However, in the Charlottenburger Strasse an ac-

cident happened to the automobile, and considerable repairs were necessary. The soldiers asked Liebkecht, who was bleeding profusely, whether he could walk as far as the Hofjaeger Alley, where another vehicle might be found. Liebkecht agreed, but on the way, according to one account, he suddenly pushed the soldier by his side into the ditch and made a dash for a clump of bushes. The soldiers shouted to him to halt, but he kept on. Four rifles were dis-

emburg in an automobile, and attempted to take her away. The car had gone only three blocks when a man jumped on the running-board, and before the soldiers could interfere, shot the woman and killed her. Soon the masses became so dense that the car could not proceed. "*Neider, neider, neider mit Rosel!*" cried the crowd, though there were a few dissenting voices. The soldiers were swept aside, and the body of the dead woman was snatched from the



FRENCH TAKING CAPTURED GERMAN GUN TO BATTLE LINE.

charged, and the fugitive dropped dead, two bullets having penetrated his back.

Rosa Luxemburg also was removed to the Eden Hotel. The officers in charge of her attempted to fool the crowd by saying that she had been taken away. The ruse failed, and the crowd finally rushed into the hotel and seized her. The officers tried in vain to shield her with their arms. They were pushed aside, and she was beaten unconscious with canes and umbrellas. At this juncture a new force of soldiers arrived and drove back the mob, placed Rosa Lux-

car and was carried into the darkness. Thus perished the two chief Spartacan leaders. Their followers attempted a general strike as a protest against the killing, but it proved abortive. This did not, however, mark the end of Bolshevik efforts in Germany.

Following the defeat of the Spartacans in Berlin, the Government set about restoring law and order elsewhere throughout the country. The Spartacans at Cuxhaven and Bremerhaven surrendered. A Government force under Colonel Gerstenberg was

sent against Bremen, which was in the hands of the Radicals. On February 4, Gerstenberg's force bombarded the city and, after severe fighting, entered it and drove out the rebels. Many persons were killed, and much material damage was done during the bombardment, especially to the old cathedral.

In some parts of Germany, bankers, physicians, lawyers, and other members of professions adopted a novel method of opposing Spartan methods, namely, by declaring counter-strikes. In some places these proved effective, putting an end to strikes instigated by the Spartacans. During February and March, however, there were frequent outbreaks in various places in Germany. Distress from lack of work and shortage of food tended to increase unrest. An investigating commission composed of British officers stated that either famine or Bolshevism, probably both, would result in Germany before the next harvest, if outside help was not forthcoming. Their report stated that "the increase in unemployment forms the most dangerous element in the present situation. Unemployment and hunger are the chief predisposing causes of Bolshevism, and if these are removed there will be no chance of Bolshevism gaining a foothold in Germany."

On February 21, while Kurt Eisner, the Bavarian Premier, was returning from the opening of the Landtag, a former lieutenant in the Prussian Guard suddenly shouted "Down with the Revolution! Long live the Kaiser!" and fired two bullets into the Premier's head from behind. Eisner fell dead on the pavement. Almost immediately a sailor shot and mortally wounded the assassin.

A Bavarian soldier rushed to the Landtag, carrying Eisner's blood-stained spectacles and crying, "Eisner has been murdered!" Great excitement followed. While Minister of the Interior Auer was officially announcing the assassination, a volley of shots was fired by conspirators in the public gallery, wounding Auer and two other Deputies and killing Deputy Osel. Eisner had incurred the hatred of the old Conservatives by his fearlessness in revealing Germany's

guilty part in the war. His death roused the populace to fury, as they believed it was the outcome of a reactionary military plot.

As a result of the chaos, the Central Soviet Council gained control in Munich and set up a government on the Bolshevik model. The Housing Commissioner received dictatorial power to seize villas, palaces, and barracks and transform them into lodgings for the working people, while the non-Socialist newspapers were compelled to publish Bolshevik propaganda. After a period of conflict and disorder, however, more conservative influences regained control. In Saxony also the Spartacans launched a movement to overthrow the Government and created much disorder, but ultimately failed.

Early in March new outbreaks took place in Berlin. On the 3d, a general strike went into effect, which stopped all street car traffic and interfered with industry generally. The Prussian Government speedily declared a state of siege in Berlin and neighboring places, and large forces of troops were massed to overcome the movement. Fighting took place in the streets, and on March 6 what was said to be the "worst battle Berlin had seen" was waged for possession of the telegraph offices. Once more, however, the Government troops triumphed, and on the 8th it was announced that the revolt had been suppressed. The number of killed and wounded was estimated to exceed 1,000. The Spartacans had murdered detectives and soldiers in a most brutal manner. In retaliation, Minister of War Noske executed many of the captured Spartacans. It was estimated that Berlin had suffered a loss of \$10,000,000 from looting. In places the city resembled a great battlefield. The buildings were scarred by bullets and shells, while others reminded the observers of the shattered houses in northern France.

During the early weeks of 1919, elections were held in Germany to name delegates to the forthcoming National Assembly. The number of delegates was fixed at 433, but as no elections were held in Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig, or Posen, the actual number chosen was somewhat smaller. A sys-

tem of proportional representation was used, so that each party elected representatives in proportion to the votes cast. Women as well as men participated, and some twenty women delegates were elected—one of the many signs of the new order of things in Germany.

The elections generally went off quietly,

The returns showed that both the Spartacans and the reactionaries had received comparatively little support. The current ran strongly toward the Majority Socialists and other moderate parties. The outcome was interpreted as meaning that the German people desired a democratic republic free from monarchical or Bolshevist influ-



FRENCH SAUSAGE OBSERVATION BALLOON.

though there were Spartacan disturbances in Berlin, Hamburg, and a few other places. After the polls were closed, troops occupied the polling places in order to protect the count. In Berlin an attempt by the Spartacans to seize and burn the ballot boxes led to some street fighting in the Wilhelmstrasse and elsewhere.

ences. Among the most notable delegates chosen were Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, Hugo Haase, Friedrich Ebert, and Philip Scheide-
mann. Nearly three-fourths of the delegates were new to political life.

To avoid the danger of Bolshevist domination or interference, the Provisional Government decided that the Assembly should

meet at Weimar, capital of the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach. The town is a small one and accommodations, to a certain extent, had to be improvised.

The first meeting convened at 3 p. m., on February 6, in the beautiful Weimar Court Theater, which had been transformed into a creditable imitation of a legislative hall. There were flowers and other decorations in profusion, and the seat provided for the presiding officer was an enormous high-backed chair upholstered in leather, on which the German eagle was emblazoned. It was the chair formerly used in the Reichstag, and the Reichstag parliamentary rules were temporarily adopted.

Premier Ebert made the first speech. "We have done forever with princes and nobles, by the grace of God," was his first sentence. The German people were now ruling themselves, he declared, and he made a plea that they should not be made responsible for deeds done by the old régime. He protested against Germany being enslaved for thirty, forty, or sixty years, and said: "We ask that our economic life be not destroyed. The German people have fought for inner self-determination. It cannot be perfected from the outside." He protested against the expulsion of Germans from Alsace and the sequestration of property and warned Germany's enemies not to drive her "to the uttermost." The Germans, he said, had laid down their arms in confidence in President Wilson's fourteen points, and the present free Germany felt itself entitled to enter the League of Nations.

On the 18th of November, it was officially announced that President Wilson himself expected to sail for France immediately after the opening of the regular session of Congress, in order to take part in the discussion and settlement of the main features of the treaty of peace. The announcement caused much discussion throughout the country. Some persons heartily approved the President's going, while others, especially his political opponents, criticized the step. By some persons it was asserted that it would be illegal, even unconstitutional, for the President to leave the country. This, however, was without any basis in fact, for

neither did the laws nor the Constitution limit the President in such matters. In at least two cases Presidents had left the boundaries of the United States. President Roosevelt visited the Panama Canal during his administration, though, to be sure, he went on an American warship and while in the canal zone was on American territory. President Taft, however, in his administration, held a meeting with President Diaz across the Mexican boundary. Another objection to the President's going was that he was needed at home to consider the grave problems of reconstruction which faced the country.

Various theories were propounded as to the effect of the President's going. In both Houses of Congress Republicans introduced measures to the effect that the office of President would be vacated during his absence from the country, but neither measure was carried. The general assumption came to be that the President would continue to be chief executive, as was, in fact, the case. During his absence, in obedience to a request on his part, the Cabinet meetings were presided over by Vice-President Marshall. Mr. Marshall did not, however, attempt to exercise any other functions of the Presidential office.

On November 29, it was announced that the representatives of the United States at the Peace Conference would be the President himself, Secretary of State Robert Lansing, Honorable Henry White, former Ambassador to France, Colonel Edward M. House, and General Tasker H. Bliss. Opponents of the administration were inclined to criticize the Commission, alleging that some prominent Republicans should have been given places on it. Some members of the Senate were also inclined to feel that that body should have been represented.

On the morning of December 4, the President sailed from New York on board the *George Washington*, which had formerly been a German merchant ship. With him were Mrs. Wilson, members of the Peace Commission, and many others, including many specialists on subjects likely to be considered by the conference. The vessel was given a noisy farewell, and was escorted

down the harbor by numerous war craft and across the Atlantic by the dreadnaught *Pennsylvania* and a flotilla of destroyers.

The voyage across the Atlantic was without special incident. Throughout, the President remained in communication with Washington by wireless, and daily bulletins were sent from the Presidential vessel by the press. The *George Washington* reached Brest on December 13, being greeted by many American and French warships.

the afternoon the presidential party left for Paris, where they arrived at ten next morning. An immense crowd had gathered in the streets, and the President was given a tremendous reception. The President was entertained at luncheon at the Elysée Palace by President Poincaré, who warmly welcomed the distinguished guests of France. In reply, Wilson said in part:

"It is with peculiar feeling, Mr. President, that I find myself in France, joining



AMERICAN PEACE COMMISSION.

Thunderous salutes pealed from the ships and the land batteries on shore as the vessels entered the inner harbor of Brest, and all the war craft, merchantmen, and transports dressed ships and manned the yards, while the strains of the American national anthem floated over the bay amid the roar of the guns and the shouts of vast crowds.

Ashore the President was given an official welcome by representatives of the French Government and the mayor of Brest. In

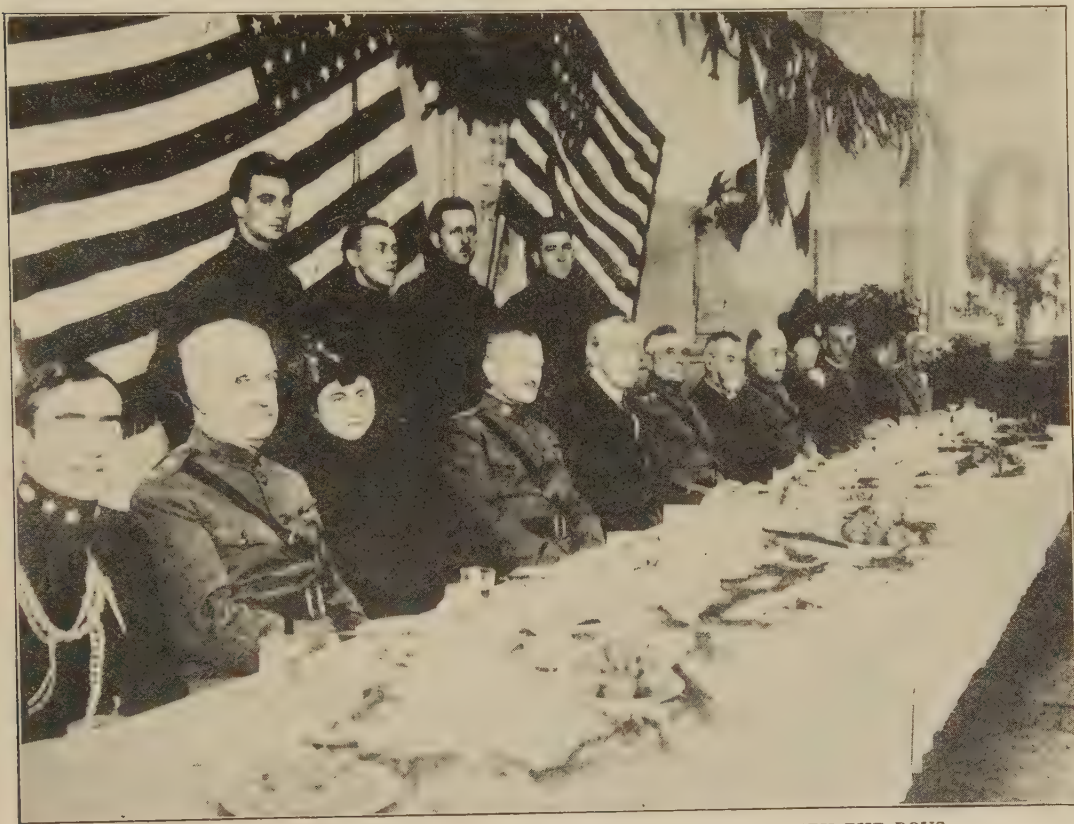
with you in rejoicing over the victory that has been won. The ties that bind France and the United States are peculiarly close. I do not know in what other comradeship we could have fought with more zest or enthusiasm. It will daily be a matter of pleasure with me to be brought into consultation with the statesmen of France and her Allies in concerting the measures by which we may secure permanence for these happy relations of friendship and coöpera-

tion, and secure for the world at large such safety and freedom in its life as can be secured only by the constant association and coöperation of friends."

During his stay in Paris, the President and his immediate party occupied the palace of Prince and Princess Joachim Murat. This old mansion is one of the most imposing and richly furnished in the city. The owner was a descendant of Caroline Bonaparte, a sister of Napoleon, and of

mally invited the President to visit Rome. A feature of this period of the visit was the presentation by the city of Paris of a gold medal to the President, while to Mrs. Wilson was given a diamond brooch. On December 25, the University of Paris conferred on the American President the Degree of Doctor of Laws, *Honoris Causa*, in recognition of his work as a political scientist and historian.

The President and his wife spent Christ-



PRESIDENT AND MRS. WILSON HAVING CHRISTMAS DINNER WITH THE BOYS.

Murat, Napoleon's famous leader of cavalry. During the first week of the President's stay, much of the time was devoted to formal visits and festivities. Everywhere the President was warmly welcomed, and vast throngs waited for hours to see him pass. On the 19th, the King of Italy, accompanied by the Queen, the Crown Prince, the Premier, and the Foreign Minister, arrived in Paris, and in an interview between the President and the King the latter for-

mas Day at Chaumont, the headquarters of the American Expeditionary Forces in France. The President reviewed about 10,000 men of the First Army. After the review he was given a short, formal greeting by General Pershing and made a speech in which he told the soldiers that "everybody at home is proud of you and has followed every movement of this great army with confidence and affection. The whole people of the United States are now waiting to

welcome you home with an acclaim which probably has never greeted any other army." Later he said, "You men probably do not realize with what anxious attention and care we have followed every step you have advanced, and how proud we are that every step was in advance and not in retreat, that every time you set your face in any direction you kept your face in that direction."

Late in December, the President visited England. From Dover, where he landed, to London there was a continuous ovation. At Dover he was greeted by the Duke of Connaught, the King's uncle, and by other notables. The way to the train was carpeted with a broad red cloth, while a double line of little girls, each with an American flag worn as a shoulder sash, strewed roses and other flowers in the path of the party.

In London the President was met by King George and Queen Mary at Charing Cross station. Guards of honor presented arms, guns boomed salutes, and a military band played the *Star Spangled Banner*. From the station to Buckingham Palace, where the presidential party were entertained by the King and Queen, "It was one long wave-stream of cheering as the presidential and royal procession passed." According to a correspondent, "The President's enjoyment of it all was obviously whole-hearted. He was not satisfied to go through the ordinary motions of a salute with his hat; he waved it with a grand sweep of which any cavalier would have been proud."

On the evening of December 27, at Buckingham Palace a state dinner was given to Mr. and Mrs. Wilson. Every royal formality which had developed through the centuries was carried out during this banquet. President Wilson, with Queen Mary, led the procession to the dining hall, while immediately behind came King George and Mrs. Wilson. Among the other guests were the French Ambassador, the Princess Patricia, famous daughter of the Duke of Connaught, the Princess Mary, the Princess Beatrice, and others.

The dining hall presented a scene of splendor. In it there was a great collection of solid gold plate and huge gold ornaments,

valued at \$15,000,000, brought up from the vaults for this occasion. One of the largest pieces of plate had a famous history, as it had been taken from the wreck of a ship of the Spanish Armada. The hall, which is 200 feet long by 75 feet wide, was approached through a state hallway richly furnished with paintings and porcelain. At one end of the hall stood the throne, but the main table was so arranged that the backs of King George and President Wilson were toward it. The general body of the guests preceded the royal family and the presidential and ambassadorial guests into the banquet hall, and remained standing while the main guests and hosts entered in procession. Yeomen of the Guard, in red Elizabethan garb and carrying halberds, stood in attendance, while military and naval officers were in uniform and wore their swords.

King George welcomed the President and Mrs. Wilson in a felicitous speech and proposed the health of both. President Wilson responded in a speech equally happy, and proposed the health of the King and Queen and the prosperity of Great Britain.

On December 28, the President was presented with an address of welcome from the ancient Guildhall by the officials of London, and was entertained at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor. Next day he visited Carlisle and saw the site of his grandfather's house and attended services in the church where his grandfather had preached. He was asked to address the assemblage, and made a short speech in which he referred simply but eloquently to his mother, who was born in England. He also said:

"I believe, as this war has drawn nations temporarily together in a combination of physical force, we shall now be drawn together in a combination of moral force that is irresistible. It is moral force as much as physical force that has defeated the effort to subdue the world. Words have cut as deep as swords."

After a visit to Manchester, the President left London December 31, on his way to Italy. The presidential party passed through France, reached Italian soil, and

arrived at Turin on January 2, and at Rome on January 3. Everywhere he was greeted with much enthusiasm. High honors were paid him in Rome and elsewhere, and he was given the freedom of the Eternal City. An interesting feature of his trip to Rome was the visit he paid to Pope Benedict at the Vatican, being greeted by the whole Pontifical court. From the Pope he received a handsome mosaic reproducing Guido Reni's famous picture of St. Peter. The mosaic was a yard square and was valued at \$40,000. Everywhere the President appeared he was acclaimed by great crowds. On the way back to Paris from Rome he visited Geneva and Milan, being everywhere received by a continuous roar of "Vivas!" In some respects the demonstration in front of the palace at Milan was the most notable of all the many accorded him in Europe.

The President had been given in all three countries a reception which in enthusiasm had perhaps never been surpassed. The greeting accorded him was not, however, altogether a tribute to him personally. He was looked upon as the concrete representative of America, that distant land which had given her wealth and sons to save civilization from the horrors of German domination. The honor accorded him was in a sense homage paid to the American soldiers and sailors who had ventured their lives in battle, to the men, women, and children who had bought Liberty Bonds and Thrift Stamps, to those who had saved food and even gone hungry in order to succor the starving in Belgium and France, to the women who had knit socks for the soldiers and sewed bandages for the wounded; in fact, to all Americans who had done their part in winning the world war.

At conferences of the Inter-Allied Supreme Council and between the representatives of the chief Allied States the preliminaries of the organization of the Peace Conference were arranged. The British Empire, the United States, France, Italy, and

Japan were to be represented by five delegates apiece; the British colonies of Australia, Canada, South Africa, and India were to have two delegates each, and there was to be one for New Zealand. Brazil was to have three delegates. Belgium, China, Greece, Poland, Portugal, the Czechoslovak Republic, and Serbia were to have two delegates each. Siam, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, and Panama were to have one delegate each.



PRESIDENT WILSON AND PRESIDENT POINCARE
IN PARIS.

Montenegro was also to have one delegate, but the rules concerning this delegate were not to be fixed until the moment when the political situation in that country should be cleared up. Each delegation was to vote as a unit, and the number of its delegates was to have no influence on its status at the Conference.

On protests from Serbia and Belgium the representation of these two countries was increased from two to three delegates,

while the kingdom of the Hedjaz was allowed two delegates.

The Central Powers were not allowed representation in the earlier stages of the conference. It had been settled that the Allied nations should agree upon terms of peace, after which delegates of the Central Powers would be invited in to receive the terms. The first sessions were held in the Salle de la Paix of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs just across the River Seine from the Place de la Concorde. The Hall was one of the most splendid reception rooms in Europe. Just behind the President's seat stood a statue of Peace, holding aloft the torch of civilization. The council table was in the form of a huge horseshoe, and was covered with the green baize of diplomacy. The places of honor were at the upper end. Each delegate's chair was upholstered with bright red leather, and before each was a complete equipment of writing material. Leading from the council chamber there was another large room to which the delegates could retire for consultation. Beyond was a gorgeous state dining room, where meals could be served to the delegates when protracted sessions were held.

The French delegation included Premier Clemenceau, Foreign Minister Pichon, Jules Cambon, and André Tardieu, French High Commissioner to the United States. The British delegation included Premier Lloyd George, Foreign Secretary Balfour, and Andrew Bonar Law. The American delegation consisted of Woodrow Wilson and the other delegates already named. The Italian delegation included Prime Minister Orlando and Foreign Minister Sonnino. Japan's delegation was headed by the Marquis Saionji, former Prime Minister. Servia's delegation included Nicolas Pachitch, former Prime Minister. From Greece came Premier Venizelos, the ablest Greek of his day and one of the ablest statesmen in the world. Canada's delegation was headed by Premier Borden; Australia's by Premier Hughes. The Union of South Africa was represented by General Louis Botha and General Jan C. Smuts, both men of large abilities.

The opening session was held at three o'clock in the afternoon of January 18,

1919, the 48th anniversary of the proclamation of the German Empire in the Château of Versailles. The delegates were welcomed by President Poincaré in a well-considered speech. In it he emphasized the need of establishing "a general League of Nations which will be the supreme guarantee against any fresh assault upon the rights of peoples." "You are assembled," he told the delegates, "in order to repair the evil that has been done and to prevent a recurrence of it. You hold in your hands the future of the world. I leave you, gentlemen, to your grave deliberations, and declare the Conference of Paris open."

President Wilson proposed Premier Clemenceau as Permanent Chairman of the Congress, and the motion was seconded by Lloyd George and Baron Sonnino. It was ratified unanimously. Clemenceau made a short address in which he declared for a League of Nations and urged the necessity of friendly coöperation.

Not since the meeting of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 had there been a peace conference which was confronted by so many difficult problems. There was the question of future peace in the world, that of reparations for injuries done, new boundaries to be fixed, new nations claiming independence and recognition, punishment of the guilty—all complicated questions, all exceedingly difficult of solution.

For example, what reparation should be made to Belgium for the hideous wrongs resulting from the violation of her territory? What should be done toward restoring invaded France, Servia, Poland, and other regions which the Teutonic hordes had laid waste?

In both Germany and Austria the War Lords had been overthrown. Many of them, including the Kaiser, were living in exile, but should they be left unmolested and free from further punishment? All sorts of suggestions were made regarding the Kaiser. Some thought that the loss of his crown would be punishment enough; others proposed that he should be imprisoned on some island, as in the case of Napoleon. Yet others felt that anything approaching freedom would be too lenient for such a crim-

inal. Life-long imprisonment or even death by execution had warm advocates.

It was clear to all who knew the situation as it was that it would be impossible to exact from the Teutonic States sufficient money to pay all the expenses of the war, yet in many of the Allied countries there was a strong desire to impose all costs upon the vanquished. This could not be done, for the simple reason that the vanquished had not the means with which to pay.

The territorial questions were infinitely complex. New States like Poland, Finland, Ukraina, Czechoslovakia, and Jugoslavia had arisen amid the smoke of conflict. What should their boundaries be? What should be their form of government? Italy, Servia, Roumania, France, and Great Britain had territorial claims that must be adjusted, and some of these claims were conflicting. What disposition should be made of the German colonies? What should be done with Turkey?

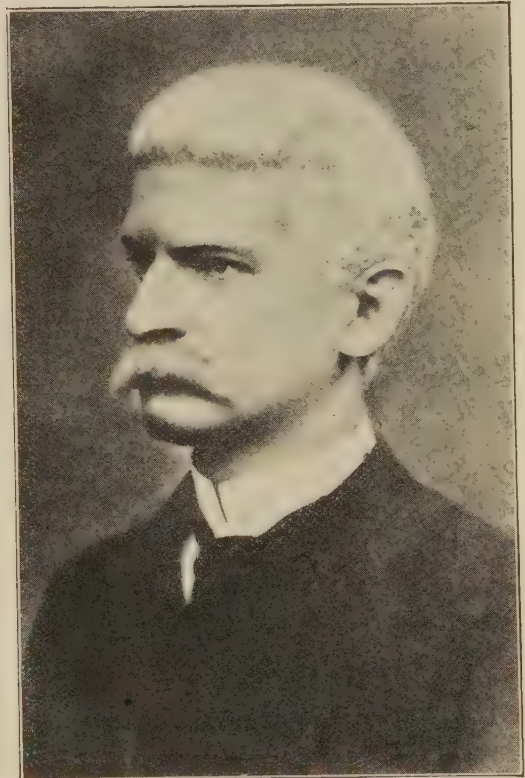
France regarded it as settled that she was to receive back Alsace-Lorraine, and no one except Germany was inclined to oppose this aspiration. In addition, the French were anxious to erect some sort of buffer State between Germany and France by way of affording protection in the future against German aggression. The French also wished the Saar Valley with its rich coal and iron mines by way of compensation for the damage done about Lens. She felt that because of her traditional interest in Syria she should exercise some sort of guardianship over that country.

Great Britain wished no additional territory in Europe, but desired the lion's share of the German colonies. South Africa was insistent that German Southwest Africa should not be returned to Germany, while Australia was insistent that German influence should never be restored in the region of Australasia. Great Britain expected to exercise some sort of control over Mesopotamia and perhaps other portions of Turkish territory.

In all the Allied countries it was felt that Armenia and Palestine must never be restored to the Turks. Arabia had long been in revolt under the new King of the Hedjaz,

and Great Britain had promised him much of Arabia and also of Syria. Then there was the question of Constantinople, which would have fallen to Russia under a secret agreement, had Russia not withdrawn from the war. Greece was desirous of obtaining certain islands inhabited by Greeks, and the west coast of Asia Minor, which since the dawn of history had been largely Greek in population.

Long before the war closed, Great Brit-



FOREIGN MINISTER SONNINO OF ITALY.

ain, through Secretary Balfour, had promised to use her best endeavors to set apart Palestine as a "national home for the Jewish people." Other nations had endorsed this plan, which had been received with enthusiasm by Jews throughout the world. It seemed probable that the Zionist movement, which had long been agitated among Hebrews, might at last be realized.

Roumania wished to recover the Dobrudja, which she had been forced to cede to Bulgaria. She desired to retain Russian

Bessarabia, which had been given to her by the Central Powers by the Treaty of Bucharest. She also had extensive claims to some of the old Hapsburg dominions in Transylvania and elsewhere.

Italy desired Italia Irredenta, also practically all the eastern coast of the Adriatic, including Albania, or at least a protectorate over that country. Her claims on the Adriatic brought her into conflict with the new State of Jugoslavia, and the contest arising

and the Germans. The trouble with all these countries was due to disputes over boundaries. From Germany, for example, the Poles insisted that they should have Polish Prussia and an outlet on the Baltic through the port of Danzig.

In the middle of January a new government was formed, headed by Ignace Jan Paderewski, the world famous pianist. Recognition of this provisional government was accorded by the United States on Jan-



GERMAN DELEGATES TO PEACE CONFERENCE.

therefrom was to prove one of the most difficult problems of the conference.

Belgium desired from the Netherlands the left bank of the Scheldt River and the Peninsula of Maasstricht, which protrudes into Belgian Limberg. She also hoped that Luxemburg would ask to be incorporated with her.

The situation in Poland was extremely bad. The supply of food was insufficient, and many people were starving. Furthermore, the new State became involved in war with the Ukrainians, the Czechoslovaks,

and by other nations subsequently. The program of the new Government included defense of the frontiers, re-establishment of order, immediate provisioning of the country, protection of working classes, development of industries. It favored the distribution of land by the State, but opposed confiscation.

An election was held to choose delegates to a Constituent Diet. Women and Jews were accorded the franchise. The Constituent Diet met on February 10, and consisted of about 200 members, one of them a woman.

Representatives sent by the Peace Conference sought to bring the fighting on Poland's borders to an end, but at first had slight success. A new conflict developed between the Poles and the Bolsheviki in Russia.

Denmark hoped that northern Schleswig, seized from her by Prussia in 1864, might be returned. In this region the questions of Helgoland and the Kiel Canal were certain to be seriously considered. By later armistice terms imposed upon Germany the Germans were forced to dismantle the fortifications of Helgoland. Enemies of Germany insisted that some means must be taken to prevent the Germans in the future from dominating the Kiel Canal. The possession of it had practically doubled the efficiency and strength of the German navy.

In the far east, Japan wished to hold the former German possessions on the Shantung Peninsula. China insisted that Tsing-Tao and Kiao-Chau should be awarded not to Japan, but should be restored to her, from whom they had originally been wrested. Japan also wished to be awarded the former German South Pacific Islands north of the equator, which Japan had seized during the war.

The first of President Wilson's fourteen principles or bases for a program of world peace had stipulated that there must be "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at," but the conference deemed it unwise that the discussions should really be held in public, and arranged for the issuance of official summaries prepared by the secretariat. This decision created much dissatisfaction through the world, but probably was a wise one. Some of the subjects that had to be discussed were of so delicate a nature that had negotiations concerning them been given to the public, public opinion in some of the countries would have been dangerously stirred.

A great number of committees composed of specialists and of members of the conference were set to work upon different points in controversy. Most of the real decisions were made by the Supreme Council, which consisted of two ranking delegates from each of the five chief powers, namely, Great

Britain, the United States, France, Italy, and Japan. Japan, however, was subsequently dropped, and the so-called "Big Four," composed of Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Wilson, and Orlando, made the preliminary decisions.

At the second plenary session of the conference, held on January 25, it was unanimously decided to create a League of Nations to promote international obligations and to provide safeguards against war. A special committee was appointed to formulate a plan for a league. This committee was composed of two representatives from the five Great Powers and five representatives chosen by the other powers represented at the conference. The American representatives were President Wilson and Colonel House; the British, Lord Robert Cecil and General Smuts; the French, Leon Bourgeois and Ferdinand Larnaude.

The committee on the League of Nations held daily sessions, beginning February 4. Sharp differences of opinion soon developed over the question. There was unanimity as to the desirability of such a league, but some delegates were skeptical as to its immediate efficiency, and desired to maintain the old order of balance of power and protected frontiers until the new system had demonstrated its effectiveness. Various plans were propounded, but finally that which had been drawn up by General Smuts was made the basis of the constitution. Not all of the members of the committee were satisfied with the result. Nevertheless, they accepted it unanimously, and President Wilson was designated to present it to the plenary conference. He did so, on February 14, reading the draft of the document, and making a speech in its support. He ended by saying:

"Many terrible things have come out of this war, gentlemen, but some very beautiful things have come out of it. Wrong has been defeated, but the rest of the world has been more conscious than it ever was before of the majority of right. People that were suspicious of one another can now live as friends and comrades in a single family, and desire to do so. The miasma of distrust, of intrigue, is cleared away. Men

are looking eye to eye and saying: 'We are brothers and have a common purpose. We did not realize it before, but now we do realize it, and this is our covenant of friendship.' "

The importance of the League of Nations is so great that the complete terms will be given in the appendix. An outline of its terms must, however, be given here. Like the Constitution of the United States, the new covenant began with a preamble, which was as follows:

this covenant adopt this Constitution of the League of Nations."

As later amended, the phrase "agree to this covenant" was substituted for "adopt this Constitution."

The machinery of the League was to consist of an Assembly and of a Council with a permanent Secretariat. The Assembly was to consist of representatives of members of the League and was to meet at stated intervals from time to time at the seat of the League or at such other place



LLOYD GEORGE, PREMIER ORLANDO, PREMIER CLEMENCEAU, PRESIDENT WILSON.

"In order to promote international co-operation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the Powers signatory to

as might be decided upon. It was to deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world. Each member of the League was to have one vote in the Assembly, and could not have more than three representatives.

The Council was to consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of four other members of the League. These four members of the League were to be selected

by the Assembly from time to time at its discretion. With the approval of the Assembly, the Council might name additional members of the League; whose representatives should likewise be members of the Council. The Council was to meet from time to time as occasion might require, and at least once a year. The Council might deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affect-

was to consist of a Secretary General and such secretaries and staff as might be required. The first Secretary General was to be named by the Peace Conference. Thereafter he was to be appointed by the Council, with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

The seat of the League was ultimately established at Geneva, but the covenant provided that the seat might be moved by



LLOYD GEORGE, PREMIER CLEMENCEAU AND PRESIDENT WILSON ARRIVING AT THE PALACE VERSAILLES.

ing the peace of the world. In meetings of the Council each member of the League represented on the Council should have one vote, might have not more than one representative. Any member of the League not represented on the Council should be invited to send a representative to sit as a member during the consideration of matters especially affecting its interest.

The permanent Secretariat was to be established at the seat of the League, and

the Council to any other place. All positions in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, were to be open equally to men and women representatives of the League, and its officers, when engaged on League business, were to enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The covenant recognized the importance of reducing national armaments, and provided that the Council take account of the geographical situation and circumstances of

each State and formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments. Such plans were to be subject to the reconsideration of the Council each year. The members of the League undertook to give full and frank information as to the scale of their military and naval preparations.

Members of the League undertook to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of all the members.

Any war or threat of war, whether or not it immediately affected members of the League, was to be considered a matter of concern to the whole body, and the League was to take any step deemed wise to safeguard the integrity of the nations. In case such an emergency should arise, the Secretary General, on the request of any member of the League, could forthwith summon a meeting of the Council. Any member of the League should have the right to bring to the attention of the Assembly or the Council any circumstance which should threaten to destroy either the peace or the good understanding of the nations.

All members of the League should agree that in case of misunderstanding likely to lead to a rupture they would submit the matter either to arbitration or to an inquiry by the Council, and in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council. The members agreed, furthermore, that whenever any dispute should arise which they might recognize as suitable for submission to arbitration and which could not be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they would submit the whole subject to arbitration.

The Council should formulate and submit to the members of the League plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice which should be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character.

In case any member of the League should resort to war in disregard of its covenants, it should *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which should undertake

immediately to bring it to terms by cutting off all relations, financial and otherwise, with the offending State. It should also be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the Governments concerned what forces of the League should be contributed to be used to protect the League's covenants.

In case of a dispute between a member of the League and a State not belonging to the League, or between States neither of which were members of the League, the State or States not members of the League should be invited to accept the obligation of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute upon such conditions as the Council might deem just. In case a State so invited should refuse to accept and should resort to war against a member of the League, the other members should take action against it. In case both parties to the dispute should refuse, the Council might take such measures and make such recommendations as would prevent hostilities and would result in the settlement of the dispute.

Article 22 dealt with a system of mandatories for the German colonies, referred to elsewhere. Article 23, among other things, bound the members of the League to secure fair conditions of labor for men, women, and children.

Amendments to the covenant were to take effect when ratified by members of the League whose representatives composed the Council and by a majority of the members of the League whose representatives composed the Assembly. No such amendment should bind any member of the League who refused to accept such amendment, but in case of refusal it should cease to be a member of the League.

The League of Nations was by no means a new idea. It had its origin in the League to Enforce Peace, which was formally organized in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on June 17, 1915. The President of this League was Honorable William H. Taft, and he and other believers in the idea had spent much time in giving the plan publicity. Among the foreign statesmen who early gave their assent to the League's progress

were Viscount Brice, Viscount Grey, Mr. Balfour, Professor Milyukoff, Kerensky, Foreign Minister Moton, of Japan, and even Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg. The platform adopted at the organization meeting was as follows:

"We believe it to be desirable for the United States to join a league of nations binding the signatories to the following: (1) All justiciable questions arising between the signatory powers, not settled by negotiation, shall, subject to the limitations of treaties, be submitted to a judicial tribunal. . . . (2) All other questions arising between the signatories and not settled by negotiation shall be submitted to a council of conciliation for hearing, consideration, and recommendation. (3) The signatory powers shall jointly use forthwith both their economic and military forces against any one of their number that goes to war, or commits acts of hostility against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted as provided in the foregoing. (4) Conferences between the signatory powers shall be held from time to time to formulate and codify rules of international law, which, unless some signatory shall signify its dissent within a stated period, shall thereafter govern in the decisions of the judicial tribunal mentioned in Article I."

It will be seen that the actual covenant of the League of Nations followed in a somewhat general way the principles outlined by the League to Enforce Peace.

It naturally happened that there were many questions concerning which the Allies were themselves unable to agree. The matter about which the bitterest controversy arose was that between Italy and Jugoslavia regarding the disposition of the city and harbor of Fiume and of the Dalmatian coast.

In 1915, when she entered the war, Italy had signed with Great Britain and France a secret treaty in London whereby she was promised certain portions of Austria-Hungary, including part of the Dalmatian coast. This treaty did not give Fiume to Italy, and Italy's claim to this important seaport was a later development. The Italian delegates claimed that under the principle of

national self-determination Fiume should be and must be a part of Italy, because most of the people in the city proper were Italians. The Jugoslavs insisted, however, that the whole region must belong to them, because the majority of the people outside the city were of their race. Furthermore, they demanded the city, in order that they might have a convenient outlet upon the Adriatic. Public opinion in France and Great Britain inclined to the Italian view, but President Wilson took the part of Jugoslavia and insisted that the city should not be given to Italy.

The Council of Four sought for weeks to reconcile the conflicting claims without avail. Meanwhile, there were growing manifestations of hostility between the two nations in the Adriatic region. The Italians declared that they must have the port not only because its people were Italians, but to insure Italy's future safety against Austria and against the Jugoslavs themselves. The Jugoslavs insisted, on the other hand, that if they were denied the port their commerce would be strangled in its infancy. The contest in the Peace Conference became so heated that the delegations from the conflicting parties had to be heard separately, and President Wilson temporarily withdrew from the Council of Four, leaving the discussion to be carried on between Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando. The Italian people and army were insistent upon Italy's claims and upon the complete fulfillment of the Treaty of London. The carrying out of this treaty would have meant the acquisition of more territory than even Premier Orlando was now inclined to insist upon.

On April 23, President Wilson precipitated a crisis by issuing a long statement giving his view of the matter and seeking to persuade the Italians to give up their claims to the disputed city. This step was deeply resented by Premier Orlando, who forthwith addressed a communication to Clemenceau, the President of the Peace Conference, saying that as a result of Wilson's course the Italian delegation had decided to leave Paris and return to Italy to find out the sentiments of the Italian

people. In a counter-statement he declared that Wilson's purpose was to bring the Italian people in opposition to the Government, and he said that Wilson was "treating the Italians as though they were a barbarous people without democratic government."

A final effort was made by other members of the Peace Conference to prevent a rupture, but it failed, and Orlando and the other Italian plenipotentiaries departed for Rome. The news of the decision was

by a ballot of 382 to 40 in the Chamber and by a unanimous vote in the Senate.

Subsequently, on the invitation of Clemenceau and Lloyd George, the Italian delegation returned to Paris, and discussions were renewed. Various compromise proposals were made, but none proved to be satisfactory to all parties. For months the subject remained a difficult one, but it was temporarily driven into the background by the effort to conclude peace with Germany.



AMERICAN TROOPS ENTERING FIUME.

cheered by great crowds in the streets of Italian cities, while Wilson was denounced in the bitterest terms, and at once became as much disliked as he had once been popular. Orlando was greeted in the capital by wildly-cheering throngs, who drew his carriage by hand to the Quirinal Square. There was no doubt that the people were anxious to secure Fiume, and, after Orlando had made a statement of the case before the Parliament, he received a vote of confidence

Another conflict which closely paralleled that of Fiume was the question of the disposition of the Chinese province of Shantung, formerly held by Germany, but conquered by the Japanese. China insisted that the province should be returned to her, but the Japanese revealed the fact that, in 1917, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia had agreed to support Japanese claims to Shantung and to concede to her outright all of the German islands north of

the equator in return for Japan's permitting China to enter the war.

Late in April, the conflicting claims to Shantung were taken up by the Council of Three, while Premier Orlando was absent in Italy. The claims of Japan were presented by Viscount Chinda and Baron Makino, and that of China by Dr. Wellington Koo, Chinese Ambassador to Washington, and other Chinese delegates. The Japanese promised ultimately to return the peninsula to China, but this proposal was not acceptable to the Chinese representatives.

German rights which Japan wished to retain had been obtained by the Germans by an act of wanton aggression, and they urged that such a virtual substitution of Japan for Germany in Shantung was serious enough in itself, but it became especially grave when the position of Japan in Southern Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia was considered in connection with it. Reference was made to the fact that Shantung is China's "Holy Land," packed with memories of "Confucius and Mencius and hal-
lowed as the cradle of her civilization. . . .



SIBERIAN INFANTRYMEN IN WARSAW.

Ultimately the conference announced that it had decided to accept the Japanese contention. Japan was to restore the peninsula at some future time to China as a free agent instead of being compelled to surrender it to China through the Peace Conference, but she was to obtain railroad and other concessions, and she was to be permitted to make a settlement at Tsing-Tao, south of Kiao-Chau. The Chinese delegation bitterly protested against this solution of the matter. They pointed out that the

If there is reason for the Council to stand firm on the question of Fiume, there would seem to be all the more reason to uphold the claim of China relating to Shantung, which includes the future welfare of 36,000,000 souls, and the highest interest of peace in the Far East."

The disposition made of Shantung aroused much feeling in China. In Peking, on May 5, five thousand Chinese students marched to the American and British Embassies in Peking to urge the Council of

Three to reconsider its decision. Some scenes of violence took place in the capital and elsewhere. The province of Shantung itself sent a special mission to Paris to ask for a direct cession of Shantung to China.

In many quarters the feeling existed that Japan had been too grasping, and that her insisting upon the cession of Shantung was only another step in her policy of transforming the Chinese Empire into a vassal State.

On the morning of February 19, while Premier Clemenceau was riding in his automobile to attend a conference with Colonel House of the American delegation, an anarchist named Emil Cottin fired seven shots at him from the sidewalk. Two bullets inflicted slight abrasions of the skin on the right hand and right arm. A third entered the Premier's right shoulder and lodged under the left shoulder, penetrating the lungs. The attack created much excitement in Paris and throughout the world. In view of the Premier's great age it was feared by many that he could not survive, but he withstood the shock magnificently, and what seems most incredible is the fact that in ten days he had sufficiently recovered to attend the Peace Conference.

Upon investigation it was found that Cottin had conceived the idea of killing Clemenceau the previous May, during a strike of the employees of the aviation factories. He began practice in shooting at that time, but seems to have made slight progress in marksmanship, as he fired all seven shots at close range, yet only one took serious effect. The assassin was tried by court-martial and sentenced to death, but, with the approval of Clemenceau, the sentence was subsequently commuted to a term of imprisonment. The deed seems to have possessed no political significance, and it was not the result of an organized conspiracy. The attempt upon the old statesman made him more than ever the hero of France and strengthened his political position.

Late in February, President Wilson returned to the United States in order to be present at the close of the Congressional session, sign bills, and urge the passage of

certain measures he deemed essential. He landed at Boston on February 24, being greeted by a great throng of people. At both Boston and New York he delivered addresses upon the work of the Peace Conference, laying special emphasis upon the desirability of adopting the League of Nations covenant. He also gave a dinner to members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and made a statement concerning the League to them.

Opinion in the United States was greatly divided as to the desirability of the League. Practically all Americans were eager to prevent war in the future, but many doubted whether the League would be a panacea which would secure that desirable result. The issue was also badly confused by political considerations. Many Democrats forthwith declared themselves favorable to the League without having actually studied the covenant. Many Republicans took an exactly contrary course. On the other hand, some Democrats opposed the covenant, while a number of Republicans, the most notable of whom was Ex-President Taft, came out in its favor.

Among the Senators who delivered addresses attacking the League were Senators Poindexter of Washington, Borah of Idaho, Cummins of Iowa, Knox of Pennsylvania, Lodge of Massachusetts, and Johnson of California. Some of these men did not oppose the general idea of a League, but criticized various features of the draft that had been made public.

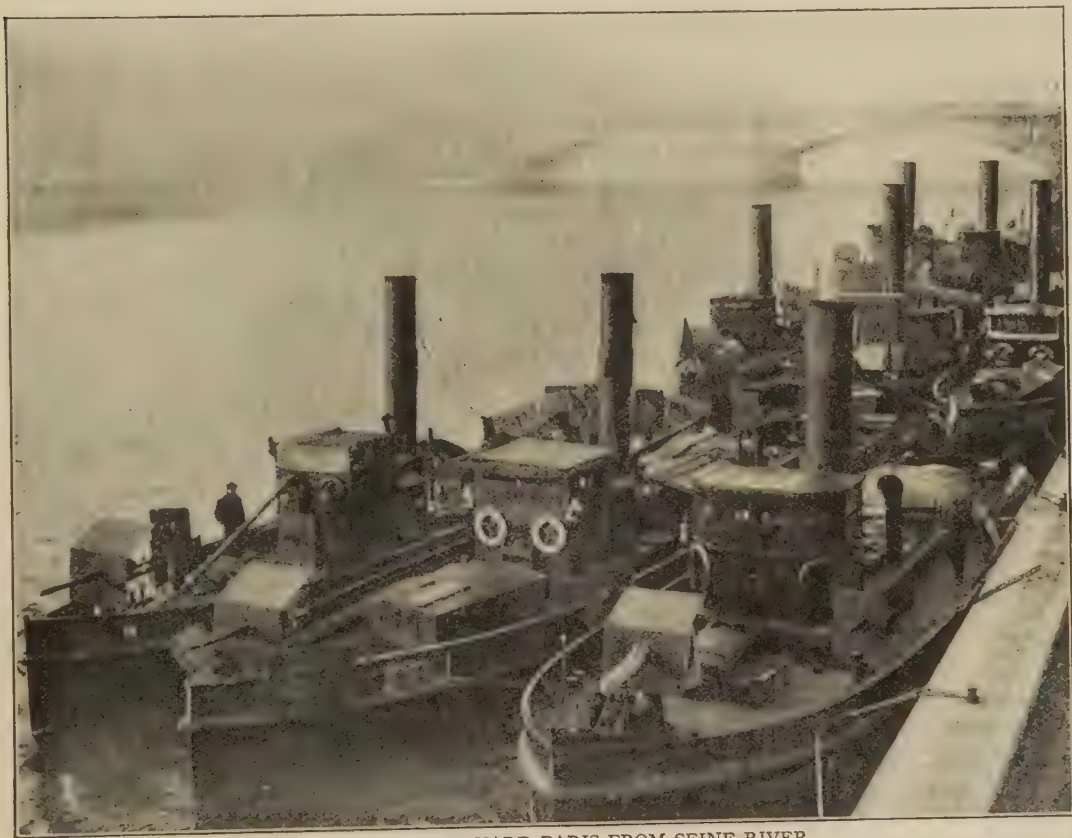
Among the criticisms of the League was the fact that it would involve us in European affairs, that it meant throwing away forever Washington's advice against entangling alliances, and that it would endanger the Monroe Doctrine. Among the constructive amendments suggested by Senator Lodge was an affirmation in the covenant of the Monroe Doctrine, the exclusion of immigration and other subjects affecting our national existence, and a clarification of the question as to whether the League was to have an international force of its own or whether it should have the right to compel the forces of the signatory nations to carry out its decrees. Strong objection

was also made to the plan of submitting the League as an integral part of the treaty. Many people insisted that it would be better to hasten the conclusion of peace with Germany and then consider the plan for the League of Nations.

In the Senate, Senator Lodge attempted, shortly before the adjournment of Congress, to introduce a resolution to the effect that while the United States sincerely desired the promotion of peace and general disarmament

that they would be able to control a considerable majority of the Senate.

It had been the tendency among the defenders of the League to insist that it was already virtually perfect, but the opposition it met with in the United States was instrumental in causing a change of view. A number of amendments were made in the draft. Among these was a statement to the effect that nothing in the covenant should be "deemed to affect the validity of inter-



ARMORED TUGS GUARD PARIS FROM SEINE RIVER.

ment, the covenant of the League of Nations was not in its existing form acceptable to the United States. An objection on the part of Senator Martin, a Democrat, prevented the resolution from being received by the Senate, but the resolution was subsequently signed by 39 persons, who would be members of the new Senate, a number which was considerably larger than the number of Senators required to reject a treaty. Opponents of the League insisted

national engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace."

It was further provided that the seat of the League should be established at Geneva, Switzerland. The first Secretary General of the League was to be an Englishman, Sir Eric Drummond. The original members of the League were to be the nations which had engaged in war against the Central Powers.

Those invited to accede to the covenant were Argentine Republic, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Venezuela.

The completion of the terms drawn up by the Allies was greatly delayed by problems and disputes of one kind or another, and it was not until April that the Germans were summoned to Paris to receive the terms. The personnel of the German Peace Delegation consisted of six main delegates and a long list of advisers, while new members were ultimately added. The head of the delegation was Foreign Minister Ulrich Brockdorff-Rantzau.

The first German *avant-couriers* reached Versailles on April 25, and were lodged in the Hôtel des Réservoirs. The main delegation arrived on the 29th. The German delegation was kept isolated from the general public, and barricades consisting of wooden railings bound with wire were set up on both sides of their hotel. No Germans were permitted to leave the inclosure without authority.

The German plenipotentiaries presented their credentials on May 1, in the spacious dining-room of the Hôtel Trianon. In this room three long tables had been arranged in horseshoe-form, covered with the traditional green cloth of diplomacy. The more formal delivery of the treaty to the German delegates took place on May 7. It was a notable occasion, and Premiers Clemenceau and Lloyd George, President Wilson, Premier Venizelos, Premier Paderewski, Marshal Foch, and the German delegates, as well as many other notables, were closely scrutinized by the audience.

When all was in readiness, Premier Clemenceau, who sat at the center of a table at the head of the hall, rose and addressed the German plenipotentiaries, pausing from time to time to permit his words to be translated into English and German by interpreters. It was not, he said, a time or place for superfluous words. The Germans had before them the representatives of "all the small and great powers united to fight together in the war which has been so cruelly imposed upon them. The time has

come when we must settle our account." The German delegates would be given a book containing the conditions of peace. No oral discussion was to take place, but the Germans were to be given fifteen days in which to present their written observations on the treaty. After having examined these observations, the Supreme Council would send their answer in writing to the Germans and would fix the period in which the final answer must be given.

At the end of the Premier's speech, he added the customary phrase, "Has any one observations to make?" Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, head of the German Delegation, raised his hand, but was not recognized until the translation of the Premier's speech was completed. Meanwhile Paul Dutasta, General Secretary of the Conference, laid a copy of the treaty before the head of the German Delegation.

When the translation had been finished, Premier Clemenceau recognized Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, who then read a prepared speech.

"Gentlemen," said he, "we are deeply impressed with the sublime task which has brought us hither to give a durable peace to the world. We are under no illusion as to the extent of our defeat and the degree of our want of power. We know that the power of the German army is broken. We know the power of the hatred which we encounter here, and we have heard the passionate demand that conquerors make us pay as the vanquished, and punish those who are worthy of being punished."

He went on to say that it was demanded of the Germans that they should confess themselves to be the only ones guilty of the war. Such a confession, he declared, "would be a lie." Germany did admit some responsibility, however. He confessed that the attitude of the former German Government at The Hague Conference, "its actions and omissions in the tragic twelve days of July, have certainly contributed to the disaster. But we energetically deny that Germany and its people, who were convinced that they were making a war of defense, were alone guilty." He went on to contend that other persons had been in part respon-

sible. He expressed a willingness to repair the wrong that had been done to Belgium. He contended that in the manner of making war also, Germany was not the only guilty one, and he pointed out that the armistice had been based upon certain principles, including President Wilson's Fourteen Points. He urged that the League of Nations should be open to all, and he insisted that the burden placed upon Germany must not be made too heavy.

except that it bound Germany to accept any agreement reached with her former Allies. It was divided into fifteen main sections, some of the chief of which concerned the League of Nations, the frontiers of Germany, the military, naval, and air reparations, and financial clauses.

The treaty bound Germany to give up all her colonies. At the time the armistice was signed all the German colonies had been entirely overrun with the exception that



GERMAN CAVALRY IN LOUVAIN.

After the conclusion of the German representative's speech, Premier Clemenceau arose and in a few short sentences brought the meeting to a close.

The Peace Treaty contained about 80,000 words, much the longest treaty that was ever drawn. It represented the work of all the official Allied representatives and about a thousand experts working continuously for a period of over three months, yet it did not deal with the multifarious questions which concerned Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey,

a small German force still managed to evade the Allied troops in German East Africa. These colonies, scattered in many parts of the world, amounted to over a million square miles and had a population of over twelve million people. The Germans insisted that they would not give up their title to the colonies. Differences of opinion existed among the Allies as to what should be done with them. Some insisted that the titles should be taken over by the conquerors, but ultimately it was decided to assign them

to different powers acting as mandatories. The theory was that the mandatory should rule the colony in the interest of its people, and that perhaps, ultimately, the colony should become independent. Many observers were skeptical, however, as to whether the last mentioned step would ever be taken, at least as regards some of them. The final decision was that as regarded Kamerun and Togoland, Great Britain and France should make a joint recommendation as to their future. A mandate for German East Africa was to be held by Great Britain. That for German Southwest Africa was to be held by the Union of South Africa. That for the German Samoan Islands was to be held by New Zealand. All the other German Pacific possessions south of the equator, with the exception of Pleasant Island, or Nauru, the mandate of which was to be held by Great Britain, were to be under the control of Australia. The German Pacific Islands north of the equator were to be controlled by Japan, which also took over Kiao-Chau.

Germany thus lost every one of her colonies. Instead of winning world dominion, as she had hoped, she was limited to the narrow confines of Germany, and even some of the provinces on the borders of that land were lopped off.

In Europe the treaty bound Germany to recognize the sovereignty of France over Alsace-Lorraine. The Sarre Basin with its rich coal and iron mines was to be internationalized for fifteen years, after which the people were to be given an opportunity to decide upon their political future. France had urged that they be given the basin in full ownership as partial compensation for the destruction of property, especially mines, in northern France, but this compromise had been made between them and other Allies.

Belgium was given a small strip of territory along her eastern border. The population of this region was largely Walloon.

In the province of Schleswig, taken from Denmark by Prussia and Austria in 1864, plebiscites were to be held in certain districts to decide whether the people of these districts would remain a part of Germany or be united with Denmark.

On the east, Germany surrendered a large part of the territory which Prussia had seized toward the end of the eighteenth century from Poland. The great port of Danzig was to be internationalized, while in portions of West Prussia the question of the disposition of the region was to be settled by a plebiscite. The effect of the cession of this territory would be to cut off East Prussia from the rest of Germany.

The German army must be reduced to 100,000 men, including officers, and conscription was abolished. In a region fifty kilometers east of the Rhine all importation, exportation, and nearly all production of war material was to be stopped. One object of this stipulation was to safeguard France against a future German invasion. The fortifications of Heligoland must be destroyed, and the German navy was to be reduced to six battleships, six light cruisers, twelve destroyers, and twelve torpedo boats. Its personnel must not exceed 15,000 men, and it must have no submarines. Germany was forbidden to build forts controlling the Baltic, and must open the Kiel Canal to all nations.

Germany must accept full responsibility for all damage done to the Allied nations and their peoples and must agree to reimburse all damage done to civilians. She must within two years make an initial payment of twenty billion marks, about five billion dollars, and must make subsequent payments secured by bonds. She must make good illegal damage done to merchant shipping by submarines by turning over a large part of her merchant fleet and building new vessels. She must devote her economic resources to rebuilding the devastated regions in France, Belgium, and elsewhere.

Germany must agree to the trial of the former Kaiser by an International High Court on a charge of having committed a supreme offense against international morality, and must agree to the trial of other Germans for offenses against the laws of war. She must return works of art removed from conquered regions and must deliver manuscripts equivalent in value to those destroyed in the Louvain Library.

These and other terms constituted one of the most drastic treaties ever imposed upon a nation. The terms were greeted with a chorus of dismay and disapproval in Germany, and there was much talk to the effect that it was a "peace of violence." The Berlin *Vorwärts* characterized the treaty as a "peace of annihilation." The *Tageszeitung* said: "One thing is certain: there can be no question of this being a peace of justice." President Ebert called

teous form or with more cynical equanimity. The German reply will have to consider that the draft deviates from Mr. Wilson's fourteen points as far as the east is from the west."

Chancellor Philipp Scheidemann declared that the treaty was "so unacceptable that I am unable to believe that this earth could bear such a document without a cry issuing from millions and millions of throats in all lands, without distinction of party. Away



GIANT SEAPLANES START TRANS-ATLANTIC FLIGHT.

the treaty a "monstrous document." The militaristic view was expressed by General von Francz, who said "the Germanic giant is to be beaten into submission and placed in chains. We are to live for generations poor and enslaved, but the harder the enemy forges our slaves' shackles the sooner shall we burst them." The *Frankfurter Zeitung* declared, "We are at the graveside of right. The only doubt is whether it also means the graveside of the German nation. Never has murder been committed in more cour-

with this murderous scheme!" He said that the treaty would make Germany an enormous jail in which sixty million persons would have to labor for the victors.

However, the terms were much less severe than those which Germany would have imposed upon her enemies had she been victorious, and the world generally turned a deaf ear to the German pleas for clemency.

At the same time that the official summary of the treaty was issued, a statement was given out which was designed to insure

France against a German attempt at revenge. This statement was as follows:

"In addition to the securities afforded in the Treaty of Peace, the President of the United States has pledged himself to propose to the Senate of the United States, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain has pledged himself to propose to the Parliament of Great Britain, an engagement, subject to the approval of the Council of the League of Nations, to come immediately to the assistance of France in case of unprovoked attack by Germany."

Whether or not this agreement would become binding upon the United States depended upon the attitude adopted toward it by the Senate, which, in fact, has failed to ratify it.

The final reply of the Allied and associated Governments to the German powers was delivered to the German delegation on June 16. It consisted of two parts, a general letter from President Clemenceau, President of the Commission, and a *seriatim* discussion of the general counterproposals. M. Clemenceau's letter contained a scathing summary of the German offenses against civilization and asserted the necessity of dealing rigorously with the offenders. He said "that somebody must suffer for the consequences of the war. Is it to be Germany or the people she has wronged? Not to do justice to all concerned would only leave the world open to fresh calamities.

"If the German people themselves, or any other nation, are to be deterred from following the footsteps of Prussia; if mankind is to be lifted out of the belief that war for selfish ends is legitimate to any State; if the old era is to be left behind, and nations as well as individuals are to be brought beneath the reign of law, even if there is to be early reconciliation and appeasement, it will be because those responsible for concluding the war have had the courage to see that justice is not deflected for the sake of a convenient peace.

"It is said that the German revolution ought to make a difference, and that the German people are not responsible for the policy of the rulers whom they have thrown from power. The Allied and associated

powers recognize and welcome the change. It represents great hope for peace and a new European order in the future, but it cannot affect the settlement of the war itself.

"The German revolution was stayed until the German armies had been defeated in the field, and all hope of profiting by a war of conquest had vanished. Throughout the war, as before the war, the German people and their representatives supported the war, voted the credits, subscribed to the war loans, obeyed every order, however savage, of their Government. They shared the responsibility for the policy of their Government, for at any moment, had they willed it, they could have reversed it.

"Had that policy succeeded they would have acclaimed it with the same enthusiasm with which they welcomed the outbreak of the war. They cannot now pretend, having changed their rulers after the war was lost, that it is justice that they should escape the consequences of their deeds."

The letter closed by saying that the treaty in its existing form must be either accepted or rejected. The Allies demanded that the German delegation should in five days declare whether or not they were prepared to sign the treaty as it had been amended. If they did not do so, this communication was to be considered a notification that the armistice would terminate, and warning was served that the Allied powers would then take such steps as they thought needful "to force their terms."

Ever since they began to get an inkling of the terms of the treaty, German officers, newspapers, and people had cried out almost unanimously that they would not sign. The concessions made by the Allies were far from being satisfactory, but the Germans were in a position where they had no real alternative save to accept. The French, British, and American armies were in readiness to resume the invasion of Germany, and there was no German army to resist them. The German submarines and most of the above-water fleet had been surrendered, so that it would be possible for the Allied navies to blockade the German ports both on the North Sea and on the

Baltic. The German people were dependent upon the outside world for food and other supplies, and they realized that a refusal could only end in a new invasion, consequent destruction, ruinous blockade, and finally the exaction of even harsher terms.

Changes took place in the German Government, but when faced by the dread alternative of the renewal of the war, the people and the National Assembly decided for peace. On June 23, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs addressed a note to the Peace Conference in which he said: "Yielding to superior force, and without renouncing in the meantime its own view of the unheard-of injustice of the peace conditions, the Government of the German Republic declares that it is ready to accept and sign the peace conditions imposed."

The actual signing took place on June 28, which was the fifth anniversary of the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Serajevo. The place was the famous Hall of Mirrors, in the Palace of Versailles, where, on June 18, 1871, after exacting ruinous terms from France, including a heavy money indemnity and the cession of Alsace-Lorraine, King William of Prussia placed the crown upon his own head and was proclaimed German Emperor. Then the new empire had been triumphant; now it had been defeated. The house which created it was in exile, and the representatives of Germany who came to accept the treaty imposed upon them represented a republican form of government.

Tables covered with yellow cloth had been arranged in the hall in a rectangle 80 feet long, with an open side facing the windows. Seats had been provided for 72 plenipotentiaries and for their secretaries. Around the hall were seated attachés, guests, and 15 American, 15 French, and 15 British private soldiers representing the Allied armies. In fact, the hall was too crowded to be comfortable. By three o'clock in the afternoon representatives of the Allied and associated nations were in their places, except the Chinese delegation, who refused to attend the ceremony or to sign, because Shantung had been awarded to Japan.

The German plenipotentiaries, Dr. Müller, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Bell, Colonial Secretary, were received in silence when they entered from a side door. Premier Clemenceau, President of the Conference, then stated that the session was open, and that the German delegates were invited to sign the treaty. The German delegates then went to the small tables on which the copies of the Peace Treaty had been placed and affixed their signatures. On the other side the privilege of signing fell first to President Wilson, because the United States (whose name in French is *Etats-Unis d'Amerique*), came first in the alphabetical order of the French names. The whole ceremony of signing proceeded with such despatch that, within 37 minutes after the opening of the session, the ceremony was completed.

The German delegates withdrew through the side door and departed as soon as possible for Weimar. The other delegates marched across the terrace to see the fountains play in the palace yard. A great throng had gathered in front of the palace, and when a signal gun announced that the treaty had been actually signed the crowd burst into a mighty cheer. French soldiers dropped their rifles and kissed one another. Women wept, and hats and parasols were tossed high in the air and there was general rejoicing.

The same evening President Wilson and his party left for Brest, where they embarked next day on the *George Washington* for America. Lloyd George returned to England and was received with great enthusiasm by all classes, being met at the Victoria Station not only by the Cabinet, but also by the King and the Prince of Wales. The Supreme Council had decided that the blockade of Germany would be raised as soon as the German National Assembly ratified the treaty. A new Council of Four was created to conduct peace negotiations with the other powers. It consisted of French Foreign Minister Pichon, Robert Lansing, American Secretary of State, Arthur J. Balfour, British Foreign Secretary, and Tomasso Tatonni, Italian Foreign Minister.

As before stated, the Chinese delegates were unwilling to sign the treaty, though they said that they would do so if they could write in a reservation relative to the German possessions in Shantung to Japan, but the Council refused to permit this. General Jan Smuts, the Boer leader who had been one of the chief British advisors, created a sensation by making public a protest against the severity of the treaty. However, he signed the treaty and stated that he did so "not because I consider it a satis-

but it is our hope to the last breath that this attempt against our honor may be one that recoils against its authors." The Berlin *Vorwärts*, which was regarded as the organ of the government, unblushingly said: "Extortionate pressure renders signature of the peace treaty worthless. We must never submit. It is only a scrap of paper. Treaties based on violence can keep their validity only so long as force exists. Do not lose hope; the resurrection day comes."

Such expressions on the part of the Ger-

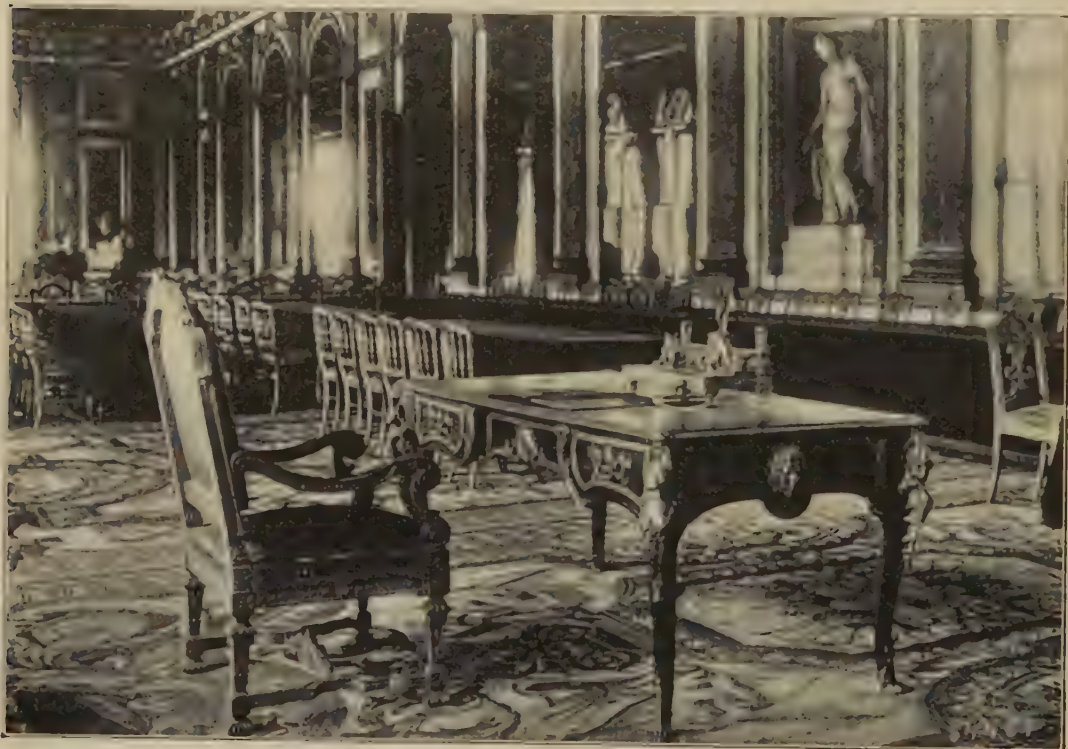


TABLE WHERE ACTUAL PEACE TERMS WERE SIGNED.

factory document, but because it is imperatively necessary to close the war; because the world needs peace above all else, and nothing could be more fatal than the continuance of the state of suspense between war and peace. The months since the armistice was signed perhaps have been as upsetting, unsettling, and ruinous to Europe as the previous four years of war."

The German attitude toward the acceptance of the treaty was far from the best. Premier Ebert in an address to the National Assembly at Weimar said: "Let us sign;

mans tended to increase Allied suspicions of Germany. President Clemenceau declared that to understand the spirit in which Germany signed the treaty it was only necessary to consider the scuttling of the German fleet at Scapa Flow, regarding which more will be said later.

The signing of the German peace treaty by no means ended the Great War. There were at least 23 other wars still raging, or conflicts which amounted to a state of war. These contests included: Jugo-Slavs against Italians, Allies against Hungarians, Ger-

mans against Letts, Poles against Ukrainians, Poles against Ruthenians, Poles against Germans, Poles against Bolsheviki, Poles against Czechoslovaks, Austrians against Jugo-Slavs, Finns against Bolsheviki, Allies against Bolsheviki, Kolchak against Bolsheviki, Greeks against Turks, Roumanians against Bolsheviki, Letts against Bolsheviki, Esthonians against Bolsheviki, Villa against Carranza.

Not only would it be necessary for the different powers concerned to ratify the

than those that had been imposed upon her. Not a few people believed, in fact, that the Teutons had been let off too easily. In most Allied countries, however, there was a small body of opinion which felt that it would have been better for the future peace of the world to have been more generous. Socialists in particular and other liberal spirits raised up their voices against the treaty as one of "violence." An increasing number of people, though believing that the treaty was just, believed that the financial



ABYSSINIAN MEMBERS OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

Versailles treaty, but these other contests must be adjusted before the world could have peace. Furthermore, the various other contests which had been suspended by armistices had not yet been ended by formal peace treaties.

Outside of Germany the treaty was variously received. In Allied countries the general opinion was that it was by no means too harsh in its terms. The people who felt thus believed that had Germany been the victor the terms she would have exacted would have been infinitely harder

burdens placed upon Germany were too heavy for her to bear, and that it would be better, in the interest of the world at large, to lighten them.

In neutral countries opinions differed almost as widely as in belligerent States. In some circles the treaty was applauded; in others it was violently attacked. There were still pro-German influences in neutral countries, and these, of course, characterized the treaty in most unflattering terms. Thus the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* saw little good in the League of Nations, and called

the covenant "a treaty for the continuance of war." "In future," it said, "there is to be only one belligerent, for the other must be powerless. The weapons are limited to those by which the victors won their victory and which are also the simplest to use, namely, the economic arm. . . . The only relation between the treaty and President Wilson's fourteen points is that it contradicts each of them. Only one conclusion is possible: the true aims of the Entente were not those announced, but were in effect the same as the aims of German imperialism."

"These terms will not effect peace," declared the Swedish *Algemeen Handelsblad*. "Germany's feelings will urge her to shake off the iron yoke that the soft-spoken Entente desires to thrust on German shoulders. We fear the opportunity will arise only too promptly. . . . In the outline of its so-called League of Nations, the Entente has recognized plainly the right to conquer and occupy countries for economic or imperialist ends. The matter of Italy and the Adriatic littoral is assuredly not the only case. We shall soon enough hear of bitter disputes between the Entente Powers over imperialist and economic interests."

The requirement that the Germans should consent to the trial of the Kaiser and other offenders was one source of opposition. In the *Illustrierte Zeitung*, Count Westarp, a former leader of the Prussian Conservative party, vehemently urged the German nation to refuse to surrender her former leaders for trial. "A people such as the German people can rise from poverty through hard work," said he. "They can one day shake off the foreign yoke, whether it is military, political, or economic. German territory and lost Germans can be recovered by fighting for them. But the shame that would fling the German people into the dust of the earth for centuries were they to deliver their Emperor of the Hohenzollern dynasty and the heroes of the world-war to the vengeance of the enemy never could be wiped out."

Shortly before the treaty of peace was signed, the crews on the German war vessels interned at Scapa Flow opened the sea-cocks and took to the boats. All the

battleships and battle-cruisers except the *Baden*, together with most of the destroyers, sank to the bottom, though some went down in shallow water. A few of the Germans failed to obey the orders of the English guard boats and were shot. The sinking of the vessels created considerable excitement throughout the world. The act was contrary to the provision of the armistice, which stated that "no destruction of ships should be permitted before evacuation, surrender, or restoration." The act was severely criticized in Allied countries. The *New York Tribune* characterized it as "a piece of curtain heroics intended to expunge the very unheroic surrender of Tirpitz's vaunted High Seas Fleet." Another newspaper declared the act was "not an act of noble sacrifice, but an act of ignoble dishonor." The German Admiral von Reuter was reported as saying that he ordered the sinking of the vessels in pursuance of directions issued earlier in the war by the former German Emperor, that no German warship was to be surrendered.

The German press was inclined to hail the act as a piece of heroism, but their rejoicings were soon tempered by information that some of the Allied countries would demand compensation. The value of the fleet was estimated at \$350,000,000, but in reality its value was much less, for the ships, being of German construction and armament, did not fit in well with the fleets of other nations. In fact, there had been much talk on the part of the Allies of themselves sinking the vessels rather than attempting to divide them.

The program of Bolshevism gave the whole world reason for apprehension. The movement failed in Germany and ultimately in Austria, but nevertheless it was dreaded even in the Allied countries. During part of the Peace Conference the danger that the movement would sweep over much of western Europe caused more fear than the question of settling the treaty of peace. In Italy, France, and even England economic conditions were such that there was real danger that there might be a social revolution, but all these countries ultimately escaped the menace, partly, it is believed,

because of financial assistance rendered by the United States.

In Canada and the United States there was never any real danger that such a movement would succeed, yet attempts were actually made. In western Canada there were great strikes, and in Winnipeg there was even an attempt to establish a Soviet government. There was much destruction of property, and business conditions were badly deranged, but the elements of law and order ultimately triumphed. In the

Morgan, and Mayor Hanson. A negro servant in the family of ex-Senator Hardwick of Georgia was badly injured when opening the parcel in which the bomb came.

The explosions of June 2 took place in Boston, Paterson, New Jersey, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Washington, and Cleveland. One of the bombs burst in front of the home of Attorney-General Palmer, in Washington, badly damaging the house. In Cleveland a bomb injured the house of Mayor Davis, and the anarchist himself



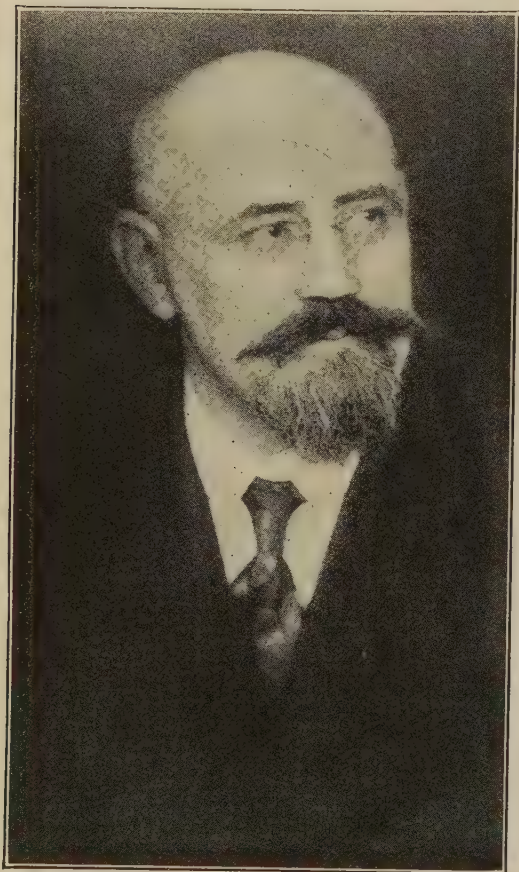
HANDING PEACE TERMS TO AUSTRIAN DELEGATES.

United States the most serious effort was made in the city of Seattle, but its courageous mayor, Ole Hanson, acted so vigorously as speedily to suppress the effort. Other manifestations of a revolutionary spirit occurred on May 1, when infernal machines were sent to a number of public men, and on June 2, when bombs were exploded in eight different cities. Among those to whom bombs were sent were Postmaster-General Burleson, Attorney-General Palmer, Judge Kenesaw M. Landis, J. P.

was blown to atoms by the explosion. In New York City the house of Judge Nott was seriously damaged, and a street watchman was killed.

It was believed that these outrages were the work of a comparatively small number of I. W. W.'s and Bolsheviks, and that there was no widespread conspiracy. It was felt that the Fourth of July would bring on a new series of outrages, but careful precautions were taken, and the day passed without any mishaps.

On June 2, 1919, in the Château François I., at St. Germain-en-Laye, near Paris, the Allied Governments handed terms of peace to the Austrian delegation which was headed by Dr. Karl Renner. The complete treaty had not yet been entirely formulated, but enough of it had been completed to give the Austrian plenipotentiaries a fair



DR. KARL RENNER.

idea of what was to be their fate. The treaty left Austria a state with an area of only five to six thousand square miles, with a population, chiefly German, of about 7,000,000. All that was left of a once imperial nation was required to recognize the complete independence of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and to cede other territory to Italy and other States. Austria also agreed to accept the League of Nations covenant, to demobilize all her aerial forces, and to ad-

mit the right of the Allied powers to try her subjects for offenses against international law, and she accepted all arrangements which might be made by the Allied powers with regard to Turkey and Bulgaria.

The behavior of Dr. Renner on receiving the Austrian treaty was in marked contrast with the spirit of arrogance displayed by von Brockdorff-Rantzau when he was given the German treaty. After a translation had been made of M. Clemenceau's remarks, Dr. Renner delivered a speech in French in which he revealed a tone of moderation which made a favorable impression on the Allied diplomats. He said that he and his associates were before the conference as one of the parts of a vanquished empire, ready to assume their share of the consequences of the war, ready to acknowledge the terms demanded, but asking the victors to listen to Austria's economic needs. He said it was only because of the generosity of the Hoover Commission that the lives of the Austrian population had been saved, and he stated that he would examine the Allied terms loyally and do his best to work out a peace on such a basis. The new republic of Austria, he said, was free from the old and unfortunate traditions of the Hapsburg monarchy and "from the horrible crime of 1914." He said that Austria was ready to do her modest part in the work of the League of Nations, and asked only that the full weight of the punishment should not fall upon the little republic which was all that was left of the once mighty Austria. The new republic, he pointed out, was only one of eight created out of the old monarchy, and he pleaded that it should not be made to pay more of the penalty than it could bear.

Dr. Renner's speech made an excellent impression. The Servian plenipotentiary, Dr. Vesnitch, when asked his opinion, replied, "It was splendid. What Renner said was good in content, good in the manner and spirit in which it was said. He stood up to say it. There is no comparison whatever between the ceremony we have just witnessed and that of May 7, when the treaty was presented to the Germans at Versailles."

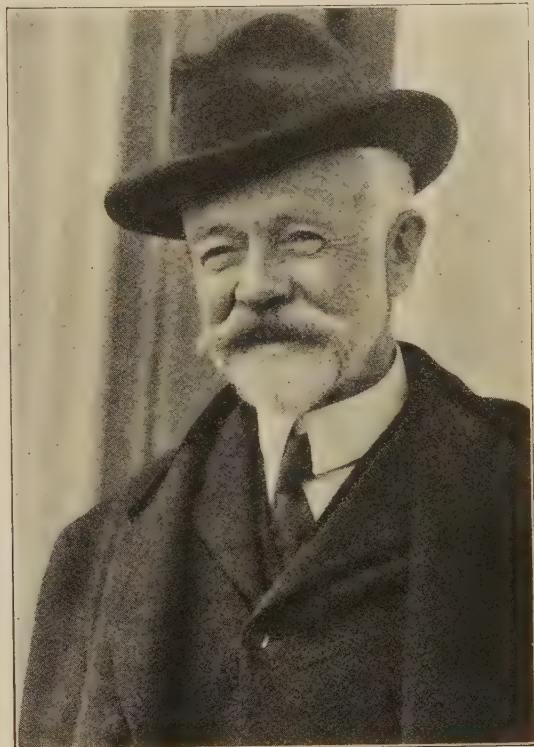
In the United States wide differences of opinion developed regarding the German treaty and more especially that portion providing for a League of Nations. Most Americans desired to prevent war in the future, but many doubted whether the League would secure that desirable result. The issue was clouded by political considerations. Some prominent Republicans declared themselves in favor of the League and some prominent Democrats against it, but many Democrats favored it and many Republicans opposed it from purely partisan reasons. Supporters of the League pictured it as a heaven-born instrument that would bring peace to a war-weary world and advocated it with a great variety of arguments. Those who opposed the League contended that it meant throwing away forever Washington's advice against "entangling alliances" and that it would constantly involve us in Old World disputes and conflicts with which we had no direct concern. Many men did not oppose the general idea of such a league but criticised various features of the one proposed.

To be ratified by the United States the treaty must receive the votes of two-thirds of the Senators voting upon it. A majority of the Senators were Republicans, and feeling in the Senate, even on the part of some Democratic members, had come to be very bitter against Wilson. When the President submitted the peace treaty to that body, strong opposition to it at once developed. The leadership of the opposition was taken by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. Senator Lodge did not oppose the League altogether but contended that the Covenant must be amended, or, as it came to be said, Americanized. A few senators, notably Johnson of California and Borah of Idaho, opposed the League altogether.

Early in September, 1919, President Wilson set out on a speech-making tour of the country for the purpose of rallying public sentiment in favor of the League without amendments. He spoke in many places to large crowds and often aroused enthusiasm, but it speedily became apparent that the

opposition was also strong. A number of opposition Senators, including Johnson and Borah, trailed the President about the country, speaking at the same places, and they also were greeted by large crowds.

On his way back from the Pacific coast President Wilson had an apoplectic stroke and was forced to give up the rest of his tour. He was taken as speedily as possible to the White House, and for months was



HENRY CABOT LODGE.

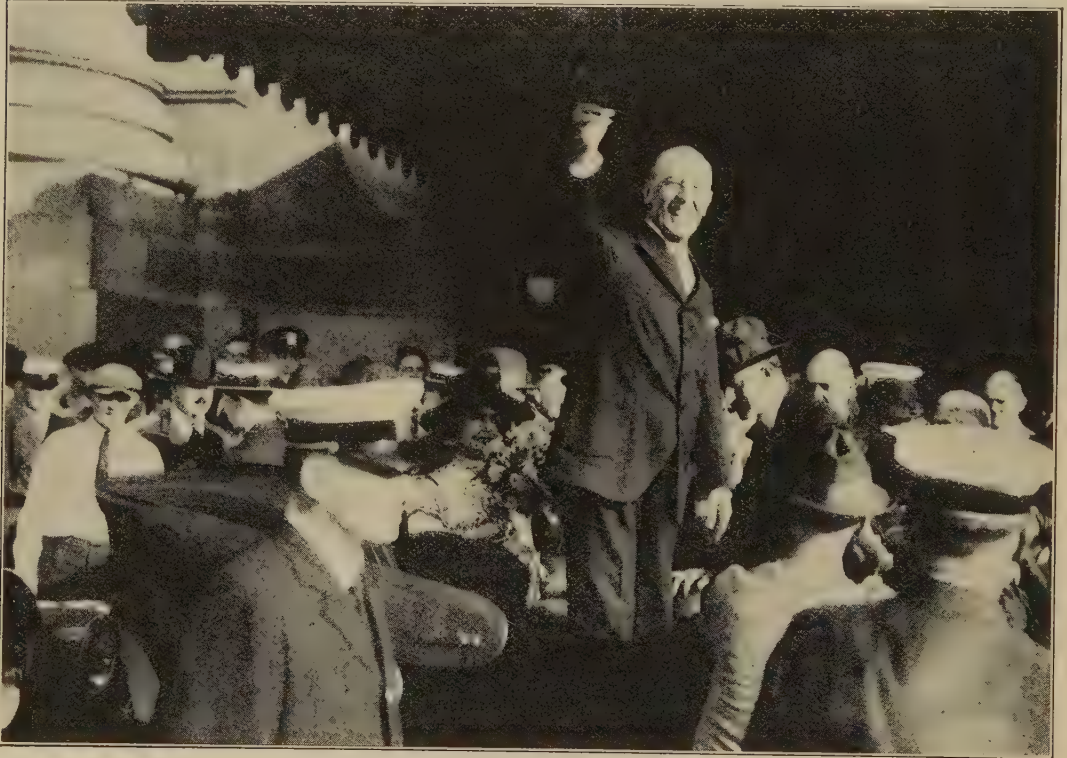
seen only by physicians and a few other persons and was able to consider only a few extremely important public questions. In the meantime many rumors spread, but the great mass of the people were able to obtain only a vague idea of his exact condition.

The Federal Constitution provides that "in Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of

the President and Vice-President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected." In the first administration of Grover Cleveland Congress had passed a Presidential Succession Act, as already narrated, but this act did not provide any stipulations regarding the "Disability" of a President. In the present case it was generally supposed that the President's illness would probably be short, and there was no

affairs. Some of these conferences were attended by Private Secretary Tumulty, and it was assumed that the President himself was informed of them; by some it is still contended that he knew of them.

On February 7, 1920, however, the President wrote to Lansing inquiring whether it was true that during his illness the Secretary of State "had frequently called the heads of the Executive Departments of the Government into conference" and intimating that he considered such action a violation of the



PRESIDENT WILSON IN ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI.

considerable demand that any one should take his place, nor did Vice-President Marshall evince any desire to undertake the duties of the office.

It was necessary, however, that the public business should continue to be transacted, as it could not wait even upon the illness of a President. In view of this embarrassing situation Secretary of State Lansing, with the approval of other members, called informal meetings of the Cabinet from time to time to confer regarding public

Constitution. Lansing replied in a letter stating the facts and adding that, if the President desired, he would resign. President Wilson soon after wrote Lansing a censorious letter saying that he would accept the resignation, declaring that "no action could be taken without me by the Cabinet," and referring to differences of opinion that had arisen at the Peace Conference and regarding other matters connected with our foreign affairs. Lansing thereupon wrote a letter defending his course and formally

tendering his resignation, which was accepted.

The incident created a nation-wide sensation. President Wilson's course in the matter was widely condemned, even by newspapers and members of his own party. It was generally assumed that the President's real reason for desiring to be rid of Lansing was that Lansing was out of sympathy with Wilson's course regarding the League of Nations and Mexico and that he put forward Lansing's calling the Cabinet together merely as a pretext. To fill the vacancy the President appointed Bainbridge Colby of New York, a former Progressive. Other Cabinet changes took place about the same time.

Lansing's resignation served to bring out the fact that the President's illness had been more serious than was generally supposed. There was considerable agitation in favor of having the Vice-President succeed him, but fortunately his condition improved and gradually he became better able to perform his duties.

Meanwhile the fight in the Senate over the peace treaty continued. All amendments to the treaty were defeated, but fourteen "reservations" were adopted. A number of Democratic Senators supported these reservations, although President Wilson bitterly opposed them. Finally, in November, a motion to ratify the treaty with the reservations was defeated by a vote of 39 for and 55 against, while another motion for ratification without change was beaten by 38 to 53. The special session of Congress then adjourned.

When Congress assembled in regular session in December, the treaty was again submitted to the Senate, and a new contest ensued. As in the regular session, the main conflict raged over Article X of the Covenant, which binds members of the League "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League." On March 15, 1920, after weeks of debate, the Senate by a vote of 56 to 26, voted the following reservation to Article X: "The United States assumes no obligation to employ its military or naval

forces, its resources, or any form of economic discrimination to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country, or to interfere in controversies between nations—whether members of the League or not—under Article X, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States under any article of the treaty for any purpose unless in any particular case the Congress, in the exercise of full liberty of action, shall by act or joint resolution so declare."

This resolution was practically identical with one that had been adopted in the special session. Its supporters declared that it did nothing more than reaffirm the Federal Constitution, which reserves to Congress the right "to declare war." But President Wilson declared that Article X must not be touched. Of the earlier reservation to this Article he had said that it was a "knife-thrust at the heart of the covenant," and he now reiterated the view that any reservation that sought "to deprive the League of Nations of the force of Article X cuts at the very heart and life of the covenant itself." In a letter addressed to his party on "Jackson's day," January 20, 1920, he declared that if the treaty was not adopted as it stood, the issue should be submitted to a solemn referendum at the next election. Some Democrats, however, dissented from this view. William Jennings Bryan, for example, in a speech at the same meeting at which Wilson's letter was read, spoke in favor of compromise, and many Democratic Senators felt likewise. In spite of presidential pressure, fourteen Democratic Senators joined the Republicans in adopting the reservation to Article X, while 23 voted for the ratification of the treaty with all the reservations, of which there were now a total of 15. The final vote on ratification (March 19, 1920), counting pairs, stood: for ratification, 34 Republicans, 23 Democrats; against ratification, 15 Republicans, 24 Democrats. Of those voting against ratification, most of the Republicans and a few of the Democrats were opposed to the League in any form. As the vote for ratification fell seven short of the necessary two-thirds, the treaty again failed.

Another difference between the President and Congress developed over Armenia. A conference of Allied statesmen meeting at San Remo invited the United States to take a mandate to govern that unhappy country, and President Wilson, on May 24, 1920, sent a message to Congress urging acceptance. A week later, however, the Senate by a decisive vote refused to grant power to the President to accept the mandate. Those who opposed the plan urged that Armenia was far away, that a mandate over it would be likely to involve the United States in endless difficulties, and that acceptance would involve the sending of a considerable army and the expenditure of a great deal of money. A commission sent out by the President had, in fact, reported that 59,000 soldiers would be needed and that the cost of five years' occupation would be about \$756,000,000.

A joint resolution declaring the war at an end passed the House of Representatives on April 9 and subsequently the Senate, but it was vetoed by the President, who held that Congress was attempting to trench upon his own powers. As the necessary two-thirds could not be obtained in Congress to override the veto, the United States continued to be technically at war with Germany.

Meanwhile, disturbed conditions continued to prevail in the United States, as in the rest of the world. A campaign to rid the country of undesirable aliens who were striving to stir up revolution resulted in the deportation of several hundred agitators. Shortage of commodities of almost every kind had stimulated industry and had solved the problem of unemployment, but there was great unrest among laborers, prices soared to heights undreamed of, and profiteers reaped a rich harvest at the public expense. Increased prices helped to provoke demands for increased wages and vice versa, and no one could say when this pyramiding would end. Great strikes among steel-workers, bituminous coal miners, and railway men disturbed industry and threatened the prosperity of the country. On March 1, 1920, the railways of the country were returned to private ownership, but, despite the expenditure by the Government of almost a billion dollars, there were insufficient locomotives,

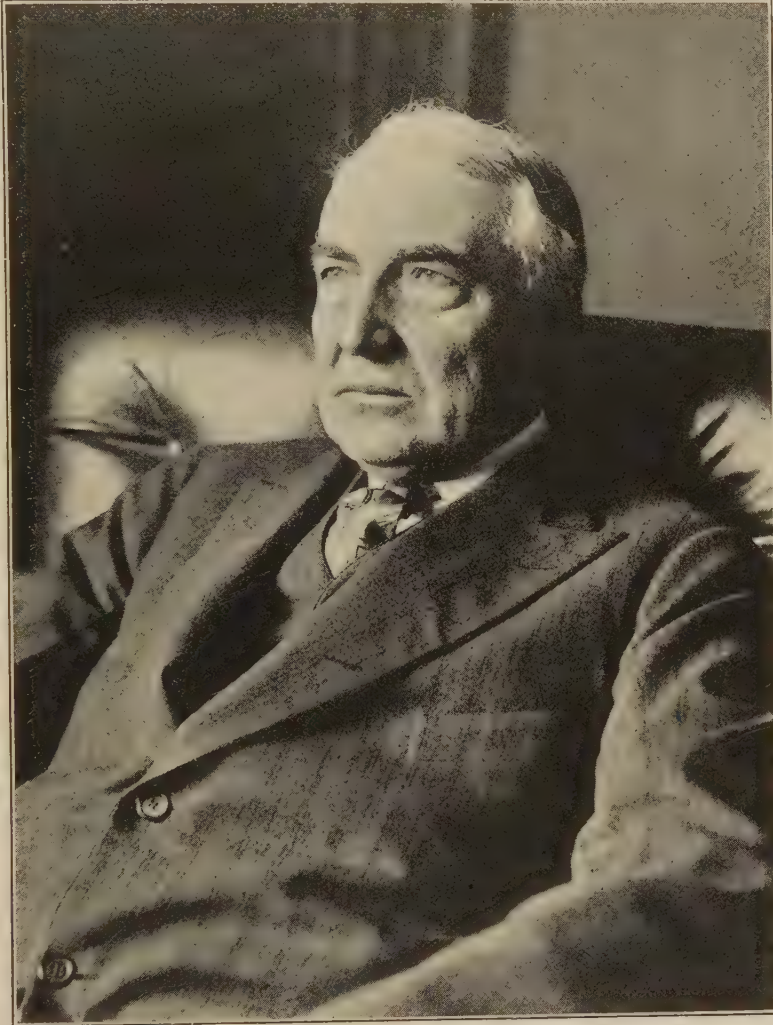
cars, and other equipment, and the roads were unable to meet the transportation needs of the country.

While these conditions prevailed the quadrennial contests for presidential nominations were raging. The chief Republican aspirants were General Leonard Wood of New Hampshire, Senator Hiram Johnson of California, Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois, Herbert Hoover of California, and Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio. General Wood was a favorite among the rank and file of the party, and in the pre-convention primaries conducted in many States obtained more delegates than any other candidate, Governor Johnson being his nearest competitor. Governor Lowden obtained most of the delegates from his own State of Illinois, as well as many from other States, particularly those States in which the old system of choosing delegates by conventions obtained. Herbert Hoover had many enthusiastic supporters among the independently inclined in both the great parties, but few politicians rallied to his banner, and he obtained few delegates. Senator Harding carried his own State by a narrow margin over Wood but had little popular support elsewhere, though he was a favorite with many politicians and was regarded as the candidate of the Senatorial oligarchy.

The Republican convention, which met in Chicago on June 8, consisted of 984 members, hence 493 votes were necessary for a choice. On the first ballot General Wood led with 287½, and he reached his highest vote, 314½ on the fourth ballot. Governor Lowden's initial strength was 211½, on the fourth ballot he had 289 votes, and he slightly increased this number on later ballots. Senator Johnson started with 133½, and his greatest strength was 143 on the third ballot. Senator Harding had 63½ on the first and 61½ on the fourth. The rest of the votes were distributed among about a dozen other candidates. Finally, after three days of balloting, a number of leaders effected a combination that succeeded in nominating Senator Harding on the tenth ballot. The convention then chose Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts for second place.

Senator Harding was born in Corsica, Ohio, in 1865 and started life as a printer's devil in Marion, Ohio, ultimately becoming the publisher of a paper at that place. He was elected a State Senator in 1889 and Lieutenant Governor in 1904, was defeated for Governor of Ohio in 1910, and in 1914

Governor Coolidge was born in Plymouth, Vermont, in 1872 and graduated from Amherst College in 1895. In 1899 he began the practice of law in Northampton, served in the Legislature and as Mayor of Northampton, in 1916 was elected Lieutenant Governor, and in 1918 Governor, be-



WARREN G. HARDING, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

was elected to the United States Senate. In 1912 he placed Taft in nomination before the Republican national convention, and in 1916 he presided over the convention that nominated Hughes. In his views he was conservatively inclined, and, though long in public life, he had not succeeded in identifying his name with any great measures.

ing re-elected in 1919. In 1919 he won national fame by his energetic handling of a strike of policemen in Boston, and by his firmness he saved the city from rioting and lawlessness. By many he was regarded as fully the equal, if not the superior, in ability to Senator Harding.

The platform declared that "The out-

standing features of the Democratic Administration have been complete unpreparedness for war and complete unpreparedness for peace. Inexcusable failure to make timely preparation is the chief indictment against the Democratic Administration in the conduct of the war. Had not our associates protected us, both by sea and land, during the first twelve months of our participation and furnished us to the very day of the armistice with munitions, planes and artillery, this failure would have been pun-



CALVIN C. COOLIDGE.

ished by disaster. It directly resulted in unnecessary losses to our gallant troops, in the imperilment of victory itself and in an enormous waste of public funds literally poured into the breach created by gross neglect. Today it is reflected in our huge tax burden and in the high cost of living."

There had been differences of opinion as to what stand should be taken regarding the League of Nations. The statement on this subject, as finally adopted, was somewhat involved. It declared that "the Re-

publican party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world," but it criticised the Covenant of the League of Nations, denounced President Wilson's course in insisting that it be adopted without amendment, and pledged the coming Republican Administration to "such agreement with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity in accordance with American ideals and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace."

Among those seriously considered for the Democratic nomination were ex-Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo of New York, Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer of Pennsylvania, Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, Governor James M. Cox of Ohio, and Vice-President Marshall of Indiana. Attorney-General Palmer made a vigorous campaign for the nomination, but most of the aspirants did not enter the primaries or make much open effort to advance their interests. Mr. McAdoo, in fact, disclaimed being a candidate at all.

The Democratic convention assembled in San Francisco on the 28th day of June. The keynote speech was made by the chairman of the National Committee, Homer S. Cummings, and in the main was a defense of the Democratic record and an advocacy of the League of Nations. As regards the platform, the main contest was over the question of the adoption of a "wet" or "dry" plank. On June 7, the Supreme Court of the United States had affirmed the validity of the Volstead Act, which prohibited the use of any beverage containing more than half a per cent of alcohol. It was feared, that a "wet" Congress might increase the alcoholic content of permitted beverages, and William Jennings Bryan, on the floor of the convention, introduced a resolution favoring strict enforcement of the Volstead Act "without any increase in the alcoholic content." After a bitter fight, however, the resolution was decisively beaten, as was another favoring the manufacture of light wines and beer for home consumption. Ultimately the subject of prohibition was

omitted from the Democratic platform, as was the case in the Republican platform.

After condemning the Republican Senators for their course regarding the treaty, the platform declared: "We advocate the immediate ratification of the treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity, but do not oppose the acceptance of any reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League associates."

On the first ballot McAdoo received 266 votes, Palmer 256, Cox 134, and Smith 109, with the rest of the 1094 scattered among many other candidates. As under the two-thirds rule 729 votes were necessary for a choice, it seemed evident that a long contest was in prospect, and this proved to be the case. Ultimately, however, Governor Cox proved the strongest candidate. On the twelfth ballot he sprang into the lead, on the forty-second he obtained a majority, and on the forty-fourth he was nominated.

Like his chief competitor, Senator Harding, the Democratic candidate was a publisher by profession. He was born at Jacksonburg, Ohio, in 1870, taught school and worked on various newspapers, served as secretary to an Ohio Congressman, and ultimately became the owner of the *Dayton News*. He was a member of the 61st and 62d Congresses and was elected Governor of Ohio in 1912, 1916, and 1918. As Governor he advocated various progressive measures and helped to secure a workman's compensation act that was taken as a model by other States.

For the vice-presidency the Democrats nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York, a distant relative of former President Roosevelt. Mr. Roosevelt was born at Hyde Park, New York, in 1882, graduated from Harvard and from the Columbia University law school. He served in the New York Senate from 1910 till 1913, when he resigned to become Assistant Secretary of the Navy, a post he held throughout the war.

The Socialist party once more nominated Eugene V. Debs, who at the time was serving a term of imprisonment for seditious utterances. A new Farmer-Labor party put

forward for the presidency Parley Parks Christensen of Utah.

The Republicans sought to make the Democratic record the main issue of the campaign. They pointed out that in 1912 one of the main Democratic slogans had been, "Lower the cost of living," and they pointed sarcastically to existing prices. Woodrow Wilson had talked much of the "New Freedom" which he proposed to confer upon the people, but, Republicans insisted, it had proved to be the freedom to



JAMES M. COX.

be plundered by profiteers. In 1916, the Democratic cry was, "Vote for Wilson. He kept us out of war." Republicans admitted that he had done so—until after the election. Now the Democratic slogan was, "Keep the Democrats in power and they will make all war impossible." But, said the Republicans, "This time the people will not be fooled, for they realize how poorly in the past Democratic promise has been matched by performance."

Republicans also laid great stress upon

Democratic extravagance. They pointed out that in two years the Democratic National Administration paid out more money than was expended by the National Government from 1776 down to 1917, including the cost of all our other wars, great and small. It had cost, they said, over half a million dollars to kill one German. George Washington, on the other hand, won our independence with three hundred millions, and Abraham Lincoln had saved the Union with about a seventh part of the Wilsonian expenditure on the recent war, which, so far as the United States was concerned, was a much smaller conflict than the Civil War. Never before, contended the Republican orators, had the world beheld such an orgy of waste, and they described in detail many of the scandals connected with the war.

The Democrats strove to defend their record to the best of their ability but sought to make the adoption of the League of Nations the main campaign issue. All the old arguments for and against the League were stated again and again. Democratic speakers made much of the fact that division existed within Republican ranks regarding adoption of the League. In the heat of the fight Senator Harding made it plain that he was opposed to entering the existing League but would seek to form some new association. The formation of such an association, his opponents declared, would be impossible. President Wilson, though taking little active part in the campaign, insisted that the election should be "a great and solemn referendum" upon the issue of whether or not the United States would join the League.

Owing to the ratification of the suffrage amendment, women for the first time participated in the election throughout the country. The result proved to be unusually decisive. Senator Harding carried every Northern State, and in addition Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Missouri, West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and even Tennessee, the first time that one of the former Confederate States had gone Republican since 1876. His plurality in many States was enormous; in New York alone it was upwards of a million; and his total popular plurality was about seven millions. Of

the electoral votes he would receive 404, while Cox would receive only 127. By most political observers the result was interpreted as a repudiation of Wilson rather than of Cox. In fact, the personality of neither Cox nor Harding had played much of a part in the contest. It was commonly remarked that had Cox been the Republican candidate and Harding the Democratic standard bearer the result would have been much the same.

In the Spring of 1920 a new turn was given to the Mexican kaleidoscope. A rebellion headed by General Alvaro Obregon spread with great rapidity over the country, and, early in May, President Carranza fled from the capital and took refuge with a small force in the mountains to eastward. There, on the 21st, he was treacherously killed by some of his own followers. The successful revolutionists installed Adolfo de la Huerta as Provisional President. Negotiations were begun with Villa, and, in July, that famous leader announced that he would disband his forces. In return for laying down his arms he received a large sum of money for himself and his followers. Villa himself settled upon a large plantation and took up the rôle of peaceful farmer and rancher.

On February 3, 1920, a demand that Germany should sanction the extradition of 890 war criminals, the names and crimes of whom were specified, was handed to Baron Kurt von Lersner, head of the German peace delegation in Paris. Among those demanded were Von Hindenburg and Ludendorff for cruel administration in Belgium and for the deportation of civilians, Admiral von Tirpitz and Admiral von Capelle for ruthless submarine warfare, Von der Lancken for the shooting of Edith Cavell, the German Crown Prince for cruelty, Prince Eitel Frederick for theft and devastation, and Generals von Moltke, von Kluck, von Falkenhayn, Marshal von Mackensen, and Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria. Baron von Lersner refused to transmit the list and forthwith resigned, while publication of the demand in Germany created an enormous sensation. The demand was finally transmitted to Berlin by courier. Though ad-

mitting the obligations under the treaty, the German Government took the stand that the extradition of those blacklisted was "a physical and moral impossibility"; that a revolution would ensue if an attempt was made to comply. A counterproposal that Germany would herself try the accused in the National Court at Leipsic was finally accepted by the Allies, which reserved the right, however, to decide whether the proposed procedure did not in effect bring about the escape of the accused from just punishment. In that event the Allies would exercise their right to submit the cases to their own tribunal.

On January 15, 1920, the Dutch Government received a formal demand for the surrender of "William of Hohenzollern, former Emperor of Germany, in order that he might be tried for crimes, some of which were enumerated. Holland replied that "neither the constituent laws of the kingdom, which are based upon the principles of law universally recognized, nor the age-long tradition which has made this country always a ground of refuge for the vanquished in international conflicts, permit the Government of Holland to defer to the wishes of the Powers by withdrawing from the former Emperor the benefit of its laws and this tradition." From this stand Holland refused to be moved, nor did the Allies deem it desirable to employ force to cause her to change her decision. Many jurists even in Allied countries admitted, in fact, that the Dutch correctly interpreted international law in the matter. Many newspapers and publicists sarcastically commented, however, upon the fact that the Kaiser owed his safety to the international law that he had so often violated and that he had boasted had ceased to exist!

In March, 1920, the Junkers attempted to overturn the Ebert Government and seize control. On March 6, while some members of the French military mission were dining at the Hotel Adlon, Prince Joachim Albert, a cousin of the former Kaiser, who was dining at another table ordered the orchestra to play "*Deutschland uber Alles*," and when the French officers refused to rise with the rest of the company, this scion of

the house of Hohenzollern began to throw plates, bottles, and other missiles at them, with the result that a general scrimmage ensued. Prince Joachim was later arrested for this childish display of "rowdy patriotism," and, when this incident was followed by similar outbursts at Bremen and Breslau, the Government issued a proclamation threatening punishment for "such militaristic excesses."

These events helped to bring to a head a reactionary plot to overturn the Govern-



GENERAL ALVARO OBREGON.

ment. The leaders of the plot were Dr. Wolfgang von Kapp, President of the Fatherland party, Captain Pabst, formerly a cavalry officer in the Guard, and Major-General Baron von Luttwitz. The conspirators succeeded in winning the support of the troops stationed at Döberitz, twelve miles west of Berlin, and by a sudden movement, on March 13, they seized the capital. The Ebert Government fled from the city, and for the moment it seemed that the *coup d'état* might succeed. Kapp proclaimed him-

self Imperial Chancellor and Prime Minister of Prussia and proceeded to set up a Government. However, the Majority Socialist party issued a manifesto calling a general strike, while the Governments of Saxony, Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg issued proclamations denouncing the rebels. The strike soon swept over Germany from end to end, and in Berlin living and commercial facilities were completely paralyzed. Four days after the uprising, the Kapp Government vanished into thin air, and the Ebert Government resumed control. Comparatively few lives were lost in the affair, and pardon was subsequently extended to those engaged in the rebellion. Scarcely was the reactionary uprising at an end, however, before the Reds rose in many places and were put down only after much blood had been shed.

As a result of the Junker uprising the Bauer Cabinet resigned and was succeeded by a new one headed by Herman Müller. On June 6, a national election was held the results of which tended to confuse rather than to clarify political affairs. The strength of the parties supporting the old Majority Socialists-Democratic-Clerical Coalition was reduced to less than a majority in the new Reichstag, and the Müller Government resigned. After long delay and fruitless political negotiations a new Cabinet was formed with Herr Fehrenbach as Chancellor and Dr. Walter Simonds as Foreign Minister.

The Red uprising was most serious in the great industrial region of the Ruhr valley in western Germany. By the treaty this region was neutralized and Germany had been forbidden to send troops into it. Germany asked permission to disregard the treaty. Difference of opinion developed among the Allies as to what course to pursue, but France stood out against granting permission. When the German Government ignored the French refusal and sent troops into the Ruhr region, France seized the cities of Frankfurt and Darmstadt and served notice upon Germany that she would hold them until the Germans withdrew their troops from the neutralized region. The British Government disapproved the course

of France, and a crisis in Anglo-French relations ensued. France, however, persisted in her course, and ultimately, after much negotiations, the Germans withdrew their troops, and the French did likewise.

In this matter, as in many others, the Germans displayed a growing disposition to ignore the peace treaty whenever possible. Another controversy raged over the question of reparations. It had long been clear to clear-minded and well-informed men that Germany would never be able to pay for more than a small fraction of the damage she had done. Even in Allied countries there were economists who said that the treaty imposed upon her burdens heavier than she could possibly bear, and one of the most brilliant and widely read books about the peace conference severely criticised Allied diplomats for ignoring economic realities. Germany, of course, strove to secure a revision of the indemnity provisions of the treaty, and among Germans there existed a growing hope that Allied dissensions might ultimately enable them to escape payment altogether.

The fact that many years must elapse before all the terms of the treaty could be complied with rendered the partial realization of this hope by no means improbable. It is a commonplace of history that, once a common danger is past, alliances are likely to be short lived. In the present case grave differences had already sprung up between the Allies, and, though frequent conferences were held between Allied statesmen, agreement upon a common course became more and more difficult. In the brilliant analysis of Mr. Frank H. Simonds:

"All German policy will be concentrated upon playing one enemy against another until Germany becomes strong enough to risk war to avoid further payment. . . . On this score the German has only one line. He must seek to terrify Allied public alike by the specter of Bolshevism and the possibility that a German revolution will extinguish all chance of German indemnity payment. In the last analysis he will have to give paper adherence to Allied demands now, but after that the question of enforce-

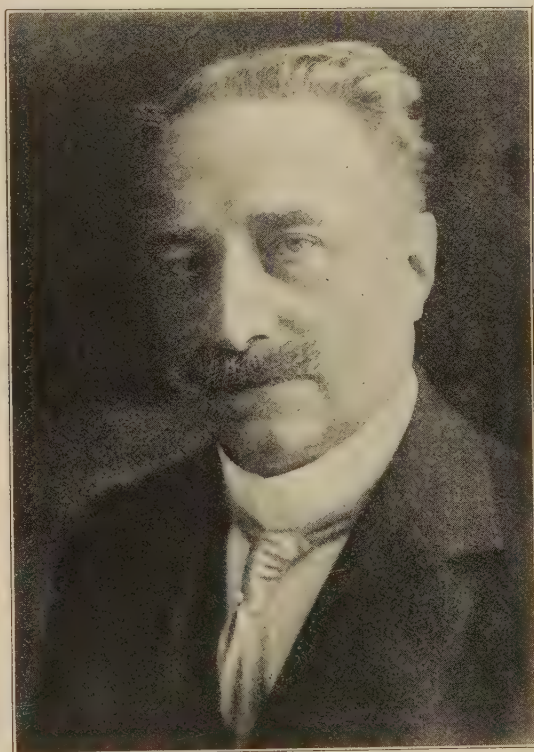
ment will come up, and this opens a whole new field of debate, delay, evasion."

In the summer of 1920 Allied relations with Germany came to a crisis over the question of coal and disarmament. The treaty had provided that Germany must supply France with 29,000,000 tons of coal a year by way of indemnity for the destruction of French coal mines about Lens and elsewhere. Furthermore, the treaty stipulated that the German army must be reduced to 100,000 men. Neither of these stipulations had been fulfilled, and the Allies charged that Germany had failed to surrender war material as provided by the treaty. The German Government contended that it would be impossible, under existing economic conditions, to supply so much coal and argued that more than 100,000 men were required to keep the peace in Germany. In a conference at San Remo in Italy, in April, the Premiers of France, Great Britain, and Italy agreed to insist that the Germans must carry out the treaty. At a conference of these Premiers and of German representatives at Spa, Belgium, in July, an ultimatum was served upon the Germans. It was only after the arrival of Marshal Foch, however, that the German Government gave way. Ultimately, a sort of compromise was reached whereby Germany agreed to deliver 2,000,000 tons of coal a month and to reduce her army. Great Britain agreed to extend certain economic assistance to her former enemy.

The Turkish peace treaty was given to the head of the Sultan's peace delegation, Tewfik Pasha, at the French Foreign Office in Paris on May 11, 1920. On handing the treaty to the Turkish delegate Premier Millerand said that Turkey had prolonged the war by taking up arms on the side of the Central Powers and must pay the price. Turkey was given thirty days in which to return her answer.

By the terms of the treaty Arabia and Armenia are henceforth to be independent states. A mandate over Armenia was offered to the United States, but, as explained elsewhere, the offer was declined. Great Britain received a mandate over Mesopotamia and Palestine, France over

Syria, Italy a district in the region of Adana. Greece was given limited sovereignty over Smyrna and the region about it, extending to a depth of 80 miles and along the coast for 150 miles; since the dawn of history this region has been inhabited in large measure by people of Greek blood. Greece also received complete sovereignty over Thrace, except Constantinople and an area about it of about two thousand square miles. Of the once great Turkish Empire having a total area of 710,224 square miles, with a population



PAUL DESCHANDEL, PRESIDENT OF FRANCE.

of 21,273,900 there remained only about 100,000 square miles, with a population of about 5,000,000.

The Sultan was permitted to retain Constantinople, but an international force was to be maintained there, and the Sultan's power was closely circumscribed in many ways. The Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, and the Bosphorus were internationalized, and the navigation of the straits was to be open in peace and war alike to the ships of all nations.

The terms of the treaty aroused violent opposition in Turkey, and preparations were made at Adrianople and in Asia Minor to resist their being carried into effect. At Angora in Asia Minor a Nationalist leader, Mustapha Kemal, gathered a considerable army. In Syria Arabs under the leadership of "King" Feisal, son of the King of the Hedjaz, resisted French authority. Riots and disorders of one sort or another also took place in Palestine, Armenia, Albania, and elsewhere, both within the old Turkish



TERENCE MACSWINEY.

Empire and on its borders in Georgia, Persia, and Turkestan. Even in Egypt a strong hand was required to repress Nationalistic aspirations. Allied jealousies also complicated the Turkish situation to a great extent.

The Turkish Nationalists won some minor successes over Allied troops in Cilicia, Thrace, and elsewhere; but Turkey was in no position to make effective resistance. Greek armies took the offensive in both Asia Minor and Thrace. Late in June, the Greeks took 8,000 prisoners at Ala-Shehr

and, in July, captured the great fortress of Adrianople.

Hectic conditions continued to prevail in many parts of Europe. In Germany, Poland, and parts of the old Austro-Hungarian empire there was much suffering from food shortage and some actual starvation. Italy, at times, seemed on the eve of business collapse, and, in August, 1920, the metal and mechanical workers in many parts of Italy seized the factories and attempted to operate them; but in a few weeks the movement broke down and the factories were returned to their owners, though some concessions were made to the workers. Even in France and Great Britain economic conditions were far from satisfactory, and the currency of both countries was greatly depreciated. In Great Britain, in the fall of 1920, a great coal strike threatened to prostrate all industry, but fortunately a settlement was soon reached. Despite labor troubles, heavy debts, and bad monetary conditions, much progress was made toward a normal state of affairs, especially in France and Great Britain, and production began to approach pre-war standards.

In Great Britain the Irish question became an increasingly difficult problem. A new Home Rule bill, designed to satisfy all parties, was introduced in Parliament by the Government. It provided for two Irish Parliaments, one for northern Ireland, the other for southern Ireland, and also for a Council for the whole island; however, the two Parliaments by identical acts might establish in lieu of the Council a common Parliament. But the scheme was complicated, and the situation had come to be such that the bill was satisfactory to nobody. The Sinn Feiners demanded complete independence and openly set British law at defiance. Loyal officials were maltreated and even murdered, barracks of the constabulary were attacked and destroyed, a sort of revolutionary Government enforced its authority in many places and even collected taxes, strikes occurred, and bloody battles occurred in many places. Though anxious to effect a compromise, the Government was forced by the course of events to send a large army to Ireland. Many malcontents were arrested,

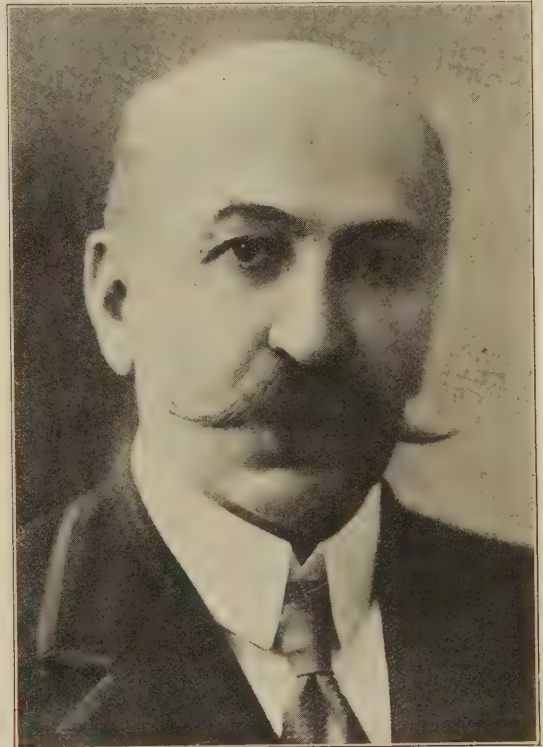
and a bill was passed by Parliament providing for the trial of Irish offenders by courts-martial instead of by the ordinary civil courts.

As a moral protest and in the hope of winning sympathy for their cause a number of imprisoned Sinn Feiners resorted to hunger strikes. The most notable of these strikers was Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, who was shut up in Brixton Prison, London. Many appeals were made to the British Government to pardon MacSwiney, but the authorities took the view that a lenient course regarding other offenders in the past had failed and that to release him would encourage rebellion. MacSwiney persisted in his fast for the almost incredible period of 74 days and then died. A few other "strikers" also died, while others, on the advice of friends, finally broke their fasts and partook of food. The hunger strikes attracted the attention of the world but, thus far, seem to have accomplished little. Petty conflicts between the Sinn Feiners and the troops and police still continue, and the exasperated troops, usually called "Black and Tans," have on numerous occasions resorted to punitive raids against localities notable for Sinn Fein activities.

Disturbed economic and social conditions were reflected in politics elsewhere. There were repeated changes of government, during 1919-1920, in Italy. In France Paul Deschanel, President of the Chamber of Deputies, was elected President to succeed Poincaré, much to the surprise of many outside observers, who supposed that the French people, out of gratitude, would elevate Clemenceau to the chief magistracy. About the same time, Clemenceau retired from the premiership and was succeeded by Alexander Millerand. In September the state of President Deschanel's health became so bad that he resigned, and Millerand was elected to succeed him. Georges Leygues, who had been Minister of Marine under Clemenceau, became Premier. In November, 1920, young King Alexander of Greece died as the result of poisonous infection resulting from the bite of a pet monkey, and a strong movement developed for the restoration of Con-

stantine. Shortly after the King's death, Premier Venizelos was decisively beaten in a general election and resigned. A plebiscite on the question of the kingship resulted in favor of Constantine, and, despite Allied opposition, he resumed the throne.

By many observers it had been confidently predicted that the Bolshevist régime in Russia would not last many months. But time showed the hollowness of these prophecies. At home Lenine and Trotsky continued to maintain their grasp upon the gov-

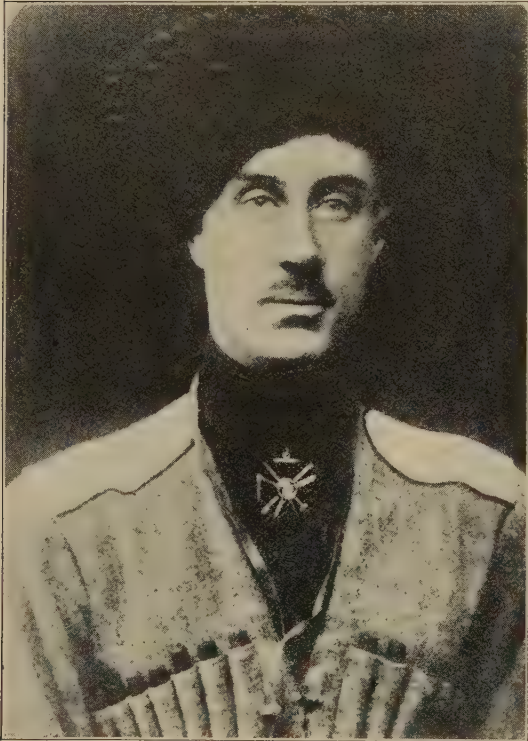


PREMIER LEYGUES, OF FRANCE.

ernment, while, about the end of 1919 and the beginning of 1920, the Bolshevist armies won a series of successes on almost every front. The army of General Yudenitch in Esthonia was beaten, and peace was made with Esthonia late in January, 1920. In south Russia the forces of General Denikin were defeated in a number of engagements and were forced to seek protection beneath the guns of British ships on the Black Sea. In Siberia the movement headed by Admiral Kolchak collapsed, and Kolchak himself was

captured and executed at Irkutsk on February 7. Soon thereafter the Reds gained control of Vladivostok, of the Peninsula of Kamchatka, and of other places on the Pacific coast. In Turkestan, Transcaspia, and elsewhere the Soviet troops marched on from victory to victory. By spring, in fact, the authority of the Bolshevik Government was recognized over the greater part of the former Russian Empire.

The increase in Bolshevik military power created a grave situation in regard to Po-



GENERAL BARON PETER WRANGEL.

land. For many months the armies of that country fought with the forces of the Russian Reds and succeeded in pushing their enemies far to the eastward and out of the Ukraine, with which Poland made an alliance. The Poles proclaimed their purpose to reestablish their frontiers as they existed before the partition of 1772 and carried out an offensive that brought their armies to the Dniester and the Dwina Rivers.

Meanwhile the policy of the Entente Allies toward Russia had continued to be

weak and hesitating. Munitions and some officers and men had been sent to aid the opponents of Bolshevism in Siberia, southern Russia, and in Poland, and a blockade of Russia had been maintained. But grave differences developed between the Allies. Great Britain favored coming to terms with the Lenine Government, and negotiations to that end were opened; but France strongly opposed such a policy, partly because the Bolsheviks had repudiated debts amounting to several billion dollars owed to France and her citizens.

In the summer of 1920, the tide of war between the Poles and the Reds turned in favor of the latter. The Polish armies were badly beaten, and immense hordes of Bolsheviks captured Brest-Litovsk and other border fortresses and pushed westward toward Warsaw. The Poles retired in disorder, and by most observers in Western countries it was assumed that Poland was doomed to be overrun. A wave of deep apprehension spread over the Allied world, for it was believed that in case the Russians conquered Poland they would form an alliance with Germany and that a new world war would be inevitable. Beyond question millions of Germans, groaning under the terms of the treaty of Versailles, looked upon the situation with hope and prayed for the success of the Russian arms. In the words of an American historian, "The world had to contemplate the possibility of a supreme Red triumph and the arrival in Central and even in Western Europe of a new invasion which strangely mingled the methods of Ghenghis Khan with the principles of Karl Marx." In Allied capitals there were hurried consultations, and some preparations were begun to send troops to aid the hard-pressed Poles, but it was clear that no considerable assistance could arrive until the crisis was over.

Fortunately the courage of the Poles rose to meet the danger in a way that proved them worthy of their rewon liberty. The civilian population rose as one man to save the country, and even thousands of women took up arms or labored on the fortifications. Unable to send an army in time, the French Government, by a happy inspiration, hur-

riedly dispatched to Poland over a thousand officers headed by General Weygand, who had been Foch's right hand assistant in the Great War.

Arrived in Poland, Weygand declined to assume the chief command, leaving it in the hands of General Pilsudski; but he and his compatriots undertook the reorganization of the Polish armies, and a plan of campaign was evolved similar to that which had saved Paris in 1914. While the Polish armies fell back toward Warsaw, fighting as they retired, fresh troops were hastily brought up from Galicia. By the time the counter-stroke was in readiness, the Russians were in artillery range of the Polish capital and had cut the railway line to Danzig. Just as the outside world was expecting news of the fall of Warsaw there came glorious tidings of an entirely different character. The troops from Galicia and other units assailed the Russians on their southern flank between the Bug and the Vistula, just as Manoury's troops had attacked Von Kluck in 1914, and at the same time the other Poles turned on

their pursuers. Never was a military maneuver more successful. In less than ten days a third of the Bolsheviks horde had been killed, wounded, or taken. Another third, to escape capture, crossed the border into East Prussia, where they were disarmed. The remaining third, leaving practically all their artillery and other munitions, escaped as a disorganized mob into Russia. For the time, at least, Poland was saved, and the Bolshevik menace to western Europe had vanished into thin air. Early in October, an armistice was signed at Riga embodying terms satisfactory to Poland.

The armistice enabled the Bolsheviks to turn their military power against the anti-Red forces in southern Russia headed by General Wrangel. Wrangel's army was decisively beaten in several engagements, and he and thousands of other refugees were forced to flee from the country. In some quarters it was feared that the Bolsheviks would take advantage of the situation thus created once more to launch a new offensive against Poland.

APPENDIX

COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

PREAMBLE.

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law, as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the high contracting parties agree to this covenant of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE I.

The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this covenant and also such of those other States named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this covenant. Such accessions shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other members of the League.

Any fully self-governing State, dominion, or colony not named in the annex may become a member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval, and air forces and armaments.

Any member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

ARTICLE II.

The action of the League under this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

ARTICLE III.

The Assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the League.

The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time, as occasion may require, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the Assembly each member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

ARTICLE IV.

The Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, of the British Empire, of France, of Italy, and of Japan, together with representatives of four other members of the League. These four members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the League first selected by the Assembly, representatives of (blank) shall be members of the Council.

With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional members of the League, whose representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation to the Council.

The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least

once a year, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Any member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters especially affecting the interests of that member of the League.

At meetings of the Council each member

matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council, and may be decided by a majority of the members of the League represented at the meeting. The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE VI.

The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.



UNITED STATES MARINES IN FRANCE.

of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one representative.

ARTICLE V.

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this covenant, or by the terms of this treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, the appointment of committees to investigate particular

The first Secretary General shall be the person named in the annex; thereafter the Secretary General shall be appointed by the Council, with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

The secretaries and the staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General, with the approval of the Council.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the

expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE VII.

The seat of the League is established at Geneva.

The Council may at any time decide that the seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the members of the League and officials of the League, when engaged on the business of the League, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials, or by representatives attending its meetings, shall be inviolable.

ARTICLE VIII.

The members of the League recognize that the maintenance of a peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with the national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

The members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their mil-

itary, naval, and air programs and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

ARTICLE IX.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles I and VIII, and on military, naval, and air questions generally.

ARTICLE X.

The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE XI.

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary General shall, on the request of any member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

It is also declared to be the fundamental right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb either the peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE XII.

The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they will submit the matter either to arbitration or an inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE XIII.

The members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which

tion. For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such



ITALIAN ARTILLERY IN ACTION.

cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, or as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitra-

an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE XIV.

The Council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it.

The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

ARTICLE XV.

If there should arise between members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary

ment thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of the conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the Council is unanimously



SIGNING ESTHONIAN-RUSSIAN PEACE TREATY.

General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary General as promptly as possible statements of their case, all the relevant facts and papers; the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The Council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of any dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public, giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and terms of settle-

agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action

as they consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report and shall make no recommendations as to its settlement.

The Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

In any case referred to the Assembly all the provisions of this article and of Article XII, relating to the action and powers of the Council, shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the League represented on the Council and of the majority of the other members of the League, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

ARTICLE XVI.

Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles XII, XIII, or XV, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military or naval forces the members of the League

shall severally contribute to the armaments or forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the League which are coöperating to protect the covenants of the League.

Any member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the representatives of all the other members of the League represented thereon.

ARTICLE XVII.

In the event of a dispute between a member of the League and a State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the State or States not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles XII to XVI, inclusive, shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

Upon such invitation being given, the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the League, the provisions of Article XVI shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so

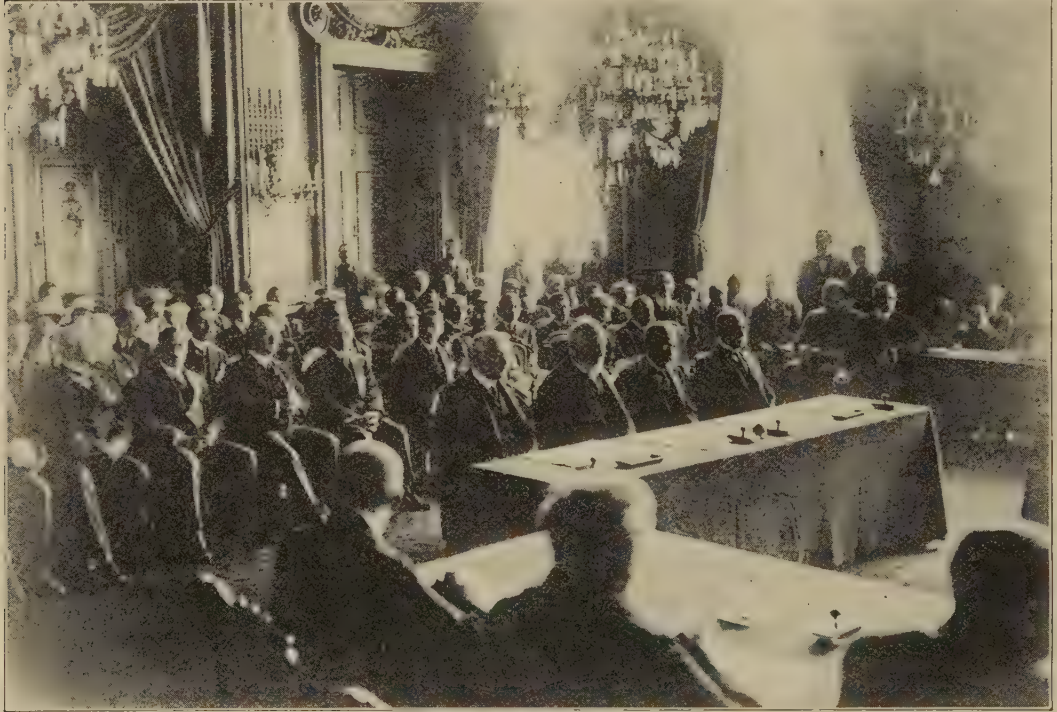
invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE XVIII.

Every convention or international engagement entered into henceforward by any member of the League shall be forthwith

agree that this covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case a member of the League shall, before becoming a member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such member to take imme-



HANDING PEACE TERMS TO TURKS.

registered with the Secretariat, and shall, as soon as possible, be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE XIX.

The Assembly may, from time to time, advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE XX.

The members of the League severally

diate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE XXI.

Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

ARTICLE XXII.

To those colonies and territories which, as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the

States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant.

differ according to the stage of development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative ad-

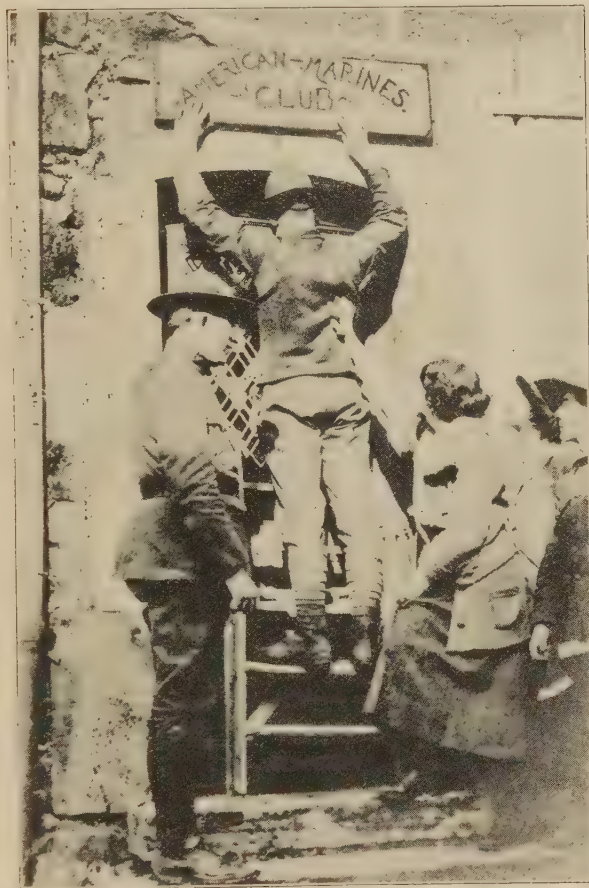
vice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes, and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size or their remoteness from the centers of civilization or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory and other circumstances can be best administered under

the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population. In every case of mandate, the mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the mandatory, if not previously agreed upon by



AMERICAN MARINES CLUB—PARIS.

The best method of giving practicable effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples be intrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandataries on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must

the members of the League, shall be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandataries and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

ARTICLE XXIII.

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League (a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations; (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control; (c) will intrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs; (d) will intrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest; (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communication and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the League. In this connection the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-18 shall be in mind; (f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

ARTICLE XXIV.

There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaus and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions, but which are not placed under the control

of international bureaus or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council, and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

ARTICLE XXV.

The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and coöperation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

ARTICLE XXVI.

Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the members of the League, whose representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the members of the League whose representatives compose the Assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the League.

ANNEX TO THE COVENANT

I. Original members of the League of Nations.

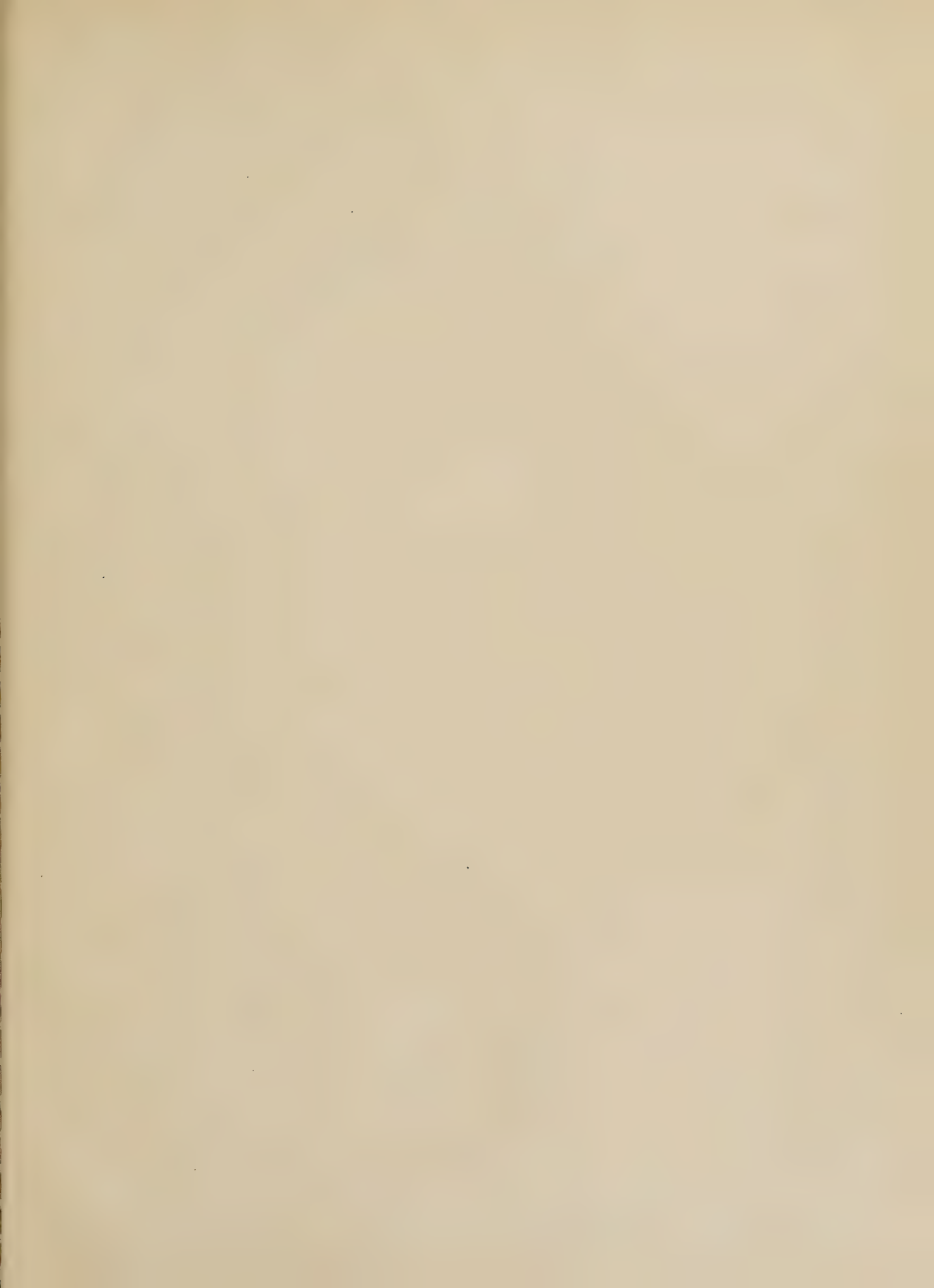
Signatories of the Treaty of Peace:

United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam, Uruguay.

States invited to accede to the covenant:

Argentine Republic, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela.

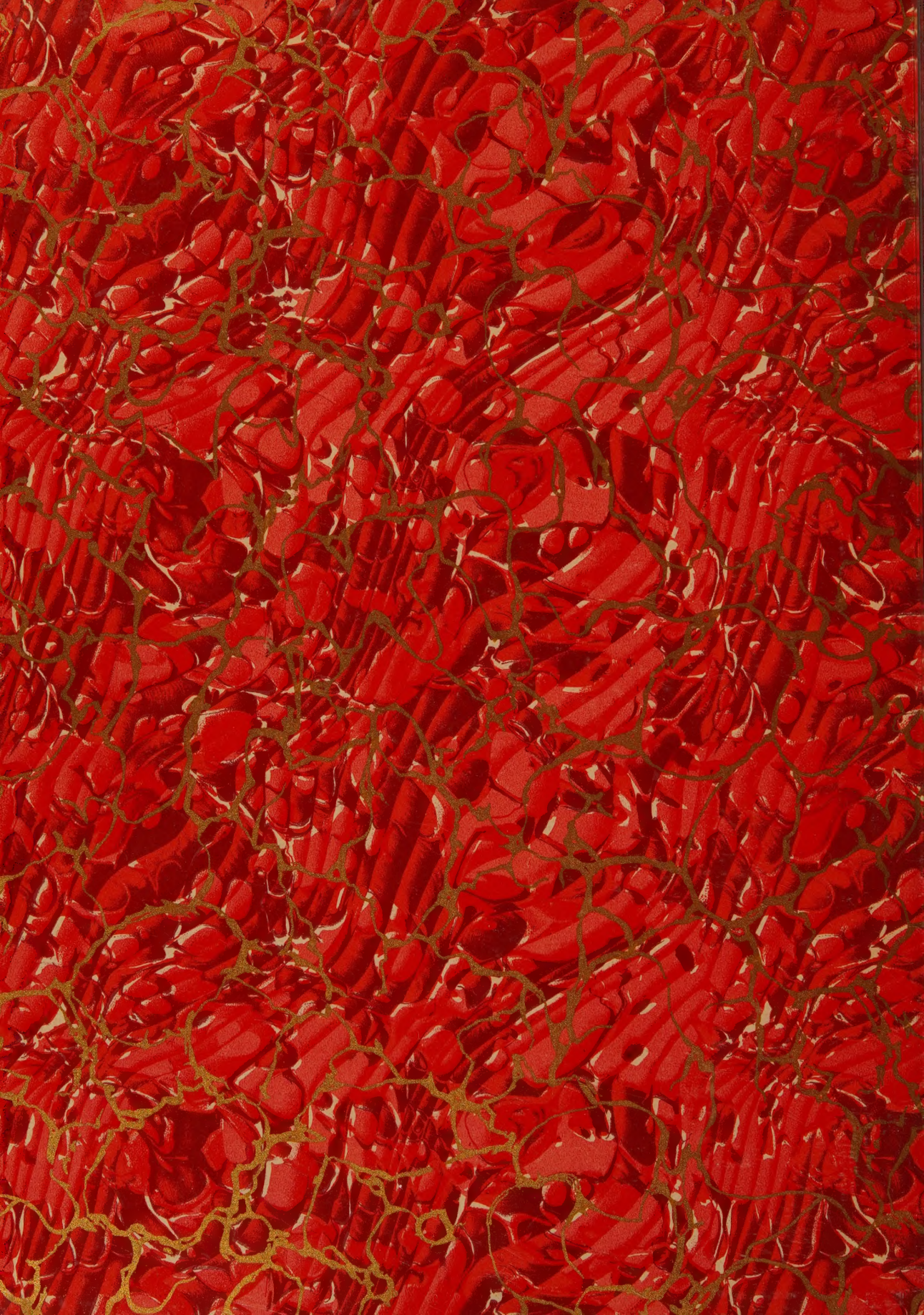
II. First Secretary General of the League of Nations: Sir Eric Drummond.

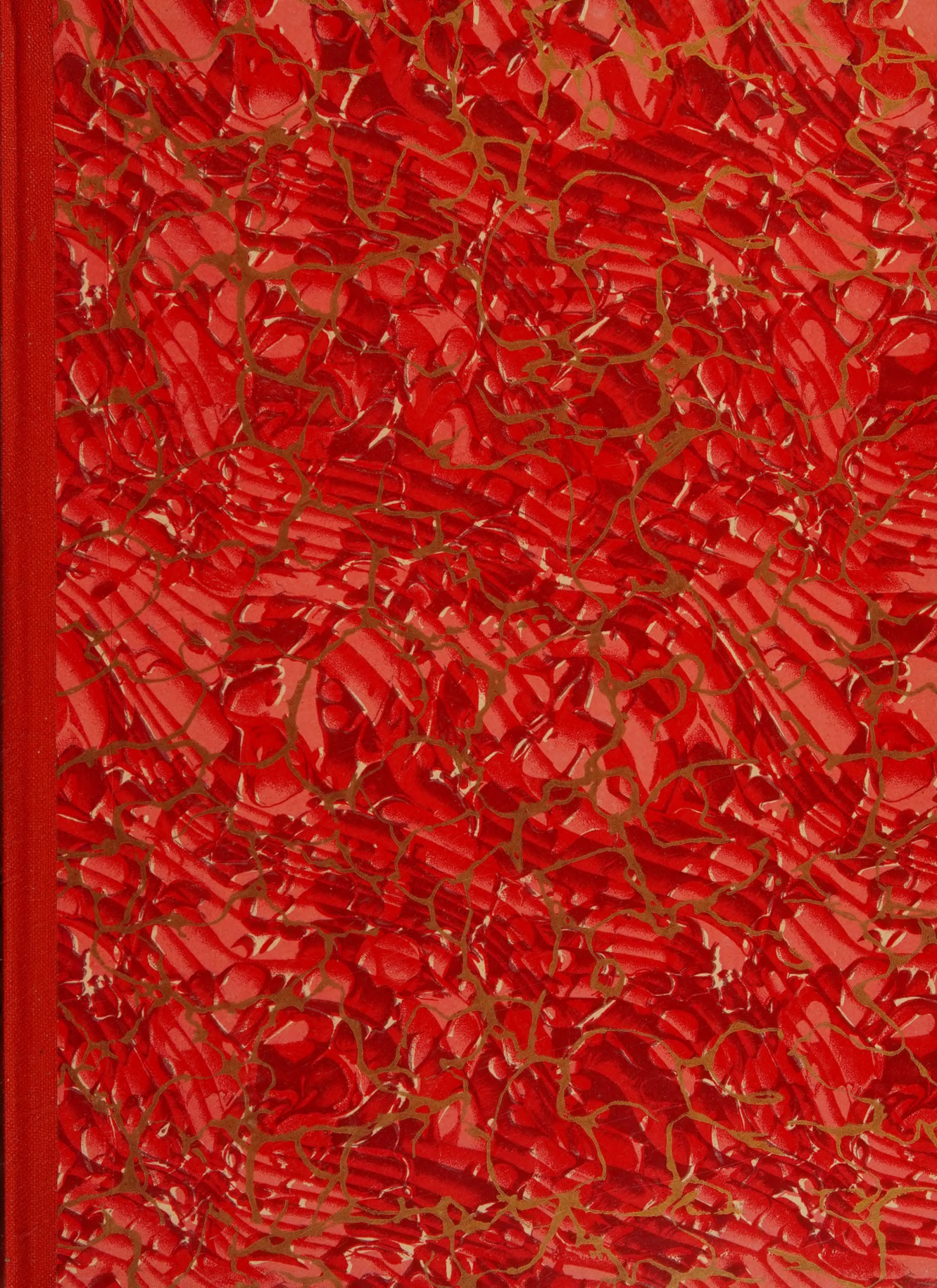














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